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SEASONS AND PLACES IN YAMATO LANDSCAPE AND POETRY

By YOSHIAKI SHIMIZU

THIS ARTICLE WILL EXAMINE THE CONCEPT OF SEASONS and places as themes in Yamato-e, with particular reference to the early thirteenth-century landscape screen at Jingo-ji Temple and to the screen poems (*byōbu-uta*) of the Heian period.¹ The more precise terms of season and place, rather than the broader categories of time and space, are essential to understanding the character of Yamato-e painting and its relation to *waka* poetry.

In painting, images may be objects with actual or implied spatial extension and temporal duration, but in Japanese landscape painting, images are often symbolic motifs indicating specific seasons and particular places with aesthetic histories. They are most profitably and properly understood as pictorial metaphors of specific seasons and places, rather than as objects which become meaningful through their placement in a narrative or composition. As such, the images in Japanese landscapes function somewhat as religious icons, whose original attributes convey their predetermined literary meanings; some images in early Japanese landscape paintings are poetic icons, pictorial expressions of a complexity of meanings derived from literature, rather than simple, natural motifs which receive and impart meaning as narrative or compositional components. The import of a symbolic image in a Japanese painting is often predetermined by its origin in Japanese poetry. The image in a Japanese landscape indicates an explicit and invariable conjunction between the natural cycle and national topography. Whatever function the image in a Japanese painting may perform as an entity in a narrative illustration or a spatial composition, it *means* a certain season and place whose aesthetic history is requisite to the viewer's understanding.

This definition of images in Japanese landscape paintings as symbols of places and seasons whose meanings derive from the Japanese literary tradition, rather than as neutral objects in pictorial space and time, is essential to comprehending the themes in Yamato-e *byōbu* (Japanese-style paintings on screens) and *byōbu-uta* (Japanese poems on screens). To the uninitiated viewer, for example, a screen painting of waves and rocky islands with pine trees may be perceived simply as a seascape. The stylized images—vividly animated and brightly colored, with churning blue and white water, wave-beaten tawny islets, and wind-blown green trees—are beautiful in themselves. The meaning of the painting,

however, explores a realm beyond that of sensory appeal, for the images, we are told, traditionally identify the site as Matsushima, one of the three scenic spots of Japan (*Nihon sankei*). These three scenic spots, Itsukushima, Amanohashidate, and Matsushima, are examples of famous sites (*meisho*) visited by painters and poets of the past and present, analogous to the holy places visited by pilgrims on the road from Damascus to Santiago. The aesthetic existence of Matsushima as a famous site is even more important than its empirical actuality; many of the poems and paintings depicting the Matsushima seascape were created by authors and artists who had never journeyed to the site. The meaning of the painted image includes ideational and associative allusions to a vast and complex cultural tradition as well as visual perception of what is rendered in the painting.

An analogous example of the significance of the season in Japanese painting may be provided by the depiction on a *fusuma* panel of barren trees, a frozen river, and snow-covered plains and mountains. The painting is readily identifiable as a snowscape, and the images *mean* winter. Similarly, the painting on another panel of the same *fusuma* of green-leaved, flowering trees and gushing torrents denotes summer. The sequence of panels within the same set of *fusuma*, moving from right to left, represents the set theme of the four seasons—spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Various botanical and animal motifs symbolize each season; plum blossoms, for example, represent spring, and geese, autumn.

Understanding the meaning of paintings of sequential bird and flower landscapes (*kachō sansui*) on the *fusuma* panels requires recognition of the individual images as seasonal attributes. The meanings of these seasonal attributes are derived from a tradition of literary and pictorial representation of the annual cycle. Seasonal attributes in the painting of a specific time of year, like the landmark attributes in the painting of a particular place, evoke moods, emotions, and sensations consonant with the conventional aesthetic concept of the depicted season.

Identifying temporal and spatial themes in a Japanese landscape painting becomes important when motifs depicted in a composition form a set or sequence of metaphors which allude to specific seasons or places. The *fusuma* panels described above contain a thematic structure—the four seasons—behind the seemingly ordinary landscape

representation. This area of inquiry and detection, however, involves the pursuit of a typology of themes and images and their meanings, thus treating motifs as symbols having literary overtones. As a method, it assumes that images in painting were originally charged with specific meanings and that the images were assembled in a painting to represent a coherent theme derived from literary works rather than from nature. The study goes beyond morphology. It goes beyond our response to the expressiveness of forms. It is this realm of problems of meaning which I will examine in the present study. I will deal particularly with the question of the relationship between landscape images in Yamato painting and poetry, focusing on the themes of seasons and places.

The Jingo-ji Screen

Yamato-e, the stylistic name given to a mode of pictorial art of the Heian period (794–1185), is indigenous to Japan. From the early period of its formation in the courtly culture of Kyoto around the late ninth or early tenth century, Yamato-e exerted an overwhelming appeal upon the major artists of the period, painters and craftsmen alike. Its influence was felt in painting as well as in decorative arts. Yamato-e ushered in diverse artistic traditions, creating various pictorial designs and motifs for a variety of formats, including handscrolls, albums, screens, and poem sheets; it was also applied to mirrors, lacquer ware, textiles, and costumes.

The surviving works done in the Yamato-e mode are from the late Heian period (late eleventh and twelfth centuries). Of these, the best known are illustrated narrative scrolls, often including fluidly written texts executed by some of the best contemporary calligraphers.² Perhaps the pictures and calligraphy owe their survival and precious pedigree to the more durable contemporary literature, without which they would not have been created.

The literature of the Heian period consists of many different genres, but the *waka*, with its brevity, sophistication of form, and sensitivity, was considered the supreme literary art. Poetry, like prose, found its counterpart in painting. Poets gave themes to painters to paint, and the paintings offered motifs about which the poets wrote verse. Whether the Yamato-e style of painting had existed before Yamato-uta or *waka* is difficult to say, but it is certain that by the tenth century, the term *uta-e* (“poem picture”) was already widely employed.³

Landscape paintings are frequently mentioned in poetic anthologies. Unfortunately, these paintings are no longer extant. However, by examining contemporary literary works and paintings from a

slightly later period, we may be able to characterize landscape imagery done in the Yamato-e mode. We can rely on contemporary literary sources, such as the *waka*, to find out what themes were painted.

Although we lack visual evidence of landscapes from the early Heian period, we do have a thirteenth-century example in the *byōbu* with landscape from Jingo-ji, Kyoto (figs. 1–3 and diagram, fig. 4).⁴ Consisting of six panels and executed in opaque colors on silk, the screen depicts open countryside marked by low hills, shallow valleys, and meandering streams. Buildings of the *shinden-zukuri* type are tucked into hillsides, and these houses are enclosed by informal hedges. Certainly, such a landscape contrasts sharply with the lofty peaks and deep gorges so typical of the “mountain-water” imagery of China.⁵ The Jingo-ji screen depicts a landscape familiar to every Japanese and would, perhaps, bring to mind an early song from the *Kojiki*, in which the hero during his sojourn in Kyūshū expresses his nostalgia for the beautiful homeland he had left behind:

Yamato wa	Yamato is the most
Kuni no mahoro ba	Excellent part of the land;
Tatanazuku	Slope after slope
Aogakiyama	The hills are green hedges;
Komoreru	Nestled among the hills,
Yamato uruwashi. ⁶	Beautiful is Yamato.

On the upper section of alternate panels, five rectangular areas are painted in different colors and patterns. They simulate poem sheets (*shikishi*) but contain no poems. The screen continues a format of the Heian tradition which includes poem sheets within a picture, as is found in a section of the illustrated *Tale of Genji* in the Tokugawa collection.⁷ The combination of the painting and *shikishi* is a vital clue to the original context of the Jingo-ji screen, but this will be discussed in detail below.

The painting itself depicts a landscape well defined by hills, trees, fields, and streams. In the far distance, an open area reveals a lake or perhaps the ocean.⁸ Deciduous trees with red leaves, shrubs, and flowers punctuate an otherwise plain ground. Within this setting, the screen contains the following separate scenes (reading from right to left, see diagram):

1. Women bathing in a stream.
2. A mansion of the *shinden-zukuri* type with a pond; a lady collecting red lotus blossoms; courtiers viewing the scene; another courtier standing before the gate.
3. Men cutting reed stalks (*kaya*) outside the mansion.
4. A deserted watch-hut in a rice field.

5. A group of mounted courtiers and officers in hunting outfit, with servants on foot carrying goods.
6. An open field with distant pine trees; village women picking plants.
7. A house with a wooden-plank-shingled roof enclosed within a bamboo hedge; ladies and a courtier talking.
8. Rice field; a peasant setting bird traps.
9. Men setting fish weirs.
10. A mountain path; mounted courtiers and officers climbing under trees; three travelers by a waterfall.
11. A house with a visiting courtier; a bull cart in front of the gate; attendants on the ground. A lady sitting on the verandah and a courtier standing apart, holding a fan.

Some of these scenes, especially 2, 7, and 11, appear to be part of a narrative. They are hardly haphazardly chosen motifs. The figures interact; the interior and exterior spaces create a meaningful setting, and each scene forms a self-contained unit. Of the three scenes, two (7 and 11) have already been partially discussed by Kobayashi Taichirō, who, in his early study of Yamato-e landscape, offered the following detailed description and interpretation. About scene 7 he writes:

A simple, wooden-plank-shingled house, placed along one side of a hillock. Three women, probably nuns, are seen in the interior of the house. A woven bamboo fence encloses the garden and the building. On the exterior are a horse and groom. A man clad in *kariginu* dress is about to enter the garden through the gate. Hills are spotted with trees. Autumn plants, Chinese bell flowers (*kikyō*), and maiden flowers (*ominaeshi*) are growing on and around the hills. . . .⁹

And of scene 11 he writes:

A noblewoman sits under the eaves facing the garden. A female attendant sits on the verandah. Autumn grasses are planted at the foot of the brushwood fence. Close by a stream, pine and maple trees grow. Below the trees a nobleman dressed in *nōshi* stands holding an open fan. Two younger men in *kariginu* are seated beside the nobleman, conversing. A bull cart is parked beside *shitomido* [latticed door, usually flaps open], a bull lies on the ground. Two grooms are conversing beside it. Reeds grow in the stream; more autumn grasses grow along the embankment. Water fowl swim and fly low. . . .

Kobayashi, in noting that this autumnal landscape approximates a pastoral setting outside Kyoto (perhaps Sagano or Uji) and that the figures are predominantly aristocratic in their disposition, suggested that perhaps these two scenes might be referring to an episode from the “At Writing Practice” chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, in which an urban officer visits a house in the country. The episode Kobayashi referred to, especially in regard to

scene 7, is a scene in which palace courtiers visit the mountain nunnery where Ukifune lives in seclusion.

Her son-in-law was now a guards captain. His younger brother, a court chaplain and a disciple of the bishop, was in seclusion at Yokawa. Members of the family often went to visit him. Once on his way up the mountain the captain stopped by Ono. Outrunners cleared the road, and the elegant young gentlemen who now approached brought back to the girl, so vividly that it might have been he, the image of her clandestine visitor. One was little nearer the center of things than Uji, but the nunnery and its grounds showed that the occupants were ladies of taste. Wild carnations coyly dotted the hedge, and maiden flowers and bell flowers were coming into bloom; and among them stood numbers of young men in bright and varied travel dress. The captain, also in travel dress, was received at the south verandah. He stood for a time admiring the garden. Perhaps twenty-seven or twenty-eight, he seemed mature for his age. The nun, his mother-in-law, addressed him through a curtained doorway. . . .¹⁰

Kobayashi did not really propose that these scenes illustrate this particular passage from *Genji*; he merely suggested that these figurative scenes in the Jingo-ji screen might belong to a specific narrative episode from Heian literature such as *Genji*. However, once we are aware of this particular passage from *Genji*, we tend to read it into the Jingo-ji imagery. Although tenuous, the relationship between the narrative and the picture becomes more meaningful when we note that the correspondence exists even in such isolated motifs as the choice of plants and flowers and in the general placement of the visitors.

Whatever specific story may lie behind scenes 7 and 11, the motifs in the landscape can be divided into three major groups: (a) aristocratic figures (2, 5, 7, 10, 11); (b) rural folk engaged in their usual occupations, such as bathing, cutting reeds, picking plants, setting bird traps and fish weirs (1, 3, 6, 8, 9); and (c) images from nature, either alone or in combination with manmade objects. These natural motifs link the scenes containing the aristocrats and commoners. Natural images include deer among grass (panel I), bulls in a meadow (panel IV), water fowl flying low over a stream (panel VI), reeds in water, *susuki* or plume grass (panels I, III, IV, VI), Chinese bell flowers and maiden flowers (panels IV, VI). In sharp contrast to the self-contained narrative scenes involving courtiers, the figures of rural folk blend into the landscape as if they were simply part of the countryside. The compositional elements of the screen, then, are a mixture of aristocratic and folk figures whose only common ground is the landscape.

Several questions arise from the use of these sets of motifs. First, what do these scenes really represent? Second, what is the common theme that relates the scenes? And, third, what are their characteristic

attributes? Rural scenes, as well as plant and animal motifs, are some of the most frequently encountered themes in Heian poetry. Poets wrote verse about the countryside using certain sets of motifs to indicate the theme and to suggest seasons and places. The Jingo-ji *shikishi* painted on the top alternate panels should have told us the meaning of the landscape imagery. They are, unfortunately, blank. To fill in these blanks, we will refer to the *waka* tradition, where similar sets of motifs are found.

Screens and Screen Poems

Some of the most frequently used motifs in Heian poetry are those which relate themes of the seasons and the occupations of the months. In poetic anthologies, poems with such themes are arranged in a sequence following the orderly progression of the seasons. A special genre of poetry called *byōbu-uta* ("screen poems") developed around screens with special themes; *tsukinami-e* ("pictures of the occupations of the months"), *shiki-e* ("pictures of the four seasons"), and *meisho-e* ("pictures of famous places") are all fundamental clues in our search for a thematic context for the individual motifs in the Yamato-e painting.¹¹ The screen poems constitute an important category of court poetry for the Heian poets and at the same time indicate the important role screen paintings played in providing subjects for poetry. The popularity of this genre in poetry is revealed by the fact that the body of *byōbu-uta* by Ki no Tsurayuki, composed between 901 and 926, numbers more than 350 poems, all of which appear in the first five of the ten books of his anthology.¹²

The screen paintings seen by Heian court poets were apparently of various kinds. Some consisted of four panels, others of six, eight, or twelve panels. In any case, it was customary for the poets to write their poems on *shikishi*, or colored or patterned sheets of paper (about nine by ten inches), which would be pasted on the panels, similar to those found painted on our Jingo-ji screen.

Not all screen poems by even the best of the Heian court poets are inspiring, but they give us clues which help us to establish a range of themes and their attributes. The anthology of the courtier Taira no Kanemori (d. 990) contains a group of screen poems about an imperial palace screen which had four panels, one devoted to each season. The headnotes to Kanemori's poem identify the scenes.

Spring: New Year's Ceremony.
A man listening to a bushwarbler visits a young lady's house.
People picking young shoots at New Year's.
Third month: a traveler stopping at the foot of a cherry

tree, sorrowfully looking at the falling blossoms.
Wisteria flowers hanging from pine branches.

Summer: Fourth month: a family listening to the song of a *hototogisu*.
Fifth month: long rain.
Sixth month: a family enjoying the cool and partaking of the ablution ceremony (*misogi*) on a river bank.
Autumn: Seventh day of the seventh-month festival (*tanabata*).
Fifteenth night of the eighth month [i.e., full moon].
Ninth month: people harvesting in the field; people in the field viewing [autumn] flowers.
Winter: Tenth month: people returning from the Kamo Shrine encounter a shower.
Eleventh month: ice over a pond.
Twelfth month: a house under deep snow.¹³

In this screen, a temporal sequence is developed which moves from right to left, following the seasons from spring to winter. All four panels are utilized; each corresponds to a single season. The scenes as described by Kanemori indicate that the artist used both figurative and natural motifs.¹⁴

An older contemporary, Tsurayuki, an early tenth-century poet, saw a screen in the empress's chamber depicting activities of the twelve months and described the scenes (with the omission of the eleventh month) as follows:

First month: People gathered together drinking New Year's sake.
Second month: People viewing plum blossoms; farmers tilling the fields.
Third month: People visiting a mountain temple; at the end of the month they watch cherry blossoms fall.
Fourth month: A messenger returns from the festival at Omiwa Shrine. *Unohana* flowers grow on the hedge of a house.
Fifth month: A traveler at the foot of a mountain listening to the song of *hototogisu*. People planting rice in a field in rain.
Sixth month: People enjoying the cool of the evening. Men fishing with cormorant.
Seventh month, seventh day: Women looking up at the sky. Sheds guarding the field; rice maturing.
Eighth month: People picking plants such as bush clover.
Ninth month: Mist clinging densely to the hills; a boat moored at a river crossing; chrysanthemums.
Tenth month: Piles of freshly cut reed stalks.
Twelfth month: People viewing the budding plum blossoms.¹⁵

In each of these sets of screen poems, we find an unmistakable formula used to present the poetic themes in temporal sequence. To be sure, an occasional juggling of monthly themes does occur; for example, in Tsurayuki's poem sequence, the *hototogisu* is associated with the fifth month, while in Kanemori's it is mentioned in the fourth month. Even so, the seasonal association, summer, remains the same. In both sequences, the theme of enjoying

the cool is associated with the sixth month.

The structure of both screens consists of three parallel sequences: first, the sequence of the months of the year; second, that of the four seasons; and third, that of individual motifs in a temporal sequence. It should be clear now that the individual motifs become meaningful when contained within this temporal structure. In other words, screen poems from lost screens help us to establish the sequence in which scenes appeared.

Themes of the screen paintings, as indicated by these poems from the tenth century, were largely nature motifs (plants, animals, and birds) and human activities. For the most part, the human activities are related either to events of the imperial calendar¹⁶ or to common, everyday labors, very much like the subjects of the lively illustrations of the *Très Riches Heures* of the Limbourg brothers. From the tilling of fields to the actual harvest, these latter themes read like an agricultural calendar. While the screen poems of Kanemori describe events which are predominantly aristocratic, those by Tsurayuki combine the aristocratic and the common.

Apparently, there were two different circumstances which gave rise to screen poems. Sometimes a poet was asked to compose verses about a completed painting, as in the examples already mentioned. At other times, verses of the poet became themes for the painter. In the latter case, the poet could reveal his own aesthetic preferences in a freer manner. Consequently, we find Tsurayuki choosing particular types of themes in the following set of fifteen poems which he composed for a screen subsequently painted for Princess Ichinomiya in 914. Though hardly inspiring as poetry, the poems are nevertheless instructive.

Poems composed for the screen of Princess Ichinomiya on the twenty-fifth day of the second month of Engi 14 [914].

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1. atarashiki
toshi to wa iedo
shikasuga ni
waga mi furinuru
kyō ni zo arikeru. | Call it a <i>new year</i>
As they will,
For me this day marks
The inevitable arrival
Of old age. | tōki sakura no
miyuru narikeri. | Of <i>cherry blossoms</i>
Viewed from afar. |
| 2. yama mireba
yuki zo mada furu
harugasumi
itsu to sadamete
tachiwataruran. | I see
The <i>snow</i> is falling again
Upon the <i>hills</i> ,
When will the <i>spring mists</i>
Decide the time has come to form? | 5. ika ni shite
kazu o shiramashi
ochitagitsu
taki no mio yori
nukeru shiratama. | How can we
Know the number
Of white beads leaping
Out of the rapids
Spawned by the thundering <i>waterfall</i> . |
| 3. yama kaze no
ka o tazunete ya
ume no hana
nioeru sato ni
ieisomeken. | The <i>mountain breezes</i>
Carry a hint of fragrance,
Have the <i>plum blossoms</i>
Begun their residency
In the village made radiant by their
hues? | 6. koko ni shite
kyō wa kurasan
haru no hi no
nagaki kokoro o
omou kagiri wa. | I shall stay here
The whole day through.
As long as
My heart is filled with sadness
This <i>spring day</i> . |
| 4. yama no kai
tanabikiwataru
shirakumo wa | The <i>white clouds</i>
Trailing across the <i>valley</i>
Give one the impression | 7. tsuki o sae
akazu to omoite
nenu mono o
hototogisu sae
nakiwataru kana. | I had intended only
To stay awake
Until the <i>moon</i> arose,
But even the <i>hototogisu</i>
Keeps singing on and on. |
| | | 8. fukami naru
makomo erisake
ayamegusa
sode sae hijite
kyō ya hikuran. | Will even their sleeves perchance
Get soaked today
As they pull up the <i>sweet-flags</i>
Out of the deep pools,
Taking care to leave the <i>water-oats</i> ? |
| | | 9. Suminoe no
asa mitsu shio ni
misogi shite
koi wasuregusa
tsumite kaeran. | After performing the <i>ablutions</i>
In the <i>morning tides</i>
At <i>Suminoe</i> , I shall pick
“Love-forgetting grass,” and
return. |
| | | 10. kaze no ne no
aki ni mo narinu
hisakata no
amatsusora ni zo
kawaruberanare. | The sound of the wind
Signals the arrival of <i>autumn</i> ,
And the very <i>heavens</i>
Seem to be
In the midst of change. |
| | | 11. kari ni tote
ware wa kitsuredo
ominaeshi
miru ni kokoro no
omoitsukinuru. | I came
To clear it away,
But when I
Laid eye on the <i>maiden flower</i> ,
I fell hopelessly in love. |
| | | 12. tsune yori mo
terimasaru kana
yama no ha no
momiji o wakete
izuru tsukikage. | Brighter than usual
Is the <i>moonlight</i>
Streaming through the
<i>Autumn leaves</i>
Along the mountain ridge. |
| | | 13. koe o nomi
yoso ni kikitsutsu
waga yado no
hagi ni wa shika no
utoku mo aru kana. | I hear their <i>cries</i>
Only in the distance,
The <i>bush clover</i> in my <i>garden</i> ,
Must be out of favor
With the <i>deer</i> . |
| | | 14. saku kagiri
chirade hatenuru
kiku no hana
mubeshimo chiyo no
yowai noburan. | The <i>chrysanthemum</i>
Is a <i>flower</i> that
Never falls while it blooms—
It is likely indeed
To live for a thousand generations. |
| | | 15. fukukaze ni
chirinu to omou o
momijiba no
nagaruru taki no
tomo ni otsuran. | The <i>autumn leaves</i>
Now scattering, I presume,
In the <i>wind</i> ,
Must be cascading to the ground
In concert with the <i>waterfall</i> . ¹⁷ |

The fifteen poems contain more than thirty specific images (italicized in the translation). While

TABLE 1. Comparative List of Tsurayuki's Motifs

<i>Tsurayuki's Poems from a Screen</i>			<i>Tsurayuki's Poems for a Screen</i>	
Months	Scenes/Motifs	Seasons	Themes	Poems
1st	NEW YEAR'S SAKE DRINKING	spring	THE NEW YEAR	1
2nd	plum blossoms; FARMERS TILLING FIELDS	spring	hills, snow, spring mists	2
3rd	VISIT TO MOUNTAIN TEMPLE; falling cherry blossoms	spring	mountain breeze, plum blossoms, village	3
4th	FESTIVAL AT OMIWA SHRINE; <i>unohana</i> on a hedge of a house	summer	valley, white clouds, cherry blossoms	4
5th	TRAVELER AT THE FOOT OF A MOUNTAIN, LISTENING TO <i>HOTOTOGISU</i> , RICE-PLANTING IN THE RAIN	summer	waterfall	5
			spring day	6
			moon, <i>hototogisu</i>	7
6th	ENJOYING THE COOL OF THE EVENING, FISHING WITH CORMORANT IN RIVER	summer	sweet-flags, water-oats	8
7th	<i>TANABATA</i> FESTIVAL; sheds guarding rice field, maturing rice	autumn	Suminoe, morning tide, love-forgetting grass; RITUAL	9
			ABLUTIONS	10
8th	PICKING BUSH CLOVER	autumn	autumn, sound of wind, sky	
			maiden flower	11
9th	mist clinging to hills, boat moored at river crossing, chrysanthemums	autumn	mountain ridge, autumn leaves, moonlight	12
10th	cut reed stalks	winter	cries of deer, garden, bush clover	13
11th	(omitted)		chrysanthemums	14
12th	VIEWING BUDDING PLUM BLOSSOMS	winter	wind, autumn leaves, waterfall	15

[human events are in capital letters]

four of the poems (1, 2, 6, 10) refer directly to a particular time of year, the rest have no explicit seasonal indicators. However, motifs from the screen poems we have already discussed help us to identify the seasons of the other poems. Poems 1 through 6 are explicitly spring poems. The *hototogisu* of poem 7 indicates summer, and the ablutions (*misogi*) of poem 9 are associated with the sixth month, thus establishing a summer sequence from poems 7 through 9. Poems 10 through 15 concern autumn and contain such pertinent seasonal motifs as autumn leaves, deer, and chrysanthemums. Curiously, Tsurayuki omits any allusion to winter.

The screen poems of both kinds, those composed from and those composed for screens, show us that the Heian poets thought that a screen painting's primary concern was the representation of seasons in their changing aspects. However, Tsurayuki's themes in the set of poems based on the screen he had seen contrast sharply with the unity of themes he had in mind when he wrote verses for a screen to be painted. Within the latter fifteen poems, the motifs

are predominantly those of plants, birds, landscape scenes, or natural phenomena, with two exceptions involving human activities—the New Year's celebration and the ritual ablutions of the sixth month. In other words, his typological selection of motifs and themes indicates that there existed at least two schemata with which to develop a pictorial representation of nature in its changing aspects. These two distinctly different types of schemata are dramatically illustrated in table 1, a comparative list of motifs found in the two sets of poems already mentioned.

Table 1 shows that Tsurayuki's second set of poems relies on natural motifs, rather than on calendrical events, to indicate seasonal progression. On the other hand, his first set of poems utilizes the monthly occupations to indicate temporal progression.

The typical nature motifs in the season poems of Tsurayuki and others are prophetic of the pictorial representation of these motifs, in one format or another, among the surviving works of the Heian

period. This family of nature motifs is found in abundance in painting as well as in the decorative arts. Plum blossoms, willows, spring mists, and hills of the spring season; deer, bush clover, reeds, plume grass, autumn leaves, and water fowl: all were depicted, either singly or in combination with other motifs of the same season.

The plant motifs (particularly those of spring and autumn) represented in the pages of the *Thirty-six Poets' Anthology* in the Nishi Hongan-ji collection are some of the finest pictorial forms dating from the first decade of the twelfth century. Although diminutive and conventionalized, in their general types and appearances they are precursors of the nature motifs in the thirteenth-century Jingo-ji screen. The Heian motifs on the pages of this anthology probably owe their survival to the more durable arts of poetry and calligraphy for which these poem sheets were made. Although on these pages not all the pictorial motifs and poems written over them correspond to each other, the motifs either drawn or printed on the decorative sheets generate a mood particularly suited to the poems inscribed on them in excellent calligraphy. These Heian poems, in fact, are fraught with seasonal overtones evoked by the specific nature motifs of the various seasons—all of which ultimately find their themes in the *Kokinshū* (KKS), a systematic anthology of Japanese poetry compiled by Tsurayuki and others in 905. Since the *Kokinshū* was a canonical anthology throughout the Heian period, and since the poems included in it exerted enormous influence upon later anthologies and criticism, it is necessary for us to look at the thematic groupings of the season poems in this anthology.

Season Poems in Poetic Anthologies

Grouping poetry according to theme indicates a critical instinct at work. This practice is employed in the *Kokinshū*, which uses the seasons as one of its categories for classification. We may assume that grouping poems according to subject matter had a precedent. The *Kokinshū* was modeled after one of the Chinese anthologies of poetry, such as the *Six Books of Po Chü-i*, emulated and studied in the Heian period.¹⁸ The poetry categories in the *Kokinshū*, however, deviate sharply from those in Chinese anthologies. Po Chü-i's anthology, for example, groups poetry according to a cosmological structure based ultimately on the concept of Heaven and Earth, a fact which implies an overwhelming philosophical hierarchy. Without an implicit hierarchy, the *Kokinshū* starts quite simply with the

poems of the four seasons and the imagery of familiar plants and birds.

The seasonal identification of poems in the *Kokinshū* is located in the poems themselves or in the headnotes to the poems or in both. This is done in two basic ways: one is by making a direct reference to a season, the other by employing a seasonal motif. Let us consider both types.

First, a poem by Ōshikōchi no Mitsune, a contemporary of Tsurayuki, with the headnote:

KKS 41: Composed upon seeing plum blossoms on a spring night.

haru no yo no	How foolish of the darkness
yami wa ayanashi	On the spring night!
ume no hana	Though it hides the blossoms
iro koso miene	Of the flowering plum,
ka ya wa kakururu.	Can it conceal their scent? ¹⁹

Here the season indicator is the phrase "spring night," and the flowering plum is a plant motif with the attribute of spring. This is one of twenty instances in which the plum blossom motif occurs in the first group of sixty-eight spring poems. Some poems refer to the plum simply as *hana* ("blossoms") without identifying the species, although their identity is easily recognized because they are linked with another spring motif associated with the plum: the bushwarbler. Nine bushwarbler motifs are employed in the group of spring poems and eight of them are specifically linked to the plum. So the plum, like the bushwarbler, is a conventional motif of spring, and the word *blossom* in conjunction with the bushwarbler must be plum and nothing else. Similarly, when branches (*eda*) are mentioned along with the bushwarbler, the reference is always to the plum tree and not to any other.

Here are two more poems, this time without headnotes:

KKS 18

miyama ni wa	In our fair hills the snows
matsu no yuki dani	Have yet to melt
kienakuni	Beneath the pines
miyako wa nobe no	Yet capital folk are picking
wakana tsumikeri	Field greens' tender shoots.

KKS 19

Kasugano no	Watchman at Tobuhi field,
Tobuhi no nomori	On the plain of Kasuga
idete miyo	Go out and look, that we may know,
ima iku arite	How many days must pass
wakana tsumiten	Before we pick the tender shoots.

Poems 18 and 19 include no direct reference to season, but picking shoots, an event which takes place in the spring and which is drawn from the monthly activities of the year (*nenjyūgyōji*), serves as the seasonal motif.

Autumn poems of the *Kokinshū* can be examined in the same way:

KSS 238: Taira no Sadafumi. During the Kamyō period officers from the Chamberlain's office went out to Sagano to view the flowers. The poem was among those composed as the party was about to return home.

hana ni akade	Why must we return
nani kaeruran	Before we have had our fill
ominaeshi	Of the flowers?
ōkaru no be ni	Would that we could sleep right here
nenamashi mono o.	On the plain where the maiden flowers grow in profusion.

KSS 221: Anonymous poem.

nakiwataru	Are these the tears
kari no namida ya	Shed by the crying geese
ochitsuran	That passed overhead—
mono omou yado no	These dewdrops of one sunk deep
hagi no ue no tsuyu.	In melancholy thought?

Maiden flower, the plant in poem 238, is a recurrent motif in the autumn poems of the *Kokinshū*; it appears in poems 226 through 238 and nowhere else. Likewise, geese appear only in the autumn poems numbered from 192 to 221. Just as in spring poems the plum inevitably appears prior to the cherry blossoms, following the blossoming order of nature, so, too, in autumn poems do certain motifs appear in fixed sequence. In both the spring and autumn poems, motifs frequently appear in groups: young shoots (17–22), plums (32–48), and cherries (50–60) are popular in spring, while insects (196–294), geese (205–13), and deer (214–17) appear in autumn poems. The deer may appear in combination with bush clover, which then becomes the predominant motif of the next sequence (218–24). Bush clover is one example of the common practice of a secondary motif in one sequence becoming the primary motif in the next, performing a relay, as it were, in the total sequence.

The preoccupation with seasonal themes in the *Kokinshū* influenced the screen poems which we have already discussed as well as those of later anthologies. The themes began to expand to include calendrical events as well as natural motifs. We see this clearly in the *Horikawa-in hyakushu waka* [One hundred poems presented to Emperor Horikawa] of the early twelfth century, where seasons are more fully defined by different types of motifs. Autumn, for example, consists of the following series of motifs: first day of autumn, *tanabata*, bush clover, maiden flower, plume grass, reed stalks, orchids, short reeds (*ogi*), geese, deer, dew, fog, *mukuge* plant, receiving tributary horses (*koma mukae*), moon, fulling silk cloth, insects, chrysanthemums, autumn leaves, end of the ninth month. And, in the winter poems: showers (*shigure*), frost, sleet, snow, withered reeds (*kanro*), plovers (*chidori*), ice, water

fowl, fish weir (*ajiro*), *kagura*, falcon hunt, charcoal kiln (*sumigama*), fire in the brazier (*roka/irori bi*), last night of the year (*joya*).²⁰

From the screen poems, the *Kokinshū*, and *One Hundred Poems Presented to Emperor Horikawa*, we have discovered a temporal structure in poetry and painting in which themes followed seasonal attributes and associations. We have also seen that certain recurring motifs appear consistently as seasonal metaphors, for example, picking shoots, ritual ablution, maiden flowers, and bush clover. By means of such associations, we can now identify nearly all of the motifs and scenes of the Jingo-ji screen which we have already classified as scenes of rural folk and natural motifs:

Women bathing in a stream represents the ritual ablutions (*misogi*) of summer.

A man cutting reed stalks indicates autumn.

Village women picking plants in a field represents picking young shoots in spring.

A rice field with a peasant setting a bird trap illustrates late summer or autumn, when rice matures.

Men setting fish weirs (*ajiro*) indicates winter.

Deer among grass (normally bush clover) represents autumn.

Bulls in a meadow represent autumn because of the plume grass.

Maiden flowers represent autumn.

Water fowl and reeds represent winter.

Although we can now identify the Jingo-ji screen scenes and motifs with their respective seasons, we must recognize that there is no absolute parallel with screen poems. In the Jingo-ji screen, scenes associated with different seasons often appear together: for example, the autumnal deer among bush clover appear with the ritual ablutions of summer in panel I, and the spring scene of picking young shoots appears with the scene of bulls among the plume grass in panel IV. In other words, the basic temporal integrity is violated in the Jingo-ji screen. What we are seeing is a pastiche of various scenes placed in a continuous space without regard for season. Once again, the source for this pastiche lies in literature, this time in late Heian poetry, which, of course, affected painting, as we shall see.

The Expansion of Sequences

The screen poems represent in a synoptic literary format a formula for articulating concepts of time involving the seasons and the twelve months. In this formula, the progressive sequence begins with spring or the first month and continues through

winter or the twelfth month; since spring follows winter, the sequence ends where it began. This sequence is cyclical and cannot be changed; therefore, the sequence involves intervals which are measurable by the four seasons or twelve months. Variations of themes within this temporal structure, however, are unmeasurable, because any motif with appropriate seasonal associations can appear in the intervals. While the seasonal poems of the *Kokinshū* contain a relatively uniform type of motif, those found in the *Kokin waka rokujō*, another anthology of slightly later date, employ a different series of motifs as interval fillers.²¹ Specific days and human events predominate, with only an occasional natural image. The typology of themes here is very similar to Tsurayuki's first set of screen poems about calendrical events. Thus, the individual motifs used as interval fillers seem to vary and to form an open series within the closed temporal structure.

The structure of poems of the twelve months of the year and of the four seasons, then, is closed in terms of the framework, but it is open in terms of what goes into the framework. This opens, at least theoretically, infinite possibilities for poets to write any number of, say, spring poems, as long as their themes have seasonal associations. This allows an unlimited fragmentation of seasonal themes or motifs as fillers in the temporal sequence. The motifs may fill the intervals in a relatively uniform fashion, as is suggested by Tsurayuki's second set of screen poems, or they may be combined with other motifs. This fragmentation of themes encouraged the use of an ever-increasing number of motifs, which the poets then cataloged into elaborate lists. Such lists are found in the well-known poetry manual, *Utamakura*, sometimes ascribed to the poet-monk Nōin, who was active in the early years of the eleventh century.²²

Nōin's *Utamakura* is a manual or reference book for poets. Among items found in this work are three lists of poetic themes: motifs of the four seasons; lists of place names; and themes of the twelve months. What should concern us for the moment are the first and third items. The list of themes of the four seasons in the *Utamakura* reads as follows:

For spring [the following themes should be considered], mist spreading, light green, Princess Saoyama [goddess of spring], plum blossoms, cherry blossoms, the bushwarbler.

For summer, rain of the fifth month, gossamer, white dew, rising layers of clouds, *unohana* flowers, the *hototogisu*.

For autumn, fog, evening cicada, the first arrival of geese, autumn showers, autumn leaves, the cries of deer.

For winter, white dew, frost, *gosechi* [ceremonial dance at the imperial palace held in the eleventh month], *kagura*.²³

Some of the motifs in the list above are traceable to

the *Kokinshū*, but the variety of motifs is greater. These motifs include a color, a deity, and a pillow-word or conventional attribute for a place name (rising layers of clouds for Izumo). This list illustrates how the motifs as fillers of the seasons are assembled. Some are lifted out of poems themselves without having explicit seasonal associations.

Another list in the *Utamakura* is that of the twelve months. Again, two types of motifs fill out each month: event motifs and natural motifs. This latter type, however, now shows an expansion in kind with the appearance of new motifs. The list for the first month will be sufficient to illustrate the fragmentation of motifs, especially the increase in the number of botanical species:

First month: bushwarbler (*uguisu*), festival of the first rat day, the wooden hammer used for the New Year Festival (*uzuchi*), plum branches, mist, red plum blossoms, young *warabi* shoots, mountain sedge (*yamasuge*), young leaves (*aoba*), wild citrus flowers (*yamatachibana*), young shoots of the chrysanthemum family (*ohagi*), horse-tail (*tsukuzukushi*), seven grasses (*nanakusa*).²⁴

The themes of the twelve months in the *Utamakura* are now predominantly plants and insects, but they are of different kinds from those in the *Kokinshū*. Some of them appear to have been chosen specially for their sound effects, as is clear from a ninth-month motif, *tamamakuzu*, which is an abbreviation of *tama maku kuzu* ("coiling leaves of arrowroot plants").²⁵ This is also a phrase (modifier plus noun), rather than a single noun. The lists here consist of poetic vocabulary for writing. The number of syllables of some not-so-ordinary flowers, like *gumi no hana* ("silverberry flowers"), *mayumi no momiji* ("red leaves of the spindle tree"), both from the ninth month, and *tsukuzukushi* ("horse-tail") from the first month, are identical to the metric units of *waka*, which contain five- and seven-syllable lines.

The seasonal motifs in the above list show a different character from the *Kokinshū* motifs. In the first place, although individual motifs still retain traditional seasonal associations, their place on the list involves apparently prosodic considerations. This reveals a departure from the use of motif as metaphor to the use of motif for aesthetic effect. With the change in the role of motifs from the symbolic to the formal, we can observe a tendency to alter the association of motifs. Individual motifs may have spatial associations, freeing themselves from temporal associations, or they may have both. The thematic structure becomes ever more complex, for the flexibility intrinsic to the motifs allows for "free associations." Sequence and themes are no longer limited to the four seasons. New categories are

developed around mountains, plants, animals, and birds.

In this regard, the category “Mountains,” which appears in the second book of the *Kokin waka rokujō*, is typical:

Mountains (*yama*): mountain(s), mountain birds (*yamadori*), monkeys, deer, tiger [as if indigenous to Yamato!], bear, flying squirrel (*musasabi*), mountain stream, mountain village, Yama (*no*)i [place name], echo (*yamabiko*), cliff (*iwao*), mountain ridge, valley, timbers, mountain peak, charcoal kiln (*sumigama*), barrier (*seki*), field, hill, forest, shrine, path, courier (*tsukai*), horse stable (*umaya*).²⁶

The list includes two kinds of motifs: those which include the word *yama* and those which require our intuitive capacity to relate seemingly unrelated or remote images. The motif of path and stable should evoke a mountain setting into which we ourselves must intuitively insert unlisted motifs such as travelers, horses, rest stations, etc.

The associations implied in this set of themes related to the topic “mountain” are an example of the essential feature of motifs which appear in an open series within structured temporal or spatial themes. Each motif, at the same time, once taken out of any structured framework, begins to form a family of associated motifs and creates a category of its own. Thus, the motif of “field” as it appears in the *Kokin waka rokujō* begins to form its own chain of associations.

Field (*no*): spring field, summer field, autumn field, winter field, miscellaneous field, hunt, deer hunt at night (*tomoshi*), eagles (*washi*), mature falcons, pheasants, doves, imperial outing in the field.²⁷

And so on. The motifs which represented temporal associations in the *Kokinshū* are now categories of themes with spatial associations. Individual motifs, therefore, are now linked spatially as well as temporally. While the overall temporal structure of the *Kokinshū* is retained, we encounter a remarkable paradox in that the significant temporal elements give way to the spatial, with their active concern for genre—e.g., hunt, imperial outing, etc. Out of this comes a concern for particular places as well.

The emergence of the new lists, which is the result of the overall fragmentation and expansion of motifs, reveals a concern for more lists. As would be expected, lists of specific place names appear in Nōin's *Utamakura*, which includes a systematic list of famous places classified by province. This list starts with eighty-six place names from the Yamashiro district and terminates with the remote island of Tsushima, thus including sixty provinces.²⁸ For each province we find a series of place names, all of

them taken from poems. The places may or may not have been known directly by the poet.

Such listings of place names inspired new screen poems, which in turn inspired another kind of painting called *meisho-e byōbu* (screens with paintings of famous places). Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu (921–98), for example, wrote verses for a screen to be used for a palace ceremony called Daijō-e, which followed the enthronement of Emperor Reizei (reigned 967–68). The subjects presented in verse for the screen numbered sixteen. They are all place names from Ōmi Province: Mt. Nagara, Matsugasaki, Mt. Ōkura, Yasu River, Ionoi River, Mt. Mikami, Mt. Kagami, Mt. Iwakura, Tamagake Marsh, the villages of Asahi and Yoshida, Izumi River, Nagasawa Lake, Mt. Mikami, and Mt. Ōkura (the latter two are repeated).²⁹ The screen for which Yoshinobu wrote verses was a Daijō-e *byōbu*, a type of screen produced throughout the Heian period by a remarkable coordination of activities involving the poet, calligrapher, and painter.³⁰ The whole process is graphically recorded in historical literature. The attitude behind the conventions and rules of poetry which we have seen in list after list converges in the production of the Daijō-e screen, in which the two artists, poet and painter, became accomplices perpetuating the curse of convention. More importantly, however, the Daijō-e screen is relevant to the ultimate question of the origins of the Jingo-ji screen.

Daijō-e Screens

Daijō-e was a grand ceremony held at the Chōdō-in hall of the Imperial Palace, at which the newly enthroned emperor, immediately following his coronation, made offerings of newly harvested crops to Amaterasu and other deities. Subsequent to the harvest ceremony occurred the *sechi-e*, a ceremonial gathering which used screens as decorative props.

A long period of preparation preceded Daijō-e. During this time, expert poets, calligraphers, and painters produced the screens, usually a pair. First, two lists were made, each naming famous places in various provinces. These lists were then sent to the Office of the Daijō-e Ceremony. Two poets chosen for the occasion wrote poetry based upon these lists, each writing two sets: one of genre poems (*fūzoku-uta*) and one of screen poems. The Bureau of Music received the former, the Bureau of Painting (*edokoro*), the latter. A skillful painter received the honor of illustrating the poems. In situations where there were no poems, the painter simply painted from the list of place names.³¹

For the Daijō-e of 1168, the screen depicted occupations of the months and scenes of famous

places. The screens included the following themes (for our convenience, Screens A and B):³²

Screen A

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| panel I | First and second months (spring).
1. Picking young pine shoots in a pine grove; courtiers and ladies picking young shoots in a field.
2. Field of plum trees; houses; plum blossoms in full bloom.
3. AOYAGI; willow branches like silk threads. |
| panel II | Third and fourth months (spring and summer).
1. SAKURAYAMA; people are viewing cherry blossoms.
2. TAMANOI; <i>yamabuki</i> flowers.
3. KAMEOKA; wisteria flowers. |
| panel III | Fifth and sixth months (summer).
1. Village of YASURA; farmers transplanting early rice plants.
2. Field of mulberry trees; sericulture.
3. TANAKAMI RIVER; summer ablution ceremony. |
| panel IV | Seventh and eighth months (autumn).
1. IRUNO/IRINO; travelers enjoying views.
2. Village of OI; rich autumn harvest.
3. Bridge at SETA; traffic of transport. |
| panel V | Ninth and tenth months (autumn and winter).
1. Village of MASUDA; villagers harvesting at sunset.
2. Mountain path of MT. SHIGA; steady traffic of travelers.
3. MT. OTAKI; red leaves floating in a stream. |
| panel VI | Eleventh and twelfth months (winter).
1. Village of OKU; hunting net; herd of deer.
2. Barrier at ŌSAKA; mountain trees under frost; barrier guards (<i>seki-mori</i>).
3. MT. YAESAKA; white snow falling; flock of cranes. |

Screen B

- | | |
|---------|--|
| panel I | First and second months (spring).
1. Field of young pine trees; people picking shoots on the first rat day of the first month.
2. Village of NAGAO; picking young shoots.
3. Rice field with water shed; planting of rice plants. |
|---------|--|

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| panel II | Third and fourth months (spring and summer).
1. SAKURAI; river crossing; cherry blossoms; people enjoying the view.
2. FUJITO; wisteria flowers; a skiff moored at shore.
3. Fair meadow; green grass growing; herd of horses. |
| panel III | Fifth and sixth months (summer).
1. Village of NAGARA; transplanting of rice.
2. Village of HIOKI; <i>nadeshiko</i> —flowers blooming like colorful silk brocade.
3. KAWABE RIVER; people performing ablution ceremony. |
| panel IV | Seventh and eighth months (autumn).
1. MATSUOKA; plume grass growth; wind caressing the grass.
2. MT. TAKAHATA; bush clover growth at its foot; herd of deer.
3. TSUKIDEGASAKI; moonlit night; anglers fishing. |
| panel V | Ninth and tenth months (autumn and winter).
1. Villagers transplanting chrysanthemums in a garden.
2. MT. AKISAKA; people viewing maple leaves.
3. Delta of rivers; beach plovers (<i>chidori</i>). |
| panel VI | Eleventh and twelfth months (winter).
1. Field of KASAHARA; falcon hunt.
2. Village of YOSHINO; houses under deep snow.
3. Ice over KAMESHIMA POND; on-lookers. |

These themes are of various types. Places are indicated by either specific (written in capital letters)³³ or general place names, while seasons are indicated by some familiar genre elements, e.g., picking young shoots. There are basically two structures: one spatial and the other temporal. This latter, in turn, is defined by a calendrical structure and a seasonal sequence.

Here we notice some important differences from the early Heian screen. First, in the Daijō-e screen, place names with seasonal attributes are used instead of calendrical events. Secondly, in the early Heian screens each panel depicted one season and one season alone, while in the Daijō-o screen of 1168, we find seasonal transitions in panels II and V. This lack of rigid seasonal boundaries reminds us of the panels of the Jingo-ji screen.

Given the close correspondence in types of images showing similar symbolic meanings, it can be surmised that the Jingo-ji screen must be a remote recension of a Daijō-e screen—a landscape pre-occupied with themes of seasons and places. The format alone (the *shikishi* forms painted on panels with seasonal and place images) should enable us to assume that the Daijō-e screens may have led to the Jingo-ji screen, although we must assume as well that there is a significant gap between the two. Be that as it may, we can see the Jingo-ji screen as the culmination of a long convention which began in the tenth century with Yamato-e style pictures of the four seasons (*shiki-e*) dealing with the themes of season and place, and which was supremely systematized in Daijō-e screens two centuries later.

Nature in Poetry and Painting

The creative arena for the production of a poem consisted of an extensive and diversified inventory of symbols for places and seasons, with numerous and varied poetic motifs connoting sites and times of the year. Since a given motif or combination of motifs defined the artistic situation in a poem, the poet was at the mercy of the conventional poetic associations of these motifs. Personal expression was limited to manipulation of motifs through techniques of prosody and diction in order to imbue the otherwise static images with emotion. The range of individual creativity available to the poet employing preestablished motifs is analogous to the amount of original expression available to the calligrapher using standard scripts to manifest personal style. An extraordinary set of circumstances surrounds the composition of a poem; the meaning of *nature* in a poem is largely derived not from nature, but from other poems; the artistic situation in a poem may be unrelated to the poet's immediate environment. Spring poems are not necessarily composed in spring. Autumn by the Tatsuta River, mentioned in a poem as though perceived by the poet, may actually be a season-and-place theme in the mind of a poet composing in the corridor between the Seriyōden and Kokiden buildings within the precincts of the imperial palace in the capital.

The artistic situation of the painter of famous places and the four seasons was similar to that of the poet. However, the screen paintings of places and seasons as pictorial expressions of poetic subject matter were even further removed from nature than were the poems. The theme of picking young shoots in spring, for example, might be depicted as the motif for the first panel of a screen. The painting had to convey the feeling of spring, the initial month of

the year, through a scene of figures plucking young shoots in a field, that is, through motifs of various colors and shapes positioned within the limited surface area of a panel and related to ancillary motifs on the same panel as well as to those on subsequent panels. The expression of time and space in such a painting was of a magnitude and quality radically different from time and space in a poem; the painter had both more and less freedom than the poet. The painter arranged prescribed motifs, each of which had seasonal and topographical connotations, within a graphic medium—the series of screen panels—which generated its own modes of association and integration. Observations of actual scenes of annual events may have affected pictorial representation of season and place motifs, but the world depicted in the painting—a progression of themes linked by aesthetic associations and by their place within the sequence of screen panels—was artificial.

The painter used given motifs charged with poetic meanings to create an imaginary world of nature as a spatial and temporal progression of interconnected places and seasons, just as the poet created a fictitious universe inhabited by an interlinked complex of symbols. Yamato painting and poetry were not simulations of directly observed nature; they were inventions of artistic situations using materials defined by an artistic tradition. Nature, no matter how lyrically described in words or gracefully depicted with paint and brush, remained behind a translucent screen which separated the artist from the actual environment.

The Jingo-ji screen, as has been demonstrated, creates complex layers of aesthetic attitudes. Its representation of motifs, so long repeated and relayed throughout the ages, differs from the attitude behind landscape painting of China or that of Europe in later periods, when individual artists began to confront nature itself as raw material for the act of landscape painting. Given the literary accounts of the process of painting, therefore, the Yamato landscape does not reveal the direct relationship between the artist and nature. After many centuries of applying a similar set of motifs, Japanese painting has been nourished by the mind which attempts to retrieve conventional themes and forms transmitted from the past rather than to seek and interpret new ones from the external world. The Japanese concept of nature as revealed in landscape painting is thus primarily determined by a set of conventions, which includes lists of particular motifs serving to *complete* the ideas of nature. The attitude we have formulated for historical Japan exists today; only the lists of motifs have changed.

Notes

1. This article is a shortened version of the paper read at "Workshop III: Time and Space in Japanese Aesthetics," sponsored by the Social Science Research Council-American Council of Learned Societies, held at Maui, Hawaii, 9-14 January 1977.
2. One famous example, *The Tale of Genji* scrolls, extant in parts in the Tokugawa Reimeikai and Gotō Museum collections.
3. Shirahata Yoshi, "Uta-e to ashide-e," *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 125 (July 1942), pp. 12-25.
4. Called "Senzui byōbu," deposited at Tokyo National Museum and published in *Nihon kokuhō zenshū*, Mom-bushō edition, 84 vols. (Tokyo, 1924), vol. 76, pls. 1502, 1503; *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 118 (October 1941), pls. I-III, IX, and nn. on pp. 35-36; *Kokka*, no. 256 (September 1921), pp. 65-69. The full-color reproduction is published in Takeda Tsuneo et al., eds., *Nihon byōbu-e shūsei*, 9 vols. (Tokyo, 1978), vol. 9, pls. 1-3. Each panel measures 110.8 cm. in height, 37.4 cm. in width. The present state of the screen requires proper reordering: from right to left (I-VI), the reconstruction should be panels I, V, III, IV, VI, II. The Roman numerals referred to for the panels in this study are the new reconstructed sequential numbers from right to left, that is to say, I-VI. I am grateful to Mr. Taniuchi Kangaku, the abbot of the Jingō-ji monastery, and Messrs. Takasaki Fujihiko and Nakamura Tanio, curators of paintings at the Tokyo National Museum, for allowing me to examine the screen in the museum storage in March 1978. This screen has been the subject of major studies of Yamato-e landscape by two Japanese scholars in recent years. See Murashige Yasushi, "Jingō-ji zō Senzui byōbu: Yamato-e sansuiga no tenkai," *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyō*, no. 9 (March 1974), pp. 217-98, and "Shiki-e byōbu no koten yōshiki to sono tenkai: Jingō-ji zō Senzui byōbu o chūshin to shite," in *Nihon byōbu-e shūsei*, ed. Takeda, 9:129-35. See also Chino Kaori, "Jingō-ji zō Senzui byōbu no kōsei to kaigashi teki ichi," *Bijutsushi*, no. 106 (February 1979), pp. 146-62.
5. Alexander C. Soper, "The Rise of Yamato-e," *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942): 351-79, gives the best historical account in English of the beginning of the Japanese style of early Heian painting departing from the Nara-T'ang style of the eighth and ninth centuries.
6. A song by Yamato Takeru no Mikoto in Mino (Honshū) in the *Kojiki*; but in *Nihon shoki* it is ascribed to Emperor Keikō in Kyūshū. See William G. Aston, trans., *Nihongi* (n.p., 1896; reprint ed., Rutland, Vt., 1973), pt. I, p. 197; and Donald L. Philippi, trans., *Kojiki* (Tokyo and Princeton, 1969), p. 248.
7. See, for example, *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu*, 30 vols. (Tokyo, 1977), vol. 8: *Emakimono*, pl. 7.
8. This screen composition is preceded by another screen, also six-fold, in the Kyōō gogoku-ji (Tō-ji) collection, deposited at Kyoto National Museum. The subject of the painting is generally accepted as the representation of a Chinese hermit-poet visited by court officials. The screen dates from the early twelfth century. See, for example, Mainichi Shimbunsha, *Kokuhō*, 6 vols. (Tokyo, 1963), vol. 3, pl. 5. I am grateful to Mr. Kanazawa Hiroshi of the Kyoto National Museum for allowing me to examine the screen in June 1978.
9. Kobayashi Taichirō, *Yamato-e shi ron* (Osaka, 1946), pp. 28-31.
10. Edward G. Seidensticker, trans., *The Tale of Genji* (New York, 1976), p. 1054.
11. Ienaga Saburō, *Jōdai Yamato-e zenshi* (Tokyo, 1966), hereafter, *Zenshi*, and its companion volume *Jōdai Yamato-e nempyō*, hereafter, *Nempyō*. Ienaga's study is the first systematic one of themes in screen poems (*byōbu-uta*). The *Nempyō* contains over two thousand literary references to Yamato paintings dating from the reign of Emperor Kōkō (reigned 884-86) to the early years of Emperor Gotoba's reign (reigned 1183-97). In this study, Ienaga lists the most frequently depicted seasonal motifs in Heian pictorial works, including screens and hanging scrolls. See esp. *Zenshi*, pp. 92-148; for pictures of famous places, see also pp. 154-247; and for the occupations of the months, see pp. 267-301.
12. *Ki no Tsurayuki shū*, in *Zoku kokka taikan*, ed. Matsushita Daisaburō (Tokyo, 1926), *kashū*, pp. 461-79.
13. *Kanemori shū*, in *ibid.*, pp. 458-59; Ienaga, *Nempyō*, entry nos. 1160-76, pp. 102-3; Ienaga, *Zenshi*, p. 88.
14. A similar set of screen poems by Minamoto Shitagō (911-83) records a screen of twelve panels which belonged in the imperial palace. *Minamoto Shitagō shū*, in *Zoku kokka taikan*, ed. Matsushita, pp. 520-21; Ienaga, *Nempyō*, entry nos. 1272-82, p. 113; Ienaga, *Zenshi*, p. 88.
15. *Ki no Tsurayuki shū*, in *Zoku kokka taikan*, ed. Matsushita, pp. 463-64; Ienaga, *Nempyō*, entry nos. 126-47, pp. 29-31; Ienaga, *Zenshi*, p. 88.
16. Properly *nenjyūgyōji*, "Annual Events at Court." See the succinct account of these annual events as themes in painting in Fukuyama Toshio et al., "On nenjyūgyōji," in *Nenjyūgyōji emaki*, *Nihon emakimono zenshū* vol. 24 (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 3-38; the subject matter depicted on the panels of the imperial palace during the Heian period is found in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 34 vols. (Tokyo, 1932), vol. 10: *Nenjyūgyōji goshōjimon*, A, pp. 142-52.
17. *Ki no Tsurayuki shū*, in (*Shinkō*) *Gunsho ruijū*, 24 vols. (Tokyo, 1928), 11:347; and Ienaga, *Nempyō*, entry nos. 231-45, pp. 36-37. For the English translations of these poems, I relied on the help of Mr. Richard Okada, a graduate student in the Oriental Languages Department, University of California, Berkeley.
18. Known as *Hakushi rokujō* (*Po-shih liu t'ieh*, 30 *chūan*), the poetic anthology of Po Chū-i (772-846), in the Seikadō Library. The subject categories of this anthology in relation to *Kokin waka rokujō* (see below, n. 21) are discussed in Hirai Takurō, *Kokin waka rokujō no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1964), chap. 1, section 2, pp. 4-10. Po Chū-i's anthology groups poems according to a cosmological structure based on the concept of Heaven and Earth at the head of subject categories, followed by themes of natural phenomena, human activities, and animal-plant worlds. It gives a hierarchy and the *yin-yang* concept of subjects: Heaven-Earth, Sun-Moon, Constellations of Stars, Weather, Four Seasons and Calendar, all in the first *chūan*. The second *chūan* includes Mountains, Water, Rivers, Marshes, Hills, Valleys, Caves, Streams, Oceans, Springs, Ponds, and so on. Plants, Trees, and Fruits are in the third *chūan*. The *Kokinshū* begins with the themes of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, followed by felicitation, parting, travel, names of things, love laments, and miscellaneous.

19. This poem, as well as *Kokinshū* 18 and 19 which follow, was translated by Prof. Helen McCullough of the University of California at Berkeley. These translations have not been published and I am grateful to Prof. McCullough for allowing me to use them for my study. For other translations of the *Kokinshū* poems 221 and 238, I have relied on the help of Mr. Richard Okada.
20. Oe Masafusa (1041–1111) et al., *Horikawa-in ontoki hyakushū waka*, in (*Shinkō*) *Gunsho ruijū*, 8:65–107. The one hundred poems included in this anthology are grouped in four major divisions: spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Each season, in turn, has subdivisions. Spring has twenty themes, summer fifteen, autumn twenty, and winter fifteen.
21. *Kokin waka rokujō*, in *Zoku kokka taikan*, ed. Matsushita, pp. 924–1030. The authorship of *Kokin waka rokujō* has yet to be determined. The mother, wife, and daughter of Tsurayuki have all been suggested as possible authors. *Kishi rokujō* [Six books of the Ki family] is another name for the work. The model for this anthology is *Hakushi rokujō* (see above, n. 18), although the themes for grouping poems differ from each other considerably. See Hirai, *Kokin waka rokujō no kenkyū*, chap. 1, section 2, pp. 4–10.
22. Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed., *Nihon kagaku taikei*, 6 vols. (Tokyo, 1956), 1:69–107.
23. *Ibid.*, 1:80.
24. *Ibid.*, 1:102.
25. *Ibid.*, 1:103.
26. *Kokin waka rokujō*, in *Zoku kokka taikan*, ed. Matsushita, pp. 924–1030, esp. pp. 945–50.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 951–53.
28. Sasaki, *Nihon kagaku taikei*, 1:91–101.
29. *Anthology of Yoshinobu*, pt. 1, in *Sanjūrokunin ie no shū*, Nishi Hongan-ji Collection. I have used the colotype facsimile version published by *Sanjūrokunin ie no shū kankōkai* (1934), available in the East Asiatic Library, University of California, Berkeley.
30. Akiyama Terukazu, “Daijō-e yūki-suki byōbu,” in his *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1964), pp. 67–91.
31. A detailed account of Daijō-e byōbu-uta is found in vol. 1 of *Fukuro zōshi*, by Fujiwara Kiyosuke (comp. ca. 1155–57). Reprinted in *Nihon kagaku taikei*, ed. Sasaki, under the heading *Daijō-e uta shidai*, 2:11–13. Akiyama quotes the *Fukuro zōshi* in “Daijō-e yūki-suki byōbu,” p. 70.
32. Akiyama, “Daijō-e yūki-suki byōbu,” pp. 72–75.
33. The place names are consistent with Nōin's list mentioned in n. 26 and those in the voluminous collection of place names taken from poems known as *Utamakura nayose* (1659), now reprinted as *Utamakura nayose*, 6 vols., *Koten bunko* series (Tokyo, 1974), which includes 7,635 poems grouped according to place names.

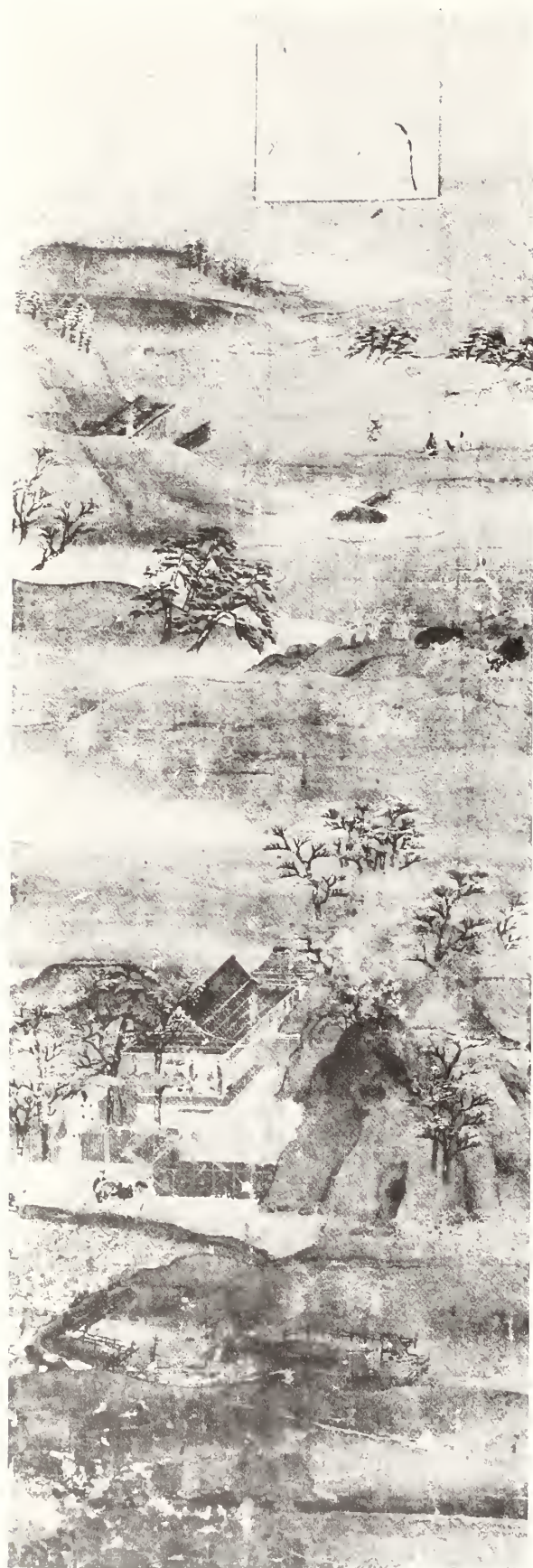


VI

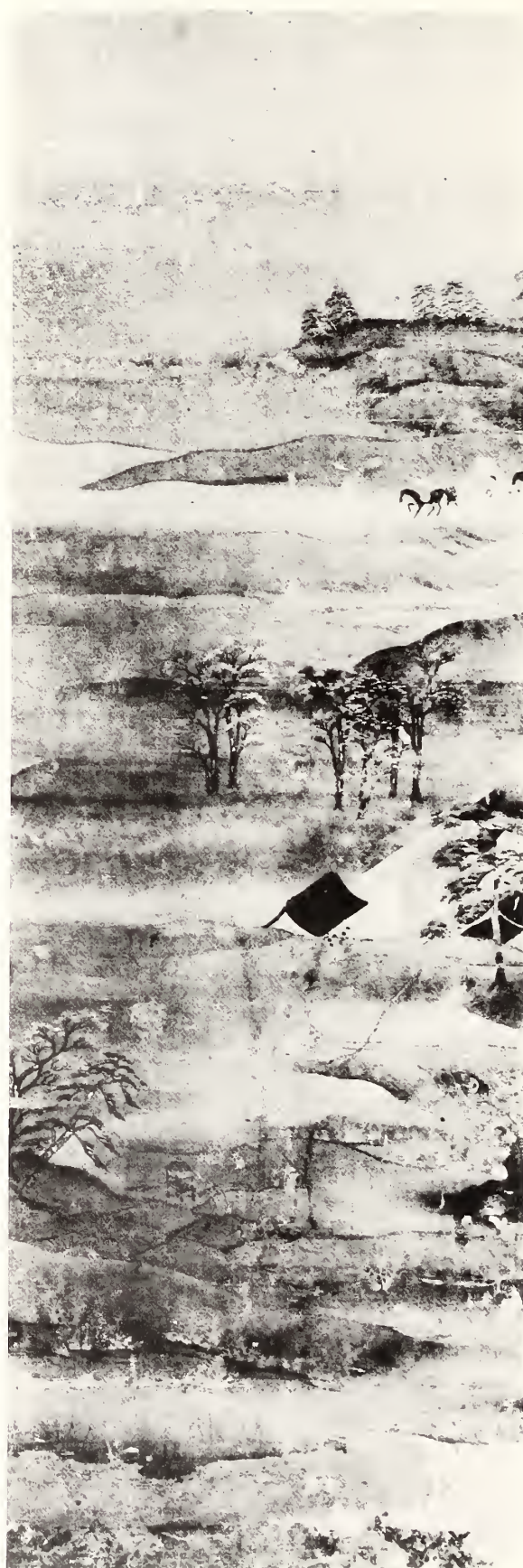


V

FIG. 1. Jingo-ji Screen. Panels VI and V. Senzui byōbu; ink and colors on silk. Early thirteenth century. Tokyo National Museum.



IV



III

FIG. 2. Jingo-ji Screen. Panels IV and III. Senzui byōbu; ink and colors on silk. Early thirteenth century. Tokyo National Museum.



II



I

FIG. 3. Jingo-ji Screen. Panels II and I. Senzui byōbu; ink and colors on silk. Early thirteenth century. Tokyo National Museum.

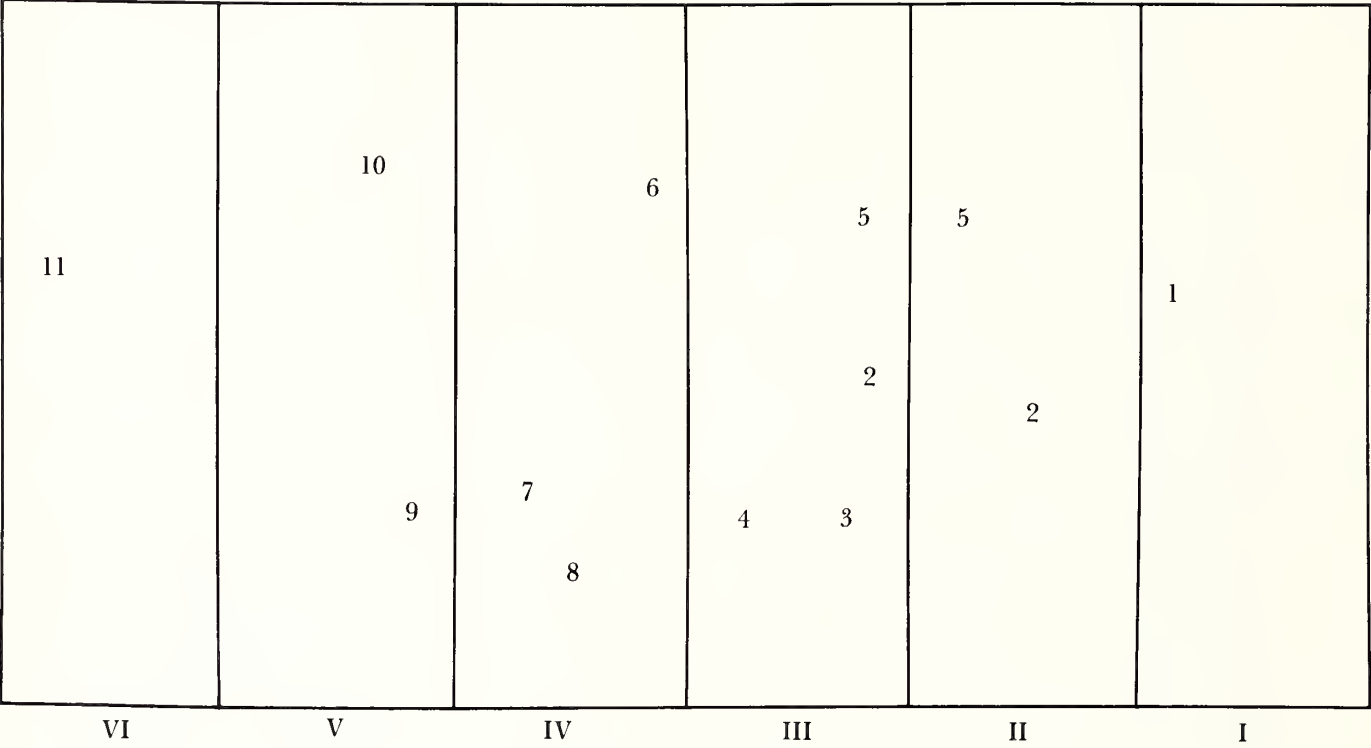


FIG. 4. Jingo-ji Screen. Distribution of Scenes.

THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE OF A MEDIEVAL IRANIAN BEAKER

BY MARIANNA SHREVE SIMPSON

CONSIDERING THAT MEDIEVAL IRANIAN CULTURE possessed both an impressive tradition of narrative literature and a varied corpus of representational imagery, the infrequent occurrence of narrative themes within the decorative repertoire of eleventh-through thirteenth-century objects is particularly striking. In fact, only the decoration of the famous *mina'i* beaker in the Freer Gallery of Art (28.2) can qualify as a representational program in which both literary and visual arts are combined in a genuine story-telling sequence (fig. 1). The Freer beaker thus offers a rare case study in the visual narrative of late twelfth-early thirteenth-century Iran, specifically as the genre was treated outside the narrative-rich context of the illustrated Islamic manuscript.¹

The uniqueness of this object, with its series of small enamel-painted scenes, has been widely recognized ever since M. M. Diakonov first identified the iconography as the love story of the Iranian hero Bizhan and the Turanian princess Manizha.² Diakonov's explanation for the development of the adventure and for the subjects of certain scenes was subsequently revised by Grace D. Guest.³ Her modifications did not, however, lead Guest to reevaluate Diakonov's conclusion that the visual narrative was taken directly from the Bizhan and Manizha chapter in the *Shahnama* of Firdausi. Indeed, this opinion regarding the beaker's iconographic source has prevailed throughout a succession of scholarly publications on medieval Iranian ceramics and Islamic art and imagery.⁴

In its overall scheme, the Freer beaker does correspond to the Iranian national epic, albeit as a selective representation of the *Shahnama*'s thirteen-hundred-verse Bizhan and Manizha cycle. Nevertheless, the accepted view that the cup's creator turned to Firdausi's text for inspiration should be reconsidered.⁵ In the first place, the *Shahnama* rendition of the tale was not an original literary product. Firdausi himself asserts this fact at the very beginning of his Bizhan and Manizha section, where he describes the tale as "ancient" and says that he first learned it from a book written in Pahlavi.⁶ Then, at the end, he states, "I have now told this adventure in its entirety, as I heard it recited according to the ancient tradition."⁷ Thus, it would seem that the Bizhan and Manizha story had been popularized in written, and undoubtedly in oral, form well before Firdausi's time. Moreover, considering the number of individual *chansons de geste*

that were composed in medieval Iran,⁸ it is very likely that one or more Persian *Bizhannamas*, besides the Pahlavi one, also circulated at the time the Freer beaker received its *mina'i* decoration. While the literary documentation for such a separate medieval *chanson* about the two lovers is admittedly slim,⁹ there is a version of the tale preserved today in the Gurani dialect of Kurdistan.¹⁰ According to its editor, this text was probably first transcribed in the seventeenth century from one of the existing oral traditions of Bizhan and Manizha.¹¹ Although its literary origins cannot yet be properly traced, this Kurdish work does contain passages which are lacking in the *Shahnama* and does, therefore, support the notion of coexisting variants of the Bizhan and Manizha story. At the same time, it casts doubt on the automatic assumption that Firdausi's *Shahnama* must have been the iconographic catalyst for the beaker's decor.

However, the most telling evidence is the vessel itself, for, as Diakonov's and Guest's varying analyses have already revealed, its individual scenes and individual characters can neither be uniformly, nor always easily, correlated with Firdausi's text. Not even a newly discovered *Shahnama* manuscript of 614/1217,¹² which is a close contemporary of the beaker, provides the key to understanding certain ambiguous features of the enamel-painted decoration. Lacking such definite literary clues as the Homeric verses that are inscribed on the typologically related Megarian bowls,¹³ the Freer beaker continues to defy connection with any specific medieval text, including the *Shahnama* of Firdausi. We can only presume that some written and/or oral version of the Bizhan and Manizha tale similar to the national epic cycle must have served as a point of departure for those who conceived and executed this unusual *mina'i* object.

The exact literary source of the Freer beaker remains the most elusive aspect of the cup's history, but it is by no means the only problem. Equally challenging, and at the same time far less frustrating since we have the complete visual documentation immediately available, is the question of how the plot and *dramatis personae* of the Bizhan and Manizha story are conveyed on the beaker's surface. Or, to recast the issue in terms of process rather than product, can we determine how someone who obviously knew the basic progression of the literary theme devised an illustrative scheme from and/or for

it without incorporating any text into the decor?

In order to deal with the question of artistic method, we first need a description of the beaker's decoration, both as a thematically unified program and as a set of separate representational units and motifs. Such an examination should then lead us to an explanation, or a series of explanations, for the structure of this unique narrative form.

The Freer beaker's exterior surface measures 7.7 cm. from the blue band just above the foot to the set of blue and white bands beneath the rim (fig. 2).¹⁴ This area is divided into three essentially coequal zones, or registers (2.5–2.7 cm. high), by thin brown and brownish-black lines. Each zone contains four panels and each corresponds to a distinct narrative phase, with the first and last units of all three registers lined up in the same vertical row. Thus, the Bizhan and Manizha story, as it is presently plotted, unfolds from top to bottom and right to left in a continuous spiral as the cup is turned counterclockwise.¹⁵

Top Register: Beginning and Conflict

Panel 1 (fig. 3). Bizhan's Mission (8.1–7.8 cm. wide).¹⁶

Bizhan drinks with Kai Khusrau after volunteering to hunt the wild boars that have terrorized a neighboring territory. Bizhan's horse and his guide Gorgin are in attendance.

Kai Khusrau sits cross-legged at right on a high-backed throne which has two pairs of finials above a green back and two pairs of legs below. There is a red cushion underneath the king and a bit of green striped cloth visible below. Kai Khusrau is bearded and wears a blue robe with white tiraz bands and a white cap. His head is encircled in white. The king faces Bizhan on his right and raises his right hand. Bizhan, dark-haired and beardless, wears a green robe with white tiraz bands and a blue turban with one loose end. The bottom edge of his garment, where it folds over the ankles, was originally blue. The hero sits, or rather floats, above the floor at a slight angle, with his bare feet and legs drawn up. He lifts a black triangular-shaped drinking vessel in his left hand and holds a white rounded form in the other. In back of Bizhan there is an ill-defined formation in green and blue from which projects a blue leaflike form. A blue horse stands to the left of this area with one leg lifted. The animal is fully bridled and caparisoned with a red saddle blanket, green saddle, and green chin tassel. Its tail is bound up. Behind the horse are two crossed standards with long thin banners in blue and green. Gorgin stands

in back of the horse and gestures outwards with his left hand. He wears a short red coat with tiraz bands. This garment opens at the front to expose the chest and a pair of off-white trousers. Gorgin's legs are wrapped in red crisscross leggings, and his head is protected by a brown cap.

Panel 2 (fig. 4). Boar Hunt (9–8.6 cm. wide).

Bizhan and Gorgin ride to the hunt (right); Bizhan attacks a wild boar while Gorgin, who has refused to participate, looks on (left).

(Right) Bizhan is in front, wearing a blue robe with tiraz bands and tall black boots and with his hair in long locks. He rides a red horse with a beige muzzle, green saddle, white saddle blanket, and a bound-up tail. Bizhan carries a blue falcon on his outstretched left arm and his right hand is raised up over the horse's neck. Gorgin follows behind on a beige horse equipped with a red saddle blanket and a blue saddle. He is dressed in a green robe with tiraz bands. Gorgin holds his arms and hands in the same position as Bizhan, but instead of a falcon, he holds a whip in his left hand, which he is swishing at the horse's upraised bound tail. Beneath the horse's hooves are small blue and green leaflike forms.

(Left) At the far left Bizhan leans forward and slashes a red sword at a purplish brown boar on the ground below. Bizhan wears a short green robe and tall red boots. His black hair is worn pageboy style and is adorned with a long scarf. His mount is blue, with a beige muzzle, red saddle blanket, and pink saddle. Gorgin looks out to his right from behind a small rock pile of blue, brown, and grayish boulders. He wears a purplish brown robe, pageboy-style hair, and a flat cap. Judging from the level of his head, it would seem that he is mounted, although his horse is not represented.

This scene is bracketed by a pair of arch-frames: the right-hand one is green, the left one is uncolored.

Panel 3 (fig. 5). Prelude to Love (4.9–4.7 cm. wide).

Manizha and her nurse in a pavilion (uncertain identification, right); Bizhan rests beneath a cypress tree and Manizha's nurse brings him a message from the princess (left).

(Right) Two figures sit in a green pavilion topped with a blue banner. The tent has a gray background which may originally have been blue. The figure on the right wears a red robe with white tiraz bands, and the left leg is drawn up to reveal a tall black boot. The right hand of this figure is raised in a gesture of speech. The other figure sits cross-legged with a hand on each knee and wears a blue robe with tiraz

bands. Both figures have short, pageboy-length hair and white caps.

(Left) Bizhan lies beneath a tree with blue and red leaves in which hangs a green quiver and perhaps also a bound bow or a sheathed sword. The hero wears a red robe with tiraz bands, white cap, and black boots. Manizha's nurse leans out from the left side of the picture plane and gestures with her left hand. She wears a blue robe and white cap. Only the upper part of her body is visible.

The left side of the panel is marked with a green arch-frame.

Panel 4 (fig. 6). Lovers' Tryst and Discovery (9.3–8.5 cm. wide).

Bizhan and Manizha in her pavilion (uncertain identification, right); Manizha fêtes Bizhan (center); Garsiwaz, an ally of Afrasiyab who is also Manizha's father and the king of Turan, approaches the gates of Manizha's palace (left).

(Right) Two figures sit in a white pavilion topped with blue streamers. The tent background is gray. The right-hand figure (Manizha?) wears a light green robe, red boots, and a red cap over black, shoulder-length locks. The figure's knees are drawn up and the left hand is open towards the other person, who sits sideways with knees drawn up. This figure (Bizhan?) is clothed in a blue robe with white tiraz bands, red boots, and a white cap.

(Middle) The two lovers stand facing each other and hold a floral bouquet or a bowl of fruit between them. Bizhan (on the right) wears the same costume as he does in the previous action, except that his robe now lacks tiraz bands. Manizha is less fully clothed. She has on a short blue tunic, open at the front, and long white trousers. Her hair flows in long locks beneath a small green cap.

(Left) Garsiwaz approaches the gates of Manizha's palace from the left, wearing a short red coat, open in the front, and off-white trousers. In his outstretched left hand he grasps a long blue scarf or kerchief edged in green. With his other hand he holds onto his white cap to keep it from falling off as he cranes back to address the figure on top of the castle. The façade of this structure consists of green walls with two crenellated towers at each corner and a row of purplish brown crenellations in between. Its central opening is a slightly pointed archway with an off-white double door separated by a central green pier. Each door is adorned with a round knocker.

The left side of this tripartite panel is marked by a red arch-frame.

Middle Register: Development

Panel 5 (fig. 7). Captivity (7.4–7 cm. wide).

Bizhan taken prisoner.

Dressed only in a pair of white trousers, Bizhan stands facing left in the center of a group of five people. His hands and head have been placed over (or onto) brown stocks. Two people follow along behind. The closest person is undoubtedly Manizha, who is tearing her hair with both hands. The princess wears a short blue jacket, open in front to reveal her navel and the lower curve of her breasts, and white pants. There is a light brown unidentifiable form behind her head. The figure emerging from behind Manizha and holding her upper arm with his right hand is more fully clad in a light green robe, red boots, and a white cap. The two remaining people, facing towards the right, seem to be guards or escorts. The one grasping Bizhan's arm is equipped with a quiver and a round shield on his back. He wears a blue robe with white tiraz bands, red boots, and a purple cap. His unarmed companion wears a green robe, red boots, and white cap, and his left hand is raised near the shield.

On the far right of the scene is a doorway with a blue opening and a white frame. The panel's left side is edged with a red arch-frame.

Panel 6 (fig. 8). Judgment (9.6–9 cm. wide).

Bizhan brought before Afrasiyab (right); Bizhan led away to prison (left).

(Right) Bizhan enters from the right, still dressed only in white trousers (although here his pants have a bluish cast) and with his hands bound behind his back. The nipples and navel are clearly indicated on his bare chest. Bizhan is led or pushed toward Afrasiyab by an escort clad in a red robe with white tiraz bands, black boots, and white cap. Afrasiyab sits cross-legged on a green, high-backed throne with two pairs of finials above, two pairs of legs below, and a red seat cushion. The curved edge of a green throne skirt is visible beneath the king's feet. Afrasiyab wears black shoes and a blue robe with tiraz bands. There is a white "halo" around his head. The king's right hand rests on his knee, his left hand in his lap, and his head and upper body are leaning in Bizhan's direction. On the other side of the throne is a person wearing a green robe, red boots, and blue cap. This standing figure is gesturing outwards with his right hand and grasping the edge of the throne with his left.

(Left) Back to back with this last figure is a person in a blue robe with white tiraz bands, red boots, and a white cap with green scarf. His right

hand is raised while he watches Bizhan being led away by a long-haired escort wearing a green robe and white cap. Bizhan is still pinioned and dressed in white trousers. Between him and the escort is a ladderlike form positioned at an acute angle. It is made up of white rungs separating blue, purple, beige, and green panels. Since Bizhan has one foot in front of the ladder, but his escort steps behind it, this may be the entranceway to the dungeon.

Panel 7 (fig. 9). Imprisonment (4.1–4 cm. wide).
Bizhan in the pit.

Bizhan sits cross-legged in the pit, his arms still fastened in back. He seems to be naked but may be wearing beige trousers. The pit is represented in cross section, with a slightly pointed arch-shaped opening framed in red. Its top is sealed with a large blue boulder. The pit is flanked on the right by a blue elephant holding a green rock in its trunk (only the elephant's head and one foreleg are shown in this profile view) and on the left by Manizha, who is dressed in a long green robe, red cap, and blue pantaloons. Her hair is loose in long locks. Manizha faces left towards the pit and touches the blue boulder with her left hand.

Panel 8 (fig. 10). Rescue Plans (8–7.5 cm. wide).
Rustam and Giv before Kai Khusrau (uncertain identification).¹⁷

Kai Khusrau (?) is enthroned at right, sitting cross-legged on a red cushion. His high-backed green throne has two pairs of finials, two pairs of legs, and a green skirt. The Iranian king wears a blue robe with white tiraz bands and a white cap, and his right hand is lifted towards the other figures. Rustam (?) sits barefoot and cross-legged on the ground before the throne, dressed in a red robe with white tiraz bands, green pants, and a green turban. His left hand is raised towards the king. The third figure (Giv?) stands at the left clutching his short open jacket with both hands. In addition to this blue garment with white tiraz bands, he wears green trousers with a black belt looped at the waist from which a red sash hangs down between his legs. It appears that in his right hand he holds the lead line for the horse waiting at the far left, although the line seems to go to the mane and not to the bridle. The beige horse is caparisoned with a green saddle, blue saddle blanket, white bridle, and a blue tassel, with long red ends beneath its chin. The horse's left foreleg is bent forward though not raised. Above the saddle there is a blue flag or banner.

The panel includes two uncolored arch-frames.

One is at the right side, while the other bisects the scene between the standing figure and the waiting horse.

Bottom Register: Resolution

Panel 9 (fig. 11). Rescue Party (11.9–11.6 cm. wide).
Rustam travels to Turan disguised as a merchant.

The procession moves swiftly from the left, with two mounted horsemen in the lead followed by two camels. The first rider is dressed in a green robe (which now looks brown), red boots, and purple cap. He rides a blue horse with a red saddle blanket, and his hands and head are both raised upwards. His companion is clothed in a bright blue robe, black boots, and green cap. This figure gallops along on a red horse with a bright green saddle blanket. The two camels also vary in color: the first one is bright blue and the second is red. Both carry packs and have bells around their necks. The blue camel's pack is red over a green blanket edged in red, and the red camel's pack is green over a blue blanket edged in white.

This panel has three arch-frames, one at each side and a third between the first camel and the second rider. The motif at the right is green, the middle one bright green, and the left one blue.

Panel 10 (fig. 12). A Lover's Plea (4.8–4.7 cm. wide).
Manizha approaches Rustam and begs him to help Bizhan (uncertain identification).

A red-clad figure sits in a green tent with a gray background. Outside are two other figures. The one on the right (Rustam?), closest to the tent, wears red boots, a blue robe with white tiraz bands, and a white cap. The right hand of this figure is raised in greeting or in a gesture of speech. The other standing figure (Manizha?) wears a red robe with white tiraz bands, black boots, and blue cap and gestures out with the right hand.

Panel 11 (fig. 13). The Wait (3.8–3.5 cm. wide).
Rustam's horse Rakhsh and a groom.

Rakhsh stands with his right foreleg raised, facing towards the left. He is blue and caparisoned with a red saddle blanket, green saddle, and a green tassel underneath the chin. A black banner floats above the saddle. Seated cross-legged on the ground in front is a small groom holding the horse's reins. This figure gestures outwards with his right hand. He is dressed in a green robe with white tiraz bands and a red cap.

The panel is bracketed with two arch-frames. The right one is bright green; the left one is uncolored.

Panel 12 (fig. 14). Liberation (6.8–6.5 cm. wide).

Rustam rescues Bizhan from the pit while Manizha looks on.

At right, Rustam lifts up the blue boulder sealing Bizhan's pit. The great Iranian hero sports a black moustache and goatee and wears black boots and a short red robe with an orange and black striped bodice. As Rustam removes the boulder, the prisoner's head emerges from the pit, here built of red, green, blue, and purple stones. Free at last, Bizhan looks at Manizha standing on his right. The princess has her hair in long locks and wears a short green jacket with white tiraz bands, open at the front, white trousers, and a blue cap. She holds onto the edge of the pit with her left hand. Behind Manizha is a long-haired figure wearing a green cap, red boots, and blue robe with white tiraz bands. This person stands facing the rescue scene and raises a conical-shaped glass in his outstretched left hand.

Within its precise division of zones and logical succession of panels, the Freer beaker displays a remarkable range of compositional, iconographical, and representational schemata. Indeed, a deliberate tension seems to have been generated between the neatly laid-out framework which directs the narrative flow through its three distinct phases and the different designs and thematic arrangements which make up the twelve individual scenes. The overall effect is of an incredibly active stage production in which the Bizhan and Manizha drama is convincingly enacted, even if the role of every single tableau or of every single player can no longer be fully appreciated.

The beaker's diversity manifests itself in several key areas. Most obvious is the variable size of the twelve panels, no two of which share exactly the same width. Their contrasting sizes are especially emphasized in the upper and middle registers, where the largest and smallest panels (2 and 3, 6 and 7, respectively) are in immediate juxtaposition to one another.¹⁸

Two-thirds of these variously sized panels are monoscenic; that is, they depict a single, discrete moment in the Bizhan and Manizha tale. The remaining panels represent two, and in one case even three, successive actions or events. One such pair of polyscenic panels (2 and 5) relies upon the repetition of the main protagonist as a means of furthering (and simultaneously indicating) the narrative sequence. This technique is used with particular

effectiveness in panel 5, where the half-naked captive Bizhan appears at the right side as he is brought before Afrasiyab for sentencing and again at the left as he is led away to prison. This entering and exiting quite graphically illustrate that a fateful moment for the hero has arrived and that a certain period of time has elapsed.

Manizha's nurse seems to be repeated in the same fashion in the obviously polyscenic panel 3, although the figures in the tent can only be tentatively identified. Somewhat greater certainty is justified for panel 4, where both Bizhan and Manizha seem to appear together twice, first in Manizha's tent (right) and then outside her palace (center). There can be no doubt, however, that this large tripartite panel also contains two simultaneous moments: in the center Bizhan and Manizha banquet while Garsiwaz rushes up to the palace at left.

The successive and simultaneous methods of representation have been deployed on the beaker not only to convey the rapid pace of the narrative through many quick changes of scene, but also to create a high level of visual stimulation. Interestingly enough, these devices appear three times in the top register, once in the middle register, and not at all in the lower register. It is almost as if they were used at the beginning of the *mina'i* decoration in a conscious effort to attract the viewer's attention. Then, once the initial impact had been made, the monoscenic format was considered compelling enough to carry along the second half of the narrative program.

Because the Freer beaker is an epitomized pictorialization of the Bizhan and Manizha cycle, we would expect its twelve panels to contain the most decisive moments in the story's conflict, development, and resolution and its polyscenic and monoscenic compositions to emphasize the most crucial elements in such moments. The tale's main events certainly are present and certainly are presented with animation and directness: Bizhan hunts wild boar (panel 2), Bizhan and Manizha meet (panel 4, center), Bizhan is taken captive and imprisoned (panels 5–7), and Rustam rescues Bizhan (panel 12). However, these scenes are juxtaposed with others which seem either less critical to the narrative progression or more ambiguous or both.

The clearest example of an insignificant or secondary scene is panel 11, for it depicts only two spectators—a horse (presumably Rakhsh) and a groom—who wait as Rustam lifts the rock off the mouth of Bizhan's pit in the next panel. While these figures do not actively participate in the story, the subject of this panel can at least be deduced from its proximity to the ongoing action in panel 12.

The iconographic specificity of panel 11 is lacking in the case of monoscenic panels 8 and 10 and the right sections of polyscenic panels 3 and 4. Consequently, the identity of these complete and partial scenes remains ambiguous. Of course, their ambiguity may be more apparent than real and may result from our continued uncertainty over the specific Bizhan and Manizha legend represented on the beaker's outer surface. More immediately pertinent to the issue of the beaker's narrative structure, however, is that these panels and parts of panels highlight a major component of the overall illustrative program; that is, the repetition of several fixed units of representation.

Panel 8, the largest ambiguous scene, depicts an enthroned figure at right with a seated figure in front and a standing attendant and horse at left. Precisely the same figural group and compositional arrangement, only with the horse and attendant in the reverse position, appear in panel 1. An enthroned personage also forms the focus of panel 6. The enthronement is, of course, one of the most frequently represented "image-types" in *mina'i* ware decoration, not to mention in medieval Islamic art as a whole.¹⁹ Moreover, the attendants and horses standing in the left-hand sectors of the two virtually identical enthronements constitute another standard Islamic picture type in their own right. Panel 11 contains this particular unit in its base form.²⁰ The horsemen in panels 2 and 9 belong to a third common class of Islamic imagery which includes the kinds of horses and riders, mounted falconers, and mounted hunters seen on the beaker;²¹ and the iconographically related camel train in panel 9 can be linked to yet a fourth theme.²² The ambiguous tent scenes in panels 3, 4, and 10 form still another repeat category. Even the first representation of Bizhan in the pit (panel 7) seems to be an altered version of the figure-in-a-tent motif.²³

Thus, a significant proportion of the Freer beaker's pictorial structure is based on a typology of five iconographic-cum-compositional units prevalent throughout medieval Islamic art. They were undoubtedly used here as much because of their cultural ubiquity and familiarity as because of their visual appropriateness for the beaker's decoration. By themselves these standardized units have a neutral narrative value, but they acquire meaning within the context of the Bizhan and Manizha tale by association with certain original scenes and through modification by certain specific motifs. The enthronement in panel 6, for instance, pertains to the story through the addition of Bizhan, just as the isolated horse and groom motif in panel 11 has relevance by virtue of its placement next to panel 12.

One final characteristic of these types is that, except for the galloping horsemen and camel train, the activity they contain is limited to a few hand gestures. The individual images actually contribute very little to the development of the action or to the impression of great drama and excitement projected by the decoration as a whole. On the contrary, they seem to function more as chronological points of reference, or temporal indicators, which can be best translated by such stock literary phrases as "once upon a time" (panel 1), "meanwhile" (panel 3, right), or even "back at the ranch" (panel 8). Inserted at regular intervals into all three registers, these visual *caesurae* are another way (comparable to the repetition of Bizhan in panels 2 and 6) of indicating the passage of time. Indeed, they effectively insure that the viewer will stop, or at least slow down, in his perusal of the decoration and will contemplate the time span covered by the Bizhan and Manizha story.

Whether monoscenic or polyscenic, typical or original, passive or active, all twelve panels are fully occupied by human and animal figures. In fact, they take up so much room that there is little to spare for secondary features. And, when such nonfigural elements as banners and tents do appear, they function largely as stage props rather than as independent foci of attention. This is true even for Bizhan's pit, which is rendered differently on two separate occasions: first to give full exposure to Bizhan as captive (panel 7) and then, at the end, to emphasize his emergence from prison (panel 12). A few such props, particularly the castle (panel 4) and the door (panel 5), also indicate the environment (interior or exterior) where an action occurs. The same service is fulfilled by the tree in panel 3, the rock pile and plantlike forms in panel 2, and possibly also by the less well-defined ground formation in panel 1. It is worth noting that these natural details appear only in the top register, which also incorporates the majority of polyscenic scenes. Again, it seems that the concentration of both scenario and scenery in this zone must have been deliberately intended to maximize viewer interest in the Bizhan and Manizha story at the very onset of the illustrative cycle.

In any event, none of the elements associated with the environment or setting of the Bizhan and Manizha tale detracts from the importance of its participants. All of the figures are clearly articulated and lined up side by side on the ground plane. A fairly consistent homogeneity of natural scale prevails throughout the registers, although the relative size of standing versus seated figures, as well as of humans contra animals, often seems implausible (in panel 7, for example, Manizha is taller than the elephant). People do overlap on a few occasions, but

only to a minor degree: for example, the guards escorting Bizhan in and out of panel 6. In several instances part of a human or animal form is hidden behind an arch-frame (panels 3, 5, 6, 7, 8) or a stage prop (panels 2, 12), but the character's activity is never obscured.

In fact, it is individual gestures and movements, in addition to the physical relationship between figures, which to a large extent determine the identity of the characters in this story. For despite, or perhaps because of, the great pains taken to depict various hair and dress styles, including such details as tiraz bands, only once does a figure—in this case Rustam in panel 12—wear an article of distinctive apparel (his tiger-skin tunic). Only rarely does the same person have the same coiffure or wear the same clothes throughout the entire cycle. The representation of Manizha (wherever she can be confidently identified) is a case in point. In both panels 4 (center) and 5, the Turanian princess wears white pants and an open blue tunic, but in the former she has long locks of hair which, in the next scene, have been cropped to shoulder length. Moreover, panel 5 shows her breasts and navel whereas the preceding panel does not. In panel 7, Manizha once again has long hair and is more modestly dressed in a long green robe and blue pantaloons. However, by the last scene she has stripped down to a pair of white trousers and an open green jacket. Manizha's change of wardrobe extends even to her cap, which is green in panel 4, red in panel 7, and blue in panel 12.

These vagaries of fashion mean that clothes and coiffure do not form a system of invariable symbols through which we might more easily identify anonymous figures such as those featured in the three ambiguous tent scenes. (A possible exception might be panel 4, where the two figures dressed in blue robes—right and center—may represent Bizhan.) Yet, what seems like artistic inconsistency is, in all likelihood, another technique with the same dual purpose already posited for other compositional and representational devices. First of all, the varied dress and hair styles of a key personage like Manizha reinforces the idea that her adventures develop over an extended period of time. Secondly, because there is no automatic way to chart the progress of any given figure through the story by such surface signs as clothing and coiffure, the viewer is obliged to concentrate even more carefully on positions, postures, and gestures in order to determine the characters' respective roles.

The Bizhan and Manizha narrative seems, therefore, to be structured along two contradictory lines: on the one hand, there is the neat tripartite layout of the surface and the consecutive sequence of episodes;

and, on the other hand, there are several diversified sets of internal pictorial schemes ranging from essentially technical matters, such as the varying widths of the individual panels, to more conceptually sophisticated devices, such as the polyscenic compositions. In the final analysis, however, these ostensibly incompatible approaches do work together to convey not only the crucial events, but also the basic temporal progression of the plot. From this we may infer that the illustrative program on the Freer beaker was conceived and formulated out of a genuine desire to pictorialize Bizhan and Manizha's love story and not out of an attempt to impose a prefabricated visual system upon the epic tale.

Of course, the point of artistic intention and motivation becomes moot in light of the possibility that this series of images was developed in another pictorial context and subsequently transferred onto the cup's outer walls. In her 1943 article, Grace Guest follows Diakonov in proposing that the Freer beaker reflected a lost tradition of twelfth-thirteenth-century Iranian manuscript painting and cites the arch-frames dividing the Bizhan and Manizha scenes as confirmation of the decoration's derivation from an illustrated book.²⁴ Although the *mina'i* versions of these framing devices do have a parallel in the half-capitals, half-columns, and arch-spandrels bracketing several thirteenth-century Arab miniatures,²⁵ their form and usage do not, in fact, suggest that they were copied from an Islamic miniature.²⁶

Several other, more important aspects of the *mina'i* decoration also strongly call into question the idea of the beaker's direct relationship to a book original. These include the distinctive format of small scenes arranged in horizontal frames and stacked in three superimposed registers and the high rate of illustration so noticeable in the polyscenic compositions. The layout has no counterpart in any extant form of Islamic manuscript painting, with the exception of certain frontispiece images which, in any case, are not narrative scenes; and the high rate of illustration would presuppose a manuscript model with many more pictures than are ordinarily found in an Islamic manuscript, even one as prolifically illustrated as the late twelfth-early thirteenth-century *Varqa va Gulshah* volume.²⁷ It is conceivable, of course, that the shape and dimensions of the beaker necessitated a daring rearrangement of the normal form of Islamic manuscript illustration by collecting together in friezes the individual pictures that usually occur throughout a codex. In other words, the artisan responsible for the beaker may have excerpted images from an illustrated book and strung them together in consecutive sequence. Such a treatment of miniatures is known

in Christian art, a famous example being the Genesis scenes in the vestibule of San Marco, which are traditionally held to copy the Cotton Bible.²⁸ However, in order to achieve his particularly dense illustrative cycle, the beaker's decorator would have had to borrow from several different (and at this point purely hypothetical) *Bizhannama* manuscripts, each with a separate iconographic series, then conflate into single compositions the successive scenes represented in these various books, and finally link them together into horizontal friezes. This procedure seems far too complex and convoluted for the decoration of a single small ceramic object. It would be much more reasonable to concede that the beaker was not copied from a manuscript source.²⁹

A more convincing prototype or parallel for the cup's decoration can be found in monumental wall painting,³⁰ as exemplified by the seventh-eighth-century fresco cycle covering the reception room of manor house VI at Pendzhikent.³¹ Like the late twelfth-early thirteenth-century Freer beaker, these Sogdian paintings are structured in a multiregister format. The second register from the bottom of the wall contains scenes believed to depict the life of Rustam. They are represented in sequential horizontal frames which follow each other without interruption, similar to the beaker's layout. This series also features the cup's technique of repeating a central character twice in the same episode in order to depict the ongoing action and to indicate the passage of time.

Although there are no brackets between the Pendzhikent scenes, the beaker's arch-frames also might be explained by an architectural setting, since, with the exception of two isolated elements, they all line up in more or less straight vertical rows. Such an alignment could conceivably have been inspired by a series of superimposed blind arcades on a building's façade or by a set of columns and arches enclosing interior wall paintings.³² Perhaps, then, the cup does result from an attempt to reproduce the decoration of an actual monument.

At the same time, we should bear in mind that the

initial scenes in each of the beaker's three registers are also lined up in a single vertical row and that, as a consequence, the cup must be turned 360 degrees in three successive revolutions in order for the Bizhan and Manizha narrative to be read in its complete and proper sequence. So, even if a large-scale painting has served as the beaker's visual source, the fresco model, assuming that it decorated a flat wall, would have required considerable adaptation, both to accommodate the rounded surface of the ceramic cup and to assure the continuous unfolding of the Bizhan and Manizha story. Monumental prototype or not, the *mina'i* decoration's structural scheme and narrative technique alone justify the beaker's reputation as a most unusual and original work of medieval Islamic art.

The vision of the cup being turned three times so that all twelve panels could be seen in their correct order naturally conjures up the object's social status and function. Because of its fine potting, superb painting style, and unique decoration, we can assume that the beaker was destined for an upper-class or aristocratic milieu. As for the circumstances of its use, the subject matter encourages us to imagine the beaker being brought out whenever the Bizhan and Manizha story was read or recited, or even performed, to present another entertaining rendition of the tale in two-dimensional form. However, we should never forget that the beaker is a three-dimensional object shaped as a drinking vessel. It is likely that any Bizhan and Manizha recitals involving the beaker must have been very festive affairs. And, indeed, an indication of the cup's role on such occasions is given at the beginning and at the end of the decoration itself. Both the first and last panels contain a figure raising a conical vessel which resembles a modern martini glass. Yet no drinking is mentioned in either the episode of Bizhan before Kai Khusrau or that of Rustam rescuing Bizhan. Could these figures be toasting the cup's patron, or are they perhaps celebrating the beaker as a veritable drinker's delight?

Notes

1. A more exact date for the Freer beaker must await a thorough study of *mina'i* ware. The attribution given here follows the chronological span of dated *mina'i* objects published by R. Ettinghausen, "Ceramic Art in Islamic Times, B. Dated Faience," in *Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, 14 vols. (London, New York, and Tokyo, 1964–65), 4:1688–89.
2. M. M. Diakonov, "Un vase de faïence avec des illustrations de Shah-Namé," *Travaux de Département Oriental, Musée de l'Hermitage* 1 (1939): 317–26.
3. G. D. Guest, "Notes on the Miniatures of a Thirteenth-Century Beaker," *Ars Islamica* 10 (1943): 148–52.
4. R. Ettinghausen, *Medieval Near Eastern Ceramics* (Washington, D.C., 1940), p. 5; A. Lane, *Early Islamic Pottery* (London, 1947), p. 42; E. Atil, *Ceramics from the World of Islam* (Washington, D.C., 1973), cat. no. 44; E. J. Grube, *Islamic Pottery of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection* (London, 1976), p. 196; R. Pinder-Wilson, *Islamic Art* (London, 1957), pl. 27; E. Kühnel, *The Minor Arts of Islam* (Ithaca, 1971), fig. 68; B. Lewis, ed., *Islam and the Arab World* (New York, 1976), p. 264; O. Grabar, "The Visual Arts, 1050–1350," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3 vols. to date (Cambridge, 1968–), vol. 5: *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle, p. 645; and O. Grabar, "History of Art and History of Ideas," *New Literary History* 3 (1971–72): 563.
5. An initial review of the Freer beaker's relationship to the *Shahnama* of Firdausi, as well as to the history of *Shahnama* illustration and to medieval Islamic manuscript painting in general, appears in M. S. Simpson, *The Illustration of an Epic: The Earliest Shahnama Manuscripts* (New York and London, 1979), pp. 233–45.
6. E. E. Bertels, ed., *Firdausi Shakh-Name: Kriticheskiĭ Tekst*, 9 vols. (Moscow, 1960–71), 5:6–8, vv. 30, 36.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 85, added after v. 1311 as in manuscripts I and VI.
8. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2d ed., s.v. "Hamāsa," by H. Massé; T. Nöldeke, "The Iranian National Epic," trans. L. Bogdanov, *The Journal of the J. K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* 6 (1925): 133–36; H. Massé, *Firdausi et l'épopée nationale* (Paris, 1935), pp. 263–77; J. Mohl, ed. and trans., *Le Livre des Rois par Abou'l Kasim Firdausi*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1838–78), 1:lv–lxxi; M. Molé, "Garhasp et les Sagsar," *Le Nouvelle Clio* 3 (March–April 1951): 128–38; Z. Safā, *Hamāsa sarā'i dar Irān* (Tehran, 1333/1955); J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht, 1968), pp. 162–66.
9. Safā, *Hamāsa*, pp. 316–17.
10. M. Mokri, *La légende de Bīžan-u Manīja* (Paris, 1966).
11. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
12. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, manuscript Cl. III.24 (G. F. 3). This volume was recently discovered by Prof. A. M. Piemontese and described by him in "Nuova luce sua Firdausi: uno Sahnāmā datato 614H./1217 a Firenze," *Istituto Orientale di Napoli Annali* 40 (1980): 1–38, 189–242. I am grateful to Prof. Priscilla Soucek of The University of Michigan for bringing the discovery of this most important manuscript to my attention and to Prof. Jerome Clinton of Princeton University for providing me with the Piemontese article. I would especially like to thank Prof. Joanna Woods-Marsden, University of British Columbia, for having a microfilm of the manuscript sent to me.
13. U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten. Untersuchungen zur Zeitstellung und Bildüberlieferung* (Stuttgart, 1959). Also, K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1970), chap. 1.
14. The lower white band beneath the rim actually consists of a slightly projecting ring.
15. Guest's order and identification of the scenes, based on A. G. Warner and E. Warner, *The Shahnama of Firdausi*, 9 vols. (London, 1905–25), vol. 3, pt. 5, is followed here. However, a different interpretation and numerical sequence is given for the middle register. New readings are also proposed for the subject matter of a few other scenes and for the identification of some individual figures.
16. Because of the curvature of the cup's surface, the top and bottom edges of each panel differ in width.
17. This scene might just as easily represent any number of episodes that occur after Bizhan is imprisoned in the pit and before Rustam sets out for Turan. Other possible identifications include: Giv brings Gorgin before Kai Khusrau; Giv brings Kai Khusrau's letter to Rustam; Rustam fêtes Giv; Rustam intervenes with Kai Khusrau on behalf of Gorgin. These events seem, however, somewhat too peripheral to the main narrative to have been allotted such a large composition.
18. The similarities in format between the first and second registers extend beyond the alternation of the largest and smallest panels. Although none of the panels has the same identical dimensions, panels 1 and 5, 2 and 6, 3 and 7, and 4 and 8 are relatively the same size. Furthermore, they form distinct blocks when the beaker is read vertically. Similarly, the last two panels in the bottom register (11 and 12) line up with those above. These alignments certainly were not accidental, and yet they are not really relevant to the horizontal movement of the narrative. They may result from the preliminary gridlike division of the surface or may perhaps reflect some other version of the multiregister format (see below, p. 22).
19. Selected *mina'i* examples: *Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Pope and Ackerman, vol. 10, pl. 659A; M. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts* (New York, 1930), fig. 77; M. Yoshida, *In Search of Persian Pottery* (New York, Tokyo, and Kyoto, 1971), fig. 61; Atil, *Ceramics*, cat. nos. 35, 51; *L'Art de l'Orient Islamique, Collection de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian* (Lisbon, 1963), figs. 11, 13.
20. A study of this motif appears in G. D. Guest and R. Ettinghausen, "The Iconography of a Kashan Luster Plate," *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 32–43.
21. Selected *mina'i* examples: *Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Pope and Ackerman, vol. 10, pls. 656A–B, 657A, 663B, 664, 665, 666C, 667–69, 676; Atil, *Ceramics*, cat. nos. 35–38, 48; G. Fehervari, *Islamic Pottery* (London, 1973), pls. 53a–b; A. Papadopoulos, *Islam and Muslim Art* (New York, 1979), pl. 92.
22. Selected *mina'i* examples: Victoria and Albert Museum, *Islamic Pottery 800–1400 A.D.* (London, 1979), cat. no. 134; Hetjens Museum, *Islamische Keramik* (Düsseldorf, 1973), cat. no. 211.

23. The best examples of tent scenes are found in an illustrated Persian manuscript attributed, like the beaker, to the late twelfth-thirteenth century. A. S. Melekian-Chirvani, "Le Roman de Varque et Golšah," *Arts Asiatiques* 22 (1970), figs. 4, 27, 28, 34, 39–41, 43, 44, 57. However, none of these is really identical to panels 3, 4, or 10 on the beaker.
24. Guest, "Notes," pp. 151–52.
25. R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962), pp. 68–69, 71, 79.
26. For a more complete discussion of this point, see Simpson, *The Illustration of an Epic*, pp. 243–44.
27. Melekian-Chirvani, "Le Roman Varque et Golsah."
28. J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Geneismosaiken von San Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae vol. 17 (Helsinki, 1889); E. Kitzinger, "The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration," in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1975), pp. 99–109, with all pertinent bibliography; E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London, 1977), p. 70; K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1979), cat. no. 408.
29. Dr. Lisa Golombek, Royal Ontario Museum, has raised the possibility (private communication) that a picture roll, as opposed to an illustrated codex, might stand behind the beaker. Such a work might have been unrolled as the Bizhan and Manizha story was narrated, similar to the use proposed for a group of Topkapi Seray album pictures at readings of the *Shahnama*. (See N. Atasoy, "Illustrations Prepared for Display During *Shahnama* Recitations," in *The Memorial Volume of the Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, 11–18 April 1968*, 2 vols. [Tehran, 1972], 2:262–72.) Although illustrated rotuli did exist in the classical and medieval Western worlds, to the best of my knowledge no fragments of or references to Islamic rolls of this type are known today.
30. Such a connection has already been made in A. S. Melekian-Chirvani, "Trois manuscrits de l'Iran seldjoukide," *Arts Asiatiques* 16 (1967): 20, although in the caption to figure 13 the author compares the beaker's composition to a manuscript frontispiece (*Kitab al-Aghani*, vol. 2). Atil, *Ceramics*, cat. no. 44, also mentions that the beaker's artist may have used a wall painting as a model. In addition, see Simpson, *The Illustration of an Epic*, pp. 242–43.
31. A. M. Belenitsky, "Nouvelles découvertes de sculptures et de peintures murales à Piandjikent," *Arts Asiatiques* 5 (1958): 163–82; and his *Monumental Art of Pjanzikent: Painting, Sculpture* (Moscow, 1973), pp. 22–27, 47.
32. A. U. Pope, *Persian Architecture* (New York, 1965), figs. 43, 44; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932–40), vol. 2, pls. 2e, 12a and c; M. Maillard, "Essai sur la vie matérielle dans l'oasis de Tourfan pendant le haut moyen âge," *Arts Asiatiques* 29 (1973), figs. 65, 67, 99 and pls. IIb, Va; M. Almagro et al., *Qusayr 'Amra* (Madrid, 1975), pls. III, VII, IX; J. Carswell, *New Julfa, The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings* (Oxford, 1968), pls. VI, 70, 72, 73, 79, 80. These monuments all either predate or postdate the Freer beaker. Other monuments rather closer in date but with only a single row of open or blind arches could be cited (e.g., J. D. Hoag, *Islamic Architecture* [New York, 1977], fig. 184; G. A. Pugachenkova, *Iskusstvo Turko-menistana* [Moscow, 1967], figs. 91–93; G. A. Pugachenkova and L. I. Rempel, *Istoria Iskusstvo Uzbekistana* [Moscow, 1965], fig. 246; S. P. Seher-Thoss, *Design and Color in Islamic Architecture* [Washington, D.C., 1968], pls. 17, 26).

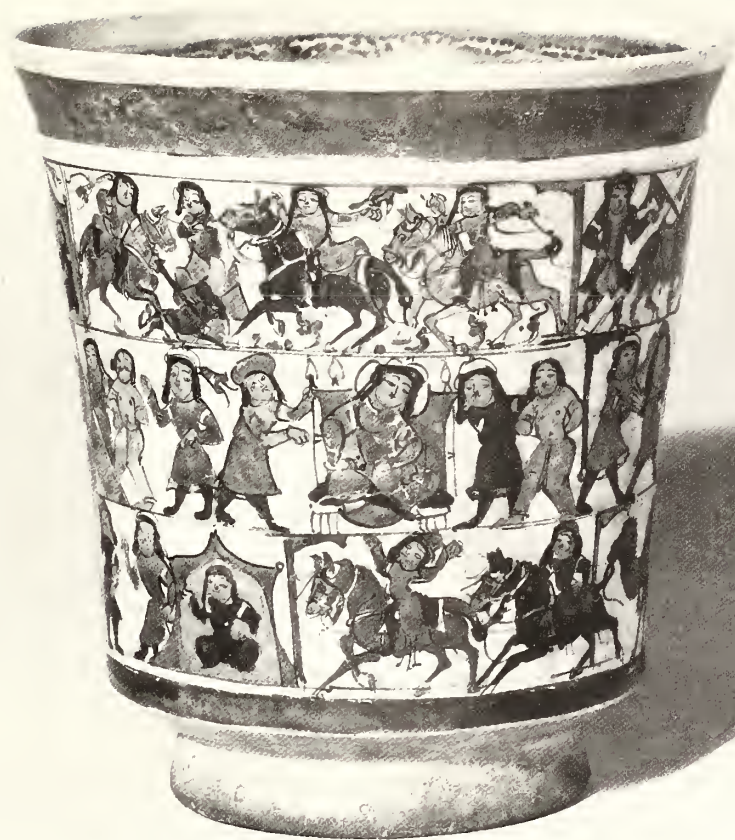


FIG. 1. Beaker, Iran. Late twelfth-early thirteenth century. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 2. Beaker, panoramic view. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 3. Panel 1: Bizhan's Mission. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 4. Panel 2: Boar Hunt. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 5. Panel 3: Prelude to Love. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 6. Panel 4: Lovers' Tryst and Discovery. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 7. Panel 5: Captivity. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 8. Panel 6: Judgment. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 9. Panel 7: Imprisonment. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 10. Panel 8: Rescue Plans. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 11. Panel 9: Rescue Party. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 12. Panel 10: A Lover's Plea. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 13. Panel 11: The Wait. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 14. Panel 12: Liberation. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

AN ARCHAIC BAS-RELIEF AND THE CHINESE MORAL COSMOS IN THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

By MARTIN J. POWERS

IN A SMALL DISTRICT IN SOUTHEASTERN SHANDONG there are three memorial stone towers carved with shallow reliefs. One of these reliefs (fig. 2) depicts the deities that control the *yin*^a and *yang*,^b or passive and active cosmic forces, and may be the earliest cosmic scene extant from the Latter Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220). Like other, better-known reliefs of the period, its pictorial methods differ radically from those of the early Han. An examination of Han dynasty cosmic and political writings suggests that changes in the Han image of cosmic and social order may have contributed to this pictorial change.

The contrast between early Han and Latter Han pictorial methods has long been a subject of discussion by modern historians of Chinese art. The art of the Former Han, such as we have it, is usually described as essentially ornamental in nature, the heir to the long tradition of bronze decor of the Zhou dynasty (fig. 1).¹ On the other hand, it is only at the end of the Former Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 9), and more especially in the Latter Han, that we find an increasing number of wall paintings and bas-reliefs with true narrative subjects depicting scenes from history and even from ordinary life (figs. 5, 6). One specialist recently stated the prevailing opinion as follows: “The break with the tradition of non-realistic, formalizing art occurred about the middle of the first century B.C. Verisimilitude then counted seriously in painting and sculpture for the first time.”²

In addition, the more “formalizing” art of the Former Han has frequently authorized descriptions which take note of its “springy shapes,” its fanciful nature, and the sense of movement conveyed by the spiral forms.³ In contrast, Latter Han narrative scenes, with their tendency to arrange figures either symmetrically or in rows and “set in pure profile or frontally as their station makes proper, spaced out along a baseline or strewn in confusion over the stone surface,” have invited comparison with the medieval art of the West and other “archaic” traditions.⁴ Indeed, the following characterization of archaic features by Meyer Schapiro would be appropriate to a description of many Latter Han reliefs, such as the example illustrated in figure 7:

Archaic representation implies an unplastic relief of parallel planes, concentric surfaces and movements parallel to the background, the limitation of horizontal planes, the vertical projection of spatial themes, the schematic reduction of natural

shapes, their generalized aspect, and the ornamental abstraction or regular succession of repeated elements.⁵

It would appear, as Soper has noted, that in the Latter Han we are dealing with a phenomenon with parallels in other times and places.⁶ In areas other than East Asia, comparably “archaic” styles have been related both to specific historical or political circumstances and to universal patterns. A study of the former sort is that of H. P. L’Orange on the art and architecture of the late Roman Empire. L’Orange sought to correlate such tendencies as the use of “row formations and symmetry,” the development of axial systems, and closed, blocklike boundaries in art and architecture with the emergence of a more “mechanical,” centralized form of political control.⁷ An attempt at a more universal formulation has been proposed by anthropologist J. L. Fischer, whose theory differs from the findings of L’Orange. In Fischer’s theory, simple repetitious forms and symmetrical design are regarded as symptomatic of “egalitarian” societies, while dense compositions and enclosed figures are matched with “hierarchical” societies.⁸

In the absence of more specific historical studies it seems best to withhold judgment on the universality of such correlations. However, L’Orange’s work would support the thesis that “archaic” features, despite their wide occurrence in space and time, can bear a special relationship to the societies in which they occur. In this article I will present evidence which indicates that during the Latter Han, in the Shandong-Jiangsu region, the use of an “archaic” method of representation did in fact offer an advantage over older methods as a result of new requirements in terms of subject matter.

The Stone Pillars of Nanwuyang^c

The three memorial towers which are the focus of the present study are located at Nanwuyang, near Yizhou in the province of Shandong (figs. 2–4). Rubbings of portions of the three pillars, one each for south, east, and west, were published by Chavannes early in this century. More recently, Nagahiro has listed the towers together with others from Shandong in his survey of Han bas-reliefs.⁹ Neither author has specifically discussed either the

formal features or the iconography of the tower reliefs. All three towers are carved and arranged in the same fashion. The west tower is divided into five registers, while the south and east towers each have four. Each register is separated by a relatively thick band, like a molding, with a band of equal thickness framing the whole. Each register contains an abbreviated scene, usually a few figures. This, together with the uniform manner of treating the figures and the arrangement of the towers in accordance with three of the four directions, argues that the towers were not erected at random but were probably financed by one clan and executed by one artist or group of artists.

Chavannes reproduced only three rubbings, one from the west tower and one from the east, while the location of the third was not identified. The west stone appears badly damaged, making the upper middle scene unreadable, while the east stone, our primary concern, was in fair condition at the time the rubbing was made. In both cases, however, one should exercise caution in the interpretation of scenes whose significance is conveyed through the medium of incised lines. Apart from the scene to be discussed below, Chavannes did not offer a specific identification for any of these scenes. Most of the scenes that are readable resemble reliefs that can be found elsewhere, either in shrines or in tombs—scenes of carriages and dancers, officials in conversation, or hunting scenes (figs. 4–7).¹⁰ As with the present examples, these scenes often bear no apparent relation to one another and are sometimes merely arranged in neat rows of separately framed images.¹¹

If we accept the inscriptions on two of the towers, the stones date to about A.D. 86–87.¹² It is difficult to authenticate inscribed dates, as they could have been cut in at any time. However, the inscribed date tallies well with the style of carving.¹³ The figures are carved in shallow relief with curved contours slightly raised upon a thinly striated surface. Figures, often stereotyped, are usually arranged frontally or in profile on an even ground with a minimum of props. The area within the contour of each figure tends to remain unelaborated except where scales, feathers, or other repeatable patterns occur.

These features are familiar to students of the Han from a large number of stones, the most famous of which is the shrine at Xiaotangshan (fig. 7).¹⁴ The Xiaotangshan stones were completed sometime before A.D. 129, and other stones similar in appearance bear first-century dates.¹⁵ On the other hand, with the exception of the Wu shrines, most dated or datable stones of the second century from Shandong and Jiangsu differ sharply from those at Nanwu-

yang. Most are carved in higher relief on an unstriated ground with extensive use of surface patterns within the area of a figure's contour (figs. 5, 8).¹⁶ Thus, the pictorial features of the Nanwuyang stone are consistent with the inscribed date.

Sculptured towers such as these constitute one form of stone monument which becomes common during the Latter Han. Also commonly found are images carved in shallow relief on the remains of mortuary shrines, stone vaults for coffins, and on stone tablets erected near the burial spot.¹⁷ Inscriptions associated with these monuments, together with literary records and the subjects represented there, have led scholars to conclude that they were generally erected by clans of high political or social standing, either locally or nationally, or were granted to members of such clans by the central or local government as a reward for virtuous service.¹⁸

The occurrence of this type of monument must be viewed in the context of the propagation and transformation of a new brand of Confucianism, one which found its theoretical formulation in the Former Han, but which matured only towards the end of that dynasty.¹⁹ For its time, the Han system of government offered considerable mobility. Instances are recorded which prove that members of poor families could rise to high office by means of education.²⁰ Thus, a clan could raise its economic and social standing by the appointment of one of its members to government service.

The two major routes to government service were recommendation and examination, with the emphasis on the former. Recommendations were made on a more or less regular basis at the national, provincial, prefectural, and precinct levels, but special imperial calls for recruitment purposes were also made from time to time. In addition, local officials could and did appoint a certain number of local men to staff their offices.²¹

The official criteria for recommendation derived from the political ideals espoused by Han Confucianism. These ideals demanded obedience and service to one's parents and ancestors, loyalty to the emperor, and a general obedience to one's elders and superiors. Thus, the most widely mentioned criteria for government service in Han times were "filial piety" and "incorruptibility."²² It was therefore incumbent upon any ambitious man to establish his reputation locally or nationally as a filial and incorruptible personage. This could be accomplished in a number of ways, principally, one supposes, through family contacts. However, the biographies mention a variety of ways by which individuals could attract the attention of the government. Among these was the construction of monu-

ments to ancestors as an expression of piety toward the deceased. Fraudulent cases of building monuments for this purpose are recorded in the Han histories.²³ Presumably, not all monuments were motivated by ambition. Nevertheless, the construction of a monument to one's ancestors could scarcely fail to strengthen one's reputation, and we may assume that most such monuments were erected as expressions of filial sentiment. The same message is conveyed by many of the subjects represented in relief upon these monuments, for a good number of them are directly related to the tenets of Han Confucianism, as are some of the subjects depicted at Nanwuyang. Fu Xi^d and Nü Wa,^e as we shall see, may represent a case in which the ideals of Confucian morality find a correlate in the cosmic order.

The Representation of the Spirits Fu Xi and Nü Wa

On the top register of the south side of the eastern tower at Nanwuyang is a representation of two serpent-bodied creatures symmetrically arranged to either side of a third figure (figs. 2, 3). The position of the relief testifies to its importance, for in Han cosmology the east is the direction where the superior *yang* originates, and south, also *yang*, is the direction faced by the ruler. Chavannes correctly identified the two spirits as the sages Fu Xi and Nü Wa by their attributes, the carpenter's square and compass, respectively.²⁴ He also compared the relief to its more famous counterpart at the Wu shrines (fig. 9).²⁵

The two spirits are half-animal and half-human, and each wears a cap and sleeves similar to those worn by officials (cf. fig. 8). The compass stands for the circle, for Heaven, and for the *yang*, while the square stands for Earth and the *yin*.²⁶ Therefore, the two sages Fu Xi and Nü Wa are the spirits of *yin* and *yang*. To the far left is a tortoise entwined by a snake, spiritual guardian of the north. To the far right is the so-called Red Bird, spiritual guardian of the south.²⁷ The presence of the spirits of north and south make it probable that here the two sages, as spirits of *yin* and *yang*, also represent east and west. This would mean that we have a complete cosmic image with all four directions and *yin* and *yang*.

Fu Xi was one of the earliest of sage-kings and the supposed inventor of astronomy, mathematics, record keeping, and prognostication.²⁸ He is the archetype of the sage who brings order to a previously chaotic society. Similarly, Nü Wa brought order to the universe after Heaven had been knocked away by the evil Gong Gong. In Latter Han times,

both deities became associated with creation legends in which the two, as brother and sister, survive the universal flood and unite to give birth to the human race.²⁹ In this respect, the legend of the two deities exactly parallels their function as representatives of *yin* and *yang*, for the major Han cosmologists are in agreement that all life arises from the harmonious union of the *yin* and *yang* vapors.³⁰ As we shall see, it is probable that it is this image of harmonious union which constitutes the basic meaning of the relief.

Chavannes was unable to identify the central figure, whose arms are wrapped around the serpent bodies of Fu Xi and Nü Wa, holding them together with clasped hands. Like the two figures the serpent holds, it also wears a cap and large sleeves. Radiating incised lines distinguish its head from the others. It is difficult to read the bottom portion of the figure, but the upturned ends of two extremities, plus the presence of parallel bands on the bottom surface, indicate an elasticity that might also be serpentine in nature.³¹ This figure, unlike the others, faces the viewer, is larger, and is placed squarely on the central axis of the composition. Its position is clearly an important one, if not the most important, but its identity is not at all obvious from texts describing Fu Xi and Nü Wa. The role of this figure can only be illuminated by a thorough examination of the meaning of the spirits of *yin* and *yang* in the Latter Han.

The figures are carved in a very shallow relief which would leave little room for the play of light were they to be viewed in full sunlight. The surfaces of the figures have been ground smooth and curve gradually up from the contours. This sets them off sharply from the background, which is incised with vertical lines, closely spaced and of even width. As noted above, this practice is common in Shandong and persists as late as the Wu shrines in the middle of the second century (fig. 9). In the latter piece, the figures are also ground smooth, but the contours are not bevelled as they are at Nanwuyang.

No trace of paint has been reported on any of the stones found in Shandong, to my knowledge.³² However, traces of paint have been recorded for reliefs from other areas, so it is possible that these reliefs, too, were painted.³³ In any case, art historians have assumed for years that these reliefs are essentially pictorial in conception because the primary element of definition is line.³⁴ Although this judgment may have to be refined in light of recent discoveries of paintings, Siren's remarks on a Han relief from Shandong, written many years ago, remain essentially valid today:

There is no evidence of a direct imitation of painting in a technical sense, yet it is evident that the principal scenes and the

decoration as a whole, including architectural features, could hardly have been conceived or designed by anyone but a painter.³⁵

The “use of parallel planes,” the “vertical projection of spatial themes,” the preponderance of frontal or profile views, and the emphasis on contour all presuppose a two-dimensional explanation of a three-dimensional world, despite the use of stone “relief.” Typical of the early stages of narrative representation in many parts of the world, it is tempting to regard these archaic features as a function of the early stage of pictorial art in China. However, as in medieval Europe, it was not for lack of alternatives that Han artists in the Shandong-Jiangsu region adopted these forms, for there were alternatives, particularly in the realm of cosmic subject matter. We know this because we now have examples of the spirits of *yin* and *yang* dating to the early Former Han—specifically, the scene depicted atop the red-ground lacquer casket from Mawangdui.

The Lacquer Casket Lid from Mawangdui

The “red-ground” casket is the middle one of three decorated, lacquer-painted caskets discovered at Mawangdui near Changsha, Hunan, in 1972 (fig. 10). As this tomb and its contents have been extensively discussed in English, we shall limit our own analysis to immediately relevant information.³⁶ The three caskets encased the preserved body of the wife of one Li Cang,^f marquis of Dai,^g who had served three kings in Changsha in succession as chief minister before his death in 186 B.C. His wife was buried some twenty years later, together with food, more than one hundred eighty lacquer dishes and utensils, paintings on silk, musical instruments, and numerous other artifacts.³⁷

From critiques of the period we may infer that such extravagant burials added considerably to the prestige of the family concerned.³⁸ The lacquer objects alone, made in imperial workshops, were many times more expensive than comparable contemporary objects of bronze and required a great deal more labor to produce.³⁹ Unlike locally sculpted stones, these objects were fashioned under the supervision of government officials in factories that produced objects in bronze, silver, and gold. It follows that the workmanship of these lacquer objects must not be assumed to represent a local style. The close resemblance of these pieces to many others of Former Han date is probably the result of the relative uniformity of production available in government workshops.⁴⁰

All three decorated caskets are reported to be in good condition. They are covered with curving arabesques in ochre and a grayish color on a black or red ground (figs. 10, 11).⁴¹ Figures can sometimes be found among the arabesques. As scholars have noted, designs such as these are derived from the tradition of late Zhou bronze decor (figs. 12, 13).⁴² They are usually referred to as “cloud scrolls.” In Han times, such patterns often included representations of animals and spirits worked into and between the motifs in such a way as to appear part of the design.⁴³ Ambiguity of design is, in fact, one of the outstanding features of the tradition of decorative art from which this casket derives. Jenny So has recently called attention to this in her description of such patterns in the catalog for the exhibition of excavated bronzes from China: “The interplay between the inlaid motifs and the cast-metal ground is so complex that it is virtually impossible to distinguish pattern from background.”⁴⁴

The black-ground casket is covered with cloud scrolls and tiny figures, spirits who, according to Han belief, guard the casket and ensure immortality for the deceased.⁴⁵ The red-ground casket bears deer, immortals, and dragons in addition to the cloud scrolls.⁴⁶ Both deer and immortals were part of the cult of immortality, while the dragon had long been an emblem of the authority of the ruler.⁴⁷

On the lid of the casket there are two pairs of intertwined dragons and tigers disposed symmetrically (figs. 14, 15). The motif of the intertwined animals, sometimes in combat as here, was already old in China at this time and, of course, is known from other parts of the world.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, prior to late Zhou times it is difficult to ascribe a definite meaning to this motif in the Chinese cultural context. By Han times, however, we have sufficient documentation to prove that the dragon and tiger commonly represented the spirits of two of the four quadrants of the heavens, east and west, respectively.⁴⁹ The tiger of the west was the *yin* spirit, while the dragon of the east was the *yang*. Their images were later cast onto Han mirrors, together with the wish that they maintain a harmonious interaction between the two forces they represented. In all likelihood, it was for this reason that their images were painted in lacquer onto that part of the casket whose surface faced upwards toward Heaven.⁵⁰

The two animals are intertwined with one another, and, as is common for this time, they are also intertwined with the cloud scrolls covering most of the area surrounding them. Since the contours of the clouds consist of a variety of curves similar to those on the contour of the dragon, it is difficult to distinguish one from the other, even though both

clouds and dragon are sharply distinguished from the red ground. An analogous object, a contemporary bronze *hu*,^h has been described by Watson (fig. 1); his remarks testify to the elusive character of these designs: "The cloud scroll derived from the pre-Han tradition is specially characteristic of ornament of the second century B.C., cloud and portions of dragons mingling inextricably in the design."⁵¹

Certainly, the conventions of late Zhou and Former Han decor could be applied to the representation of many kinds of spirits, including those presiding over *yin* and *yang*. These conventions, however, differ sharply from those of the Nanwuyang tower relief, most notably with respect to the treatment of the contour. This becomes more evident as we compare the pieces more closely. First, the pattern of curves used to fashion the shapes of the casket's figures is repeated in other shapes outside the figures, namely, in the cloud scrolls (fig. 16). In contrast, at Nanwuyang, the shapes of the figures are distinguished from the surroundings by being curved as opposed to being straight. Secondly, the curves and arabesques forming the animals and cloud scrolls of the Mawangdui casket design vary considerably in size, direction, and frequency and are too numerous to count easily. In the Nanwuyang relief, the bodies of the two sages form a simple "S" curve, i.e., two bends only, while the other two variations in contour are readily perceived as a head and sleeves. In short, the contour of figures at Mawangdui tends to be complex (many bends), while that of the Nanwuyang figures tends to be simple (having a readily countable number of bends).

Finally, the treatment of patterns within the contours of the figures differs in the two pieces. At Nanwuyang, the three semihuman figures have smooth surfaces that contrast with their striated surroundings, but the Red Bird is divided into four areas excluding head and legs, each with a separate pattern. Each pattern is uniform throughout its area, and each area ends precisely at the joint between the two anatomical areas involved. The neck pattern, for example, begins precisely where the head ends and stops where the neck joins the body. The same is true of the Dark Warrior. The result is that the surface patterns of the animals serve to make their contours and body divisions more easily recognizable.

The opposite is true of the Mawangdui dragon. There the coloring changes abruptly from a fine scale to a broad trefoil pattern a bit before and after the shoulder and hip regions, and again where the tail assumes a cloud scroll shape. These divisions occur beyond the joints, not at them, and are

separated by straight lines that do not correspond to any anatomical division indicated by the contour, thereby making those divisions less readily perceptible.⁵² The tiger at Mawangdui is easier to discern as a whole precisely because it lacks this disruptive coloration. Here, too, however, the division between limbs and body is not as clear as at Nanwuyang.

These differences become more meaningful if we consider the role of contour in visual perception. The work of specialists in several fields indicates that the ability to identify the contours of objects may be the most important single factor in the ability to recognize things visually.⁵³ The aggregate effect of the pictorial system at Nanwuyang is to clarify the contours of objects and parts of objects, thereby enhancing the recognizability of the image. This clarity proceeds largely from those archaic features the work shares with the art of other cultures, particularly its use of "parallel planes," its "vertical projection of spatial themes, the schematic reduction of natural shapes," and the "regular succession of repeated elements." Former Han conventions, in contrast, have long been known for their elusiveness. These differences may be due to chance, of course, but this explanation will appear less likely as we learn more of the spatial prescriptions of the Latter Han cosmic order in the first century A.D.

Emperor Ming's Ritual Revival

Both the iconographic and formal peculiarities of the Nanwuyang tower should be viewed in the context of the new status acquired by artworks during the Latter Han dynasty as vehicles for the propagation of the ideals of Han Confucianism. This role is quite different from that implied by either the decoration of the Mawangdui casket or other known works of the second century B.C. The dragon-tiger emblem on the casket certainly indicated the status and authority of the deceased and was probably intended to aid in establishing auspicious cosmic influences with respect to the deceased, if not the kingdom itself.⁵⁴ It is doubtful that it had either an overt moral or a narrative function. The same cannot be said of the stone tower, for in the time that passed between the fashioning of the casket and the carving of this stone, the cosmos itself and the interactions between *yin* and *yang* had acquired a moral dimension. Later we shall review evidence which suggests that this moral dimension may have altered the meaning of *yin* and *yang* to such an extent that the Former Han mode of representation was rendered fundamentally inappropriate.

These changes in the content of *yin* and *yang*

occurred together with new ideals concerning what was proper in institutions, ceremony, and art. The new ideals adopted by the government of the Latter Han were self-consciously declared in the prose-poem by Ban Gu,^j most famous for his *History of the Former Han Dynasty* (hereafter, *History*). The poem was probably written while Ban Gu was at the court of Emperor Ming (A.D. 58–75) of the Latter Han; in some ways, it is a highly literary pamphlet extolling the virtues of the new dynasty.⁵⁵ In his description of the Former Han capital, Ban Gu at first recounts the extravagant grandeur of the city, its buildings, and its statuary. Continuing, he describes the economic and political strength of the government and how it maintained a tight central control over powerful families by forcing them to live close to the capital. The vast parks, lavish hunts, and other expenditures of the dynasty are all recounted.⁵⁶

In his matching poem on the Latter Han capital, a contrasting set of achievements and ideals is presented. Instead of hearing of political and economic power, we learn of the revival of rites and old customs dating to pre-Han times. These practices bring about harmony and good government superior to that known before. Instead of the scale of imperial hunts, we hear that they are executed according to the proper rites in parks of modest proportions.⁵⁷ Indeed, many passages reveal a consciously new aesthetic. For example:

He revives old regulations, and sends down clear fiats; publishes statutes to exalt frugality and moderation with economy to show complete simplicity.

He discards the beautiful ornaments of the women's apartments, dispenses with the trappings of his carriages. . . . So then orders go forth to all within the four seas, unessentials are discarded, and a return made to basic [needs]. . . .⁵⁸

Apparently, this new "aesthetic" affected institutions as well as architectural style. Its propagation was ensured, not merely by the new style of ornament and ceremonial adopted at court, but above all by an extensive system of schools which Ban Gu regarded as a special achievement of the Latter Han.⁵⁹ In these schools future officials learned that the moral order of cosmos and society, Heaven and man, were one. It was this moral superiority which, for Ban Gu, ultimately established the superiority of the Latter Han government:

The buildings [of the Former Han], with the offerings made there to minor spirits [immortals], do not compare with the Spirit Terrace and Bright Hall where the concord between Heaven and man is effectively controlled. . . . The lawlessness of your bravos and dissipated townfolk is not to be compared with the universal observance of right procedure [in the Latter Han capital], its rhythmic order and strict behavior.⁶⁰

But these changes in imperial policy and "aesthet-

ics" did not occur simply because of Emperor Ming's desire to revive the golden age described in the Confucian classics; precedents existed. In his *History*, Ban Gu traces the beginnings of the revival of ritual and Confucian ideals to the reign of Emperor Wu^k (140–87 B.C.), shortly after the period to which we may assign the creation of the Mawangdui casket. Each new emperor increased the number of Confucian erudites, schools, or rites until the end of the dynasty. The short-lived Xin^l dynasty went still further in this respect, and the golden age of Han Confucianism may well find its culmination in the reign of Emperor Ming himself.⁶¹

Historians generally agree that this same period witnessed the decline of the strong central government mentioned by Ban Gu, in an inverse relation to the power of large clans. In general, as the lands held by powerful clans increased, the amount held by tax-paying freeholders decreased, thereby eroding the tax base of the central government while increasing the wealth of the clans.⁶² It was one of these clans that brought an end to the Former Han; it was a coalition of such clans that supported the founder of the Latter Han.⁶³

Under these circumstances, the Latter Han emperors could not hope to recapture the power of the early Han and so adopted a policy of reconciliation toward the large clans that is evidenced in a number of social and institutional changes. Among these were the abandonment of the attempted census of A.D. 39; the reinstatement of the *renzi*^m system, whereby high officers could appoint members of their own families to office; the reduction of officers reviewing candidates for office from five to only one (making it easier to influence the results of the review); and the eventual return of the salt and iron industries from central control to private families.⁶⁴ In the area of art production, the immediate impact of these events can be seen in the greater number of locally commissioned artworks, particularly bronze mirrors, the private production of which was officially censured.⁶⁵ In the Former Han, as mentioned above, the style of extant artifacts often reflects the relative standardization of a centrally organized system of workshops.

These developments can be seen in the context of the strong Confucian reaction to the highly centralized political order that had preceded the Han and persisted throughout the early Han. From the beginning of the Han dynasty, influential Confucians had criticized the legalistic, impersonal control of the tyrannical Qin dynasty.⁶⁶ In place of legal controls, they offered education and ritually proper conduct as a means of governing society. Of course, many legal controls were in fact retained by

both Han dynasties, and it seems unlikely that the Confucian advisors to the early Han emperors ever intended to weaken the central government. Nonetheless, the irony remains that, in general, as the grip of the central government on the big clans weakened, its emphasis on the propagation of desired models of conduct through ritual and education became increasingly intense. Hence, when Ban Gu criticized the Former Han, he made note of its centralized control; but when he listed the achievements of Emperor Ming, he emphasized the efficacy of education, ceremonies, "strict behavior," and ritually proper conduct in ruling the empire. In effect, we are told that Emperor Ming ruled by rites rather than by law, in the tradition of the sage-kings of old. In retrospect, he could hardly have done otherwise, for the powerful clans supporting the throne would not have tolerated the kind of legal restrictions that characterized the policies of the early Han emperors.

The government of the sage-kings, we learn, was simple, frugal, and unostentatious. Emperor Ming's policies with respect to architecture and carriage ornament were a part of his campaign to revive the standards of the sage-kings. These facts must be taken into account in any evaluation of the differences between the two monuments compared in this article. The Nanwuyang towers were most probably executed within a generation or two following the reign of Emperor Ming, and there seem to have been no major policy changes with respect to these matters during this period.⁶⁷ Even if the emperor had merely demonstrated his adherence to Confucian ideals by advocating simplicity and eliminating ostentation in the palace, the use of such designs as those which characterize early Han artworks might well have seemed inappropriate. However, I believe that the interplay between Han Confucianism and the "archaic" manner of our stone tower may occur at a still deeper level, a level where the treatment of space can affect meaning by affecting the recognizability of the objects depicted. An understanding of the moral dimension of *yin* and *yang* now becomes requisite, for the moral cosmos of the Han had certain limited spatial requirements that appear to be compatible with the conventions of "archaic" forms.

The Spatial Component of the Moral Cosmos

The major cosmic categories used by Han cosmologists, such as *yin*, *yang*, and the "five phases," were already familiar by Han times. The special contribution of Han cosmology was the introduction of an overt moral component which could be expressed as

a specific arrangement of those categories.⁶⁸ In order to grasp the moral content of the categories' spatial arrangement, as manifested in various artworks of the period, let us first review the basics of Han cosmology.

The most influential Confucian and cosmologist of the Han dynasty was Dong Zhongshu⁶⁹ (late second century B.C.). His collected essays on *yin* and *yang*, cosmos and society, remain the most complete and articulate exposition of Han cosmology, but views closely based on Dong's writings can be found throughout the Han until as late as the end of the second century A.D.⁷⁰ Dong postulated a fixed parallelism between natural and human events, wherein the order of natural, or "Heavenly," events was regular and unchanging. For example, the stars, the sun and moon, and the seasons all revolved according to a fixed sequence based on the alternation of *yin* and *yang*. Consequently, Dong's advice to the ruler was to organize his series of seasonal rituals and annual civil and military operations so as to parallel the natural order.⁷¹

Dong also maintained that the structure of power in government should parallel that of Heaven. Heaven is the "origin" of all things, and the ruler is the origin of all authority.⁷² Heaven distributes its power among the five cosmic "phases" (wood, fire, metal, water, earth), each of which is embodied in a star and presides over a certain category of events in nature. Likewise, the ruler establishes five ministries, each of which is in charge of certain duties. The powers of the five phases and the duties of the ministries are also parallel. Thus, the fire phase presides over military affairs and is matched by the Ministry of War in government; the wood phase matches the Ministry of Agriculture, and so on.⁷³

The moral component of Dong's cosmos derives from the Confucian tradition that authority relationships are ultimately modeled on the family, especially the relationship of progenitor to progeny. The father has authority over the son because the son owes his life to the father. This is why Heaven constitutes the ultimate authority, for all things owe their existence to Heaven: "The father is as Heaven to the son; Heaven is as Heaven to the father. . . . Heaven is the ancestor of all things. Without Heaven, the myriad things would not have life."⁷⁴ From these relationships arises the moral character of the cosmos, for each thing owes a debt of filial and/or loyal behavior to its superior:

Heaven and Earth are the source of all things. They are that from which our ancestors come. . . . The stars and sun shine brightly and do not dare to grow dim [each fulfills its function]. The way of lord and minister, father and son, husband and wife consists in this.⁷⁵

We can see how authority in government could be legitimized by the putative structure of authority in the cosmos. Cosmic order is conceived in procreative terms, and the cosmic genealogy is conceived as a fixed sequence beginning with the "origin" (or in society, the emperor) and proceeding from there.

For this reason, Dong arranged his cosmos in sequences. He made *yin* subordinate to *yang* and arranged the five phases in serial order, each one "giving birth" to the next. Thus, there could be no ambiguity in their relative ranking.⁷⁶ By postulating these sequences, Dong automatically injected a moral dimension into his cosmos, for in this system morality derives from the cosmic genealogy, which could be expressed as a linear succession of either phases or sages.⁷⁷

It is for this reason that Dong insists that space, too, is hierarchical: "All things must have a match, [and] every match must have a superior and inferior, left and right, front and behind, inner and outer, beautiful and ugly, obedient and disobedient, . . . these are all 'matches.'" ⁷⁸ There is no *a priori* reason why left should be superior to right, or inner to outer, but Dong establishes this arrangement to position all things in his moral cosmos according to the procreative model.

It is probably no accident that Dong began his list of polarities with spatial terms. Left and right or front and behind are clearly the outer perimeters necessary to establish direction. Direction is, of course, necessary for the construction of any sequence, and Dong's moral universe could not be expressed spatially without prior and subsequent, superior and inferior. The reader might object that virtually any concept of space would include left and right, front and behind. The fact is that the cosmic theories of Dong's non-Confucian contemporaries postulate a cosmic space without form or direction, which is to say, without the Confucian moral dimension.⁷⁹ In this respect, as in many others, Dong departs from the non-Confucian cosmologists who preceded him.

Likewise, Dong and many of his contemporaries could not conceive a universe without categories, since Dong's political and social scheme was based on classification according to the five phases. Differentiating criteria, like inner and outer or "inclusion" and "exclusion," are logically necessary for the construction of categories. Therefore, Dong's cosmos would require these dimensions, unlike the "formless" cosmos of his predecessors. In fact, in Dong's essays, the distinction between inner and outer appears as part of his concern with drawing a clear boundary between the two interacting cosmic polarities: "[*Yin* and *yang*] interconnect in front in

summer and behind in winter, but they are not the same principle. They operate together, but are not confused with one another. They are mixed together, but each grasps its part." And, again: "[*Yin* and *yang*] interconnect and meet, but each principle alternates with the other. . . . When one exits the other enters, when one is in office the other retires."⁸⁰

Spatial Arrangement as a Metaphor for Cosmic/Social Order

The pervasive role of linear succession and spatial hierarchy in the moral cosmos of Dong invites an inquiry into the spatial requirements of visual representations of *yin* and *yang*. We may pursue this question by examining more metaphors that are applicable to both visual and verbal descriptions of the social/cosmic order. Having done so, we may consider whether or not the peculiarities of "archaic" representation in northeast China at this time can be read in part as visual metaphors of this order.

The use of linear succession to represent ranking order did not originate with Dong Zhongshu, but rather in the actual practice of ritual in Zhou times (if not earlier).⁸¹ Early literature in this tradition typically emphasizes both linear succession and the segregating, categorizing function of ritual. Examples are numerous, and we need only provide a sampling here:

By means of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they distinguished the royal kindred according to their order of descent [i.e., genealogy]. By ordering the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less.⁸²

Therefore the rites at court are for clarifying the duties which exist between lord and minister . . . and the rites of marriage for clarifying the distinction between male and female.⁸³

Dong's innovation in the realm of cosmology was to apply the traditional Confucian ideal of ritual order to the entire cosmos. For him, the maintenance of the proper sequence in natural events and the consequent production of food was contingent upon a parallel sequence of rituals executed at the proper time by the emperor and officials: "It is the nature of the five grains to be edible. This is what Heaven grants to man. Above the ancestral temple [where ritual is conducted] is where the four seasons are accomplished."⁸⁴ In taking this position, therefore, Dong describes the primary point of both Shang and Zhou practice, in which both the bounty of the seasons and the harmony of society were guaranteed by ritual. Bounty was secured by honoring one's ancestors, who in turn could ensure seasonally optimal weather; social harmony was secured in the

ritual itself, where social distinctions were publicly displayed.⁸⁵

The complexity and scope of Dong's cosmology distinguishes it from all of its predecessors. By Latter Han times, attention to the moral-ritual-spatial complex can be discerned in most descriptions of the cosmos, but the observations of Ban Gu are among the most revealing:

Music controls the internal and creates unity; ritual refines the external and makes distinctions [of rank].⁸⁶

Rites belong to the *yin*, which is subordinately fashioned by the *yang*, therefore they are said to be fashioned. Music takes its image from the *yang*, rites model themselves on the *yin*.⁸⁷

The former sage-kings were ashamed of disorder. Therefore they instituted the songs, basing them on feeling, searching into its rules of measurement, and establishing it in ritual and duty. They united the living [*yin* and *yang*] cosmic vapor, and directed the action of the five constant virtues. They caused the *yang* not to disperse [from expansion], nor the *yin* to coagulate [from contraction]. The firm vapor [*yang*] was not aggressive and the soft vapor [*yin*] was not timid. Communicating with the four directions, [the *yin* and *yang* cosmic vapor] interconnected in the center, and issued forth beyond. Each thing rested in its proper place and none infringed upon the place of another. This was sufficient to move the hearts of men to the good, and prevent the evil vapor from reaching them.⁸⁸

The first of these passages is very much in the tradition of older works which reiterate the role of ritual in making distinctions. The second recalls the cosmic ranking of Dong Zhongshu. But the third passage clarifies the way in which ritual order can be projected onto the cosmos as a spatial arrangement. The passage begins by telling us that the sages were ashamed of disorder, just as we know that they were opposed to ostentation and promoted simplicity. The cure for disorder was ritual, which we know clarifies the boundaries between social spaces. It is therefore hardly surprising that the condition necessary to move men's hearts to the good required a distribution of roles in which "each thing rested in its proper place, and none infringed upon the place of another." This is to say that the precondition for good is stated in terms of a spatial arrangement signifying an orderly distribution defined by the absence of overlap. Likewise, cosmic harmony is described in terms of a spatial arrangement, the centered (symmetrical?) union of *yin* and *yang* and their communication with the four quarters.

In these passages, spatial arrangement is used as a device to express cosmic and social order—the connection of *yin* and *yang* in the center of the four directions signifies not only their union, but the fundamental priority of *yin* and *yang* in cosmic/social events, especially the progression of the four seasons and the production of life. In the context of our inquiry it is worth noting that such representa-

tions, although verbally expressed, are descriptive of actual spatial relations in ritual practice at this time and earlier.⁸⁹ The meaning of such spatial arrangements is therefore commutable between visual and verbal expression. Because of this we have no difficulty understanding the meaning of the composition at Nanwuyang, in which the artist connected his two deities in the center to convey the same idea of fundamental priority. Spatial arrangement is the common coin between Ban Gu's text and the Nanwuyang relief.

More interesting for our purposes is Ban Gu's equation of this four-corner arrangement and ideal order. He emphasizes nonoverlapping areas to convey a sense of perfect order because whole, uninterrupted contours are in fact easier to isolate as images and thereby reduce the number of variables involved in sorting images. In this case the metaphor is apt because of the desire to keep people's roles unequivocally distinct and recognizable. Again, the sense of the spatial arrangement is commutable, operating in a realm where form and meaning overlap. Relying upon spatial relationships whose general import is understood, both text and relief employ these relationships in a context which amplifies their basic meaning.

The Meaning of the Central Figure

I have argued that such spatial arrangements convey the same meaning in a visual context as they do in a verbal one. Before we could confirm this claim, however, we would need to confirm that the subject matter in the artwork is the same in all fundamentals as the subject of the essays we have discussed. Furthermore, we must be certain that we are dealing with the same cultural and historical setting. In the case of the Nanwuyang stone, we have a work almost contemporary with Ban Gu. An examination of the subject matter of the Nanwuyang piece will show that its image of cosmic order, too, is very close to that of Dong Zhongshu and Ban Gu.

The passage cited above described an ideal of cosmic harmony in which the *yin* and *yang* cosmic vapors interconnect in the center and communicate with the four directions. This image parallels that of the Nanwuyang tower, both in the union theme and in reference to the four quarters, but the parallel goes beyond this. In Ban Gu's passage, ritual is a major factor in the creation of cosmic order. In the Nanwuyang stone (unlike the Mawangdui casket), reference is indeed made to ritual in the caps and sleeves worn by the deities. The cap indicates the rank of the personage involved, and the sleeves and collar played an important role in the Confucian

ideal of government by ritual.⁹⁰ Such references to the rites indicate the moral character of this cosmic image.

The requirements of ritual order imposed upon the cosmos may also provide the best explanation of the mysterious third figure who holds Fu Xi and Nü Wa together. The function of this figure may be either the source of life and authority which Dong called the "origin" or the entity in celestial hierarchy that parallels the emperor in the political hierarchy. In other words, it may be the celestial progenitor of *yin* and *yang*. Evidence from a variety of sources suggests that this is the case. For example, we know that *yin* and *yang* played the leading roles in most of Han and pre-Han essays dealing with the origins of the cosmos. Fu Xi and Nü Wa also came to be associated with creation myths in Latter Han times. The subject of the stone, therefore, most probably included the idea, for contemporaries, of the origin of life.

We may find corroboration for this view by examining a relief of Fu Xi and Nü Wa at the Wu shrines. The relief was executed not far from Nanwuyang, but it is perhaps some seventy or eighty years later in date (fig. 9). Here the two deities are shown, not with their progenitor, but, according to Qing dynasty scholars, with their progeny.⁹¹ If earlier Chinese studies of the iconography of this piece are correct, the relief refers directly to the function of the two sages as progenitors of mankind, a reference which would carry moral/cosmic import in the Latter Han. The artist of the Nanwuyang tower could have adopted a similar approach, establishing the moral import of his image of cosmic harmony by showing us the progenitor of the two deities rather than their progeny. This approach would, however, have been possible only if a deity of such high status was known in the Han celestial hierarchy.

The worship of at least one such deity was initiated during the early Han, apparently as part of a strategy to bolster imperial authority through religion. Ever since the unification of China under the Qin dynasty there had been attempts to centralize rituals to nature deities in accordance with the political centralization of authority. Since many deities were attached to previously independent localities, the placement of their cults in the capital effectively signified the centralization of spiritual and political authority.⁹² This trend reached its peak during the reign of Emperor Wu, the patron of Dong Zhongshu, with the cult of Tai Yi,⁹³ or "Ultimate Unity." James Bilsky, in his study of state religion in ancient China, has identified the political significance of this cult as follows:

The god was explained as the most noble of the heavenly deities. He symbolized the ultimate unity from which all things, even the Yin and Yang, had sprung. Thus, T'ai I could be worshipped in conjunction with Heaven, the embodiment of the Yang principle, and Earth, the embodiment of the Yin. . . . The five Supreme Emperors were T'ai I's assistants. They had the same relationship to T'ai I as the five elements [phases] had to the one principle from which they were derived. Inasmuch as each Supreme Emperor represented a region of the Chinese nation, T'ai I represented the nation as a whole.⁹³

Bilsky's explanation makes it clear that the position of Tai Yi in the state religion paralleled that of Dong's "origin" as the celestial counterpart of the emperor and the origin of *yin*, *yang*, and of all life. This explains why Tai Yi is elsewhere referred to as the "ruler of the spirits." In Han political essays the character for "ruler" (*jun*)⁹⁴ would normally designate the emperor.⁹⁴

Emperor Wu appears to have had an interest in such cults, partly as a means of legitimizing his own power. By the end of the Latter Han, the meaning of the cult had acquired a more overt moral dimension. In a memorial of A.D. 6 to the emperor, Wang Mang⁹⁵ (33 B.C.–A.D. 23) explained the meaning of the cult in terms of the cardinal virtue of venerating one's ancestors. He cited Confucius to prove that filial piety was the greatest of all virtues. But no act of piety was greater than honoring one's ancestor as "Equal of Heaven." He continued: "Tracing the meaning of [honoring one's] 'deceased father,' it means to honor one's ancestors, and by extrapolation we [ultimately] arrive at the first ancestor." He then relates how the various kings honored their first ancestor until he arrives at the Han dynasty, the unification of the cults, and the worship of Tai Yi, when the first Han emperor was honored as "Equal of Heaven."⁹⁵ For Wang Mang, the worship of Tai Yi acquired a moral dimension by virtue of its parallel to the act of honoring the first imperial ancestor of the Han dynasty.

Wang Mang's religious practices are known to have had an impact on those of the Latter Han. Indeed, one of Emperor Ming's first acts was to honor his father as "Equal of Heaven." He is also said to have worshipped Tai Yi.⁹⁶ It would appear that the idea of a progenitor of *yin* and *yang* as the origin of the moral cosmos and celestial counterpart of the emperor was alive and well in the first century of the Latter Han, not long before the carving of our stone tower.

Tai Yi is mentioned in the astronomical chapter of the *History of the Former Han* as the supreme star and deity of Heaven. In this capacity, Tai Yi was represented in paintings together with other celestial deities. A Jin dynasty commentator of Ban Gu's *History* tells us that in one such painting Tai Yi was

placed *behind* the three highest celestial officers. We may infer that this position signified both spatial and political priority, thus corroborating what seems fairly evident to even the modern eye in the Nanwuyang tower.⁹⁷

Still, in the absence of an inscription, it cannot be proved that the third figure is Tai Yi. We do read of other deities of comparable cosmic status in Han sources. In a source approximately contemporary with Dong Zhongshu, Tai Ji' is said to have given birth to *yin* and *yang*.⁹⁸ Elsewhere, we read of a Tai Di,⁹⁹ who formerly "raised a single spirit cauldron. [That it should be] 'single' stands for unity; it is a symbol of that which binds together all things." The name is different, but the idea is familiar. The unity of the imperial order finds its correlate in one or another figure drawn from either the heavens or from history.

We certainly cannot rule out the possibility that the deity represented might have borne a name other than that of Tai Yi. Nevertheless, at that time any central deity placed behind *yin* and *yang* and binding them together would certainly have had a status prior and superior to the two polarities. In the context of the imperially authorized cosmic theories of the Latter Han, such a deity could only refer to the supreme spirit, the "origin" of *yin*, *yang*, the seasons, and all life. As such, this figure, representing the beginning of the social/cosmic hierarchy, declares the moral character of the cosmic order far more than do the caps and sleeves of the other deities.

By the time of Emperor Ming, the very shape of the cosmos is described in a manner consistent with a moral order fashioned on the model of familial ties. As a result, even simple spatial relations, such as center and periphery or prior and subsequent, could not but acquire a social/moral import, for they were equivalent to superior and inferior. It is this that makes possible the use of spatial arrangements to represent social order in both visual and verbal contexts. In actual ceremonies, strict and unequivocal distinctions in ranking and roles had long been emphasized by means of spatial relations, and in written essays, similar relations could be used metaphorically to represent the same order at the cosmic level.

There is an ancient tradition in European thought which regards the intellect and the senses as independent, or even mutually exclusive. Content in art is not located in form itself. Rather, it is sought at the level of namable objects.¹⁰⁰ In the context of the materials we have considered here, it seems prudent to treat this approach with some caution. The fact is that the peculiarities of archaic forms satisfy the conditions of the moral/cosmic order of the Latter

Han to a degree beyond what we might expect from the vicissitudes of taste.

For example, the "schematic reduction" of shapes characteristic of archaic representation tends to create simplified, tidy contours and to reduce spatially complex relations between figures. Since contour is a key element in visual identification, and since simple contours are easier to recognize, the archaic use of simple contours both makes identification of objects easier and simplifies the sorting and location of objects in a scene. In short, the potential for ambivalent readings is reduced. This is consistent with Emperor Ming's aesthetic of unostentatious simplicity, but it is also expressive of Ban Gu's image of an orderly world without overlap. Similarly, vertical projection and the "regular succession of repeated elements" are features which simplify the location of objects in space by arranging them in two-dimensional sequences.

The most obvious use of these devices in Han art to represent the cosmic/political order may well be the succession of the sage-kings at the Wu shrines (fig. 17). This frieze begins with Fu Xi and Nü Wa and follows precisely the order of succession given in chapter twenty of Ban Gu's *History*.¹⁰¹ The use of archaic forms obviously heightens the message of the transmission of authority through time, but in subtler ways, these images conform to the ideal of Han cosmic order by reducing visual complexities.

Any appeal to a *Zeitgeist*, or "mentality" of an epoch, to explain the harmony of form and content in a particular work may be unconvincing. On the basis of the evidence reviewed here, I would suggest that something like the following occurred.

After the time of Emperor Wu, the criteria for office became increasingly morally charged, while the number of offices available through recommendation and examination also increased. Consequently, a larger number of families of various degrees of local esteem found it advantageous to promote Confucian values in a variety of ways. The many stone monuments to the deceased that characterize Latter Han art are partial evidence of this attitude. As the cosmic order was conceived with a moral dimension and office awarded on moral criteria, we find a comingling of cosmic/moral theory and political life at other levels as well. For example, Wang Mang justified his rule by means of cosmic signs ratifying his own virtue.¹⁰² It is also known that officials were often dismissed as immoral, not always because of their behavior, but due to cosmic signs in their districts.¹⁰³ On the other hand, filial behavior in public, the erection of monuments, or signs from Heaven could gain a local man a reputation. One local official in Gansu even

advertised his virtue by recording the auspicious images that appeared in his district on stone (fig. 18).

Therefore, what we now designate as "art" had a role to play in Han politics and society. Whether it played that role effectively probably depended as much on its appearance as did the impression a man made in person—this much can be inferred from Emperor Ming's sensitivity to the contradiction between Confucian norms and elaborate decor. It is plausible, therefore, to infer that social pressures similar or identical to those influencing people's dress and accoutrements could, over time, weed out conventions of form which were inconsistent with what was considered proper. In the end, archaic forms which may have initially been available as options came to be favored in this part of China.

Other factors undoubtedly contributed to the change in form. Han Confucianism encouraged the representation of specific narrative themes—themes which are uncommon prior to the Latter Han. Frequent practice in depicting narrative scenes requiring the clear portrayal of objects in space might also have encouraged the artists' use of some archaic devices, though not necessarily to the degree to which we find it. Since most of the subjects represented in the Latter Han come under the rubric of ritual, it would be worthwhile to investigate the advantages or disadvantages of the use of the same archaic devices in noncosmic subject matter as well.

We must also note that the area of China in which the most typically archaic works occur (southern Shandong and northwestern Jiangsu) boasted a venerable history and remained a very special area even then. It was in this region, ancient Lu, that Confucianism had its strongest hold. Here Confucius himself and Dong Zhongshu had been born,

and it was this region that produced so many of the great Confucian scholars of the Han.¹⁰⁴ It was even said that when the first emperor of the Han rode into this region, the scholars there were still chanting the old songs of the Zhou dynasty.¹⁰⁵ Other areas of Han China were not so steeped in the way of the sage-kings, so teachers had to be sent to the provinces to instruct the locals in the rites.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, we should hesitate to employ the same kind of analysis in those areas of China where we could not be as certain of the depth of familiarity with the Han cosmic and social ideals adopted at court and where the mode of representation is also, suggestively, somewhat different.

The occurrence of archaic features in the Shandong-Jiangsu region in the first century may in fact be the result of certain conditions which stimulated the appearance of archaic works in other times and places. But before the universal factors, if any, can be investigated, it is necessary to examine the advantages or disadvantages of such a mode of representation in each specific historical context. Fortunately, in China we have a considerable body of literature which describes for us the spatial properties of the ideal cosmic/social order. On the basis of this literature, it would appear that archaic forms did in fact offer many advantages over earlier conventions in terms of respecting the limitations imposed by that order. In addition, we can identify motives which would encourage patrons and/or artists not to violate the aesthetic limitations that were associated with the ideal rule of the sage-kings. In the aggregate, the evidence suggests that the use of archaic forms at this time was, in part, a formal adaptation to the demands of subject matter whose meaning could be affected by shape alone.

Notes

1. Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting, Leading Masters and Principles*, 7 vols. (New York and London, 1956), 1:17; Alexander C. Soper, "Life-Motion and the Sense of Space in Early Chinese Representational Art," *Art Bulletin* 30 (1948): 171.
2. William Watson, *The Chinese Exhibition* (London, 1974), p. 117.
3. Siren, *Chinese Painting*, 1:17; Laurence Sickman and Alexander C. Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (Baltimore, 1971), p. 57; Ludwig Bachhofer, *A Short History of Chinese Art* (London, 1947), p. 89.
4. Alexander C. Soper, "Early Chinese Landscape Painting," *Art Bulletin* 23 (1941): 145-46; Soper, "Life-Motion," p. 170; F. S. Drake, "The Sculptured Stones of the Han Dynasty," *Monumenta Serica* 8 (1943): 392.
5. Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac I" (1939), reprinted in *Romanesque Art*, ed. Meyer Schapiro (New York, 1977), p. 132.
6. Soper, "Early Chinese Landscape Painting," p. 146.
7. H. P. L'Orange, *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 55-70, 78-88. I am indebted to my colleague Susan Downey for this reference.
8. J. L. Fischer, "Art Styles as Cultural Cognitive Maps," in *Art and Aesthetics in Primitive Societies*, ed. Carol Jopling (New York, 1971), pp. 175-77. Nancy Munn has published several studies demonstrating a very close relationship between art forms and the social function of the artwork, but none of these styles can be considered archaic. Nevertheless, her work illustrates how closely form and meaning can correspond in the art of the cultures she examines. This kind of study is clearly pertinent to the art-historical problem of the uses of form in art. See her article in the anthology cited above, "Visual Categories, An Approach to the Study of Representational Systems," pp. 335-55. See also her book, *Walbiri Iconography: Graphic Representation and Cultural Symbolism in a Central Australian Society* (New York, 1973), esp. pp. 217ff.
9. Eduard Chavannes, *Mission Archaeologique dans la Chine Septentrionale* (Paris, 1909), pp. 229-30; Nagahiro Toshio, *Kandai gazo no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1965), p. 48.
10. In *Mission Archaeologique*, Chavannes reproduced rubbings of many stones from Shandong with similar subject matter. Examples can be found in pls. 22, 26, 27, 43, 44, 87, and in many others.
11. For examples, see Hsio-yen Shih, "Han Stone Reliefs from Shensi Province," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 14 (1960): 49-64; Jan Fontein and Wu Tung, *Han and Tang Murals* (Boston, 1976), pp. 54-77; "Nanyang han huaxiangshi gaishu," report by the Henan Provincial Museum, *Wen wu*, no. 6 (1973), pp. 16-25.
12. Chavannes, *Mission Archaeologique*, figs. 1214, 1215; p. 230.
13. Both Chavannes and Nagahiro accepted the inscription as genuine. Nagahiro, *Kandai gazo no kenkyū*, p. 48. Chavannes transliterated fragments of the inscription. As this appeared somewhat garbled to me, I sought the advice of my colleague, Han specialist Chi-yün Ch'en. He confirmed that Chavannes's interpretation of the inscription could not be correct, and so I have ignored those transliterated fragments that follow the date at the beginning of the inscription.
14. Chavannes, *Mission Archaeologique*, pp. 62-92; pls. 24-29.
15. Similarly, archaic reliefs were found at Feicheng, Shandong, near Xiaotangshan, dated A.D. 83. Wang Sili, "Shandong Feicheng han huaxiang mu diaocha," *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, no. 4 (1958), pp. 32-36. Li Falin, who has conducted a survey of sculptural techniques of all extant Han stones, has periodized Han stones according to technique. He considers the kind of technique used in monuments such as Xiaotangshan to date to his earliest period, i.e., ca. 80 B.C.-A.D. 88. Li Falin, "Lue tan han huaxiang shi de diaoke jifa ji qi fenqi," *Kaogu*, no. 4 (1965), p. 202.
16. For examples, see Stefan Balasz, "Die Inschriften der Sammlung Baron von der Heydt," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 22 (1934): 24-29; "Jiangsu xuzhou shilipu han huaxiang shimu," comp. Jiangsusheng wenwu guanli weiyuan yuanhui, Nanjing bowuguan, *Kaogu*, no. 2 (1966), pp. 66-83; "Shandong cangshan yuanjia yuannian huaxiang shimu," comp. Shandongsheng bowuguan and Cangshanxian wenhuaguan, *Kaogu*, no. 2 (1975), pp. 124-34; "Shandong anqiu han huaxiang shimu fajue jianbao," comp. Shandongsheng bowuguan, *Wen wu*, no. 4 (1964), pp. 30-39; and "Henan xiangcheng cigou han huaxiang shimu," *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 1 (1964), pp. 111-33. Stones from southern Shandong, northern Jiangsu, and eastern Henan are considered pertinent to the Nanwuyang stone because of stylistic affinities and because these three areas belonged to one administrative unit in Han times. See E. Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden, 1959), p. 26.
17. Bertold Laufer, *Chinese Grave Sculptures of the Han Period* (New York, 1911), p. 4; Nagahiro, *Kandai gazo no kenkyū*, pp. 19-20.
18. Doris Croissant, "Funktion und Wanddekori in der Opferschreine von Wu-Liang-t'zu: Typologische und iconographische Untersuchungen," *Monumenta Serica* 23 (1964): 99-105.
19. Chi-yün Ch'en, *Hsün Yueh* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 13-16; Ban Gu (d. A.D. 92), *Han shu*, 12 vols. (Beijing, 1962), 22.1029-34.
20. Tung-tsu Ch'ü and Jack Dull, eds., *Han Social Structure* (Seattle, 1972), pp. 103, 105, 109-11.
21. Franklin Houn, "The Civil Service Recruitment System of the Han Dynasty," *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 1 (1956): 141-45.
22. Ibid.
23. Fan Wenlan, *Zhongguo tongshi jianpian*, 4 vols. (Beijing, 1965), 2:140-41.
24. Chavannes, *Mission Archaeologique*, p. 231.
25. This shrine has been the subject of numerous studies. In addition to those by Doris Croissant and Toshio Nagahiro cited above, one may also consult, among others, the following: Feng Yunpeng and Feng Yunyuan, *Jinshi suo*, 2 vols. (n.p., 1821; reprint ed., Taipei, 1974); Rong Geng, *Han wuliangci huaxiang lu*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Peking Monograph Series no. 13 (Beijing, 1936); Wilma Fairbank, "The Offering Shrines of Wu Liang Tz'u,"

- Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 6 (1941): 1-36; Toshio Nagahiro, "A Study of the Central Pavilion of the Wu Family Shrines," *Acta Asiatica* 2 (1961): 40-58.
26. Warring States and Han texts commonly use the circle and square as metaphors for Heaven and Earth, ruler and minister, or *yin* and *yang*, respectively. We need only cite a few examples: *Lushi chunqiu jishi*, comp. Lu Buwei (d. 235 B.C.), commentary by Gao You (fl. A.D. 205-12) (Taipei, 1975), 3.16b-18b, 25.11a-13a, hereafter, *Lushi chunqiu*; *Huainan jizheng*, commentary by Gao You, ed. Liu Jiali (Beijing, 1924), 15.4a-5a, hereafter, *Huainanzi*; *Liji zhushu*, *Shisanjing zhushu* edition, 37.5b, hereafter, *Liji*.
 27. Chavannes, *Mission Archaeologique*, p. 231. Chavannes erred, however, in identifying the Red Bird with the North and the Dark Warrior with the South.
 28. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 5 vols. to date (Cambridge, 1954-), 3:212; *Zhou yi zhushu*, *Shisanjing zhushu* edition, 8.10a.
 29. Wen Yiduo, *Wen Yiduo quanji*, comp. Zhu Ziqing, 4 vols. (Beijing, 1947; reprint ed., Hong Kong, 1975), 1:15.
 30. Kung-chuan Hsiao, *A History of Chinese Political Thought*, trans. Frederick Mote (Princeton, 1979), pp. 490-91; *Huainanzi*, *juan* 6; Wang Fu (second c. A.D.), *Qianfu lun* (Taipei, 1975), 9.36.
 31. In his recent book, *Ways to Paradise* (London, 1979), Michael Loewe examines the various deities and spirits to which serpentine forms have been attributed in the context of Han representation. See esp. pp. 57-59, 140.
 32. Li Falin, "Lue tan han huaxiang," p. 201, did not mention the use of paint, although he believes that most Han sculptures there may be regarded essentially as "paintings transferred to sculpture."
 33. He Zhenghuang, *Shanbei donghan huaxiang shike gaishu* (Beijing, 1958), p. 5.
 34. Sickman and Soper, *Art and Architecture*, p. 77; Michael Sullivan, *A Short History of Chinese Art* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 103-4.
 35. Siren, *Chinese Painting*, 1:21; Fontein and Tung, *Han and Tang Murals*, pp. 9-10.
 36. Chow Fang, "Ma Wang Tui. A Treasure-Trove of the Western Han Dynasty," *Artibus Asiae* 35 (1973): 54-61; Jeffrey K. Riegel, "A Summary of Some Recent *Wenwu* and *Kaogu* Articles: Mawangdui Tombs Two and Three," *Early China*, no. 4 (Fall 1975), pp. 10-15; Alice J. Hall, "A Lady from China's Past," *National Geographic*, May 1974, pp. 660-81.
 37. The Hunan Provincial Museum and the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences, *Mawangdui yihao han mu*, 2 vols. (Beijing, 1973), hereafter, *Mawangdui*.
 38. *Lushi chunqiu* 10.5b-7b.
 39. Chen Zhi, *Liang han jingji shiliao luncong* (Shaaxi, 1958), pp. 97, 110.
 40. *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 103.
 41. *Mawangdui*, 1:13-14.
 42. Watson, *The Chinese Exhibition*, pp. 99, 107.
 43. Sickman and Soper, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 74-76; Siren, *Chinese Painting*, 1:17.
 44. Wen Fong, ed., *The Great Bronze Age of China* (New York, 1980), p. 314.
 45. Sun Zuoyun has conducted a thorough study of the iconography of this casket. "Mawangdui yihao han mu qiguan kaoshi," *Kaogu*, no. 4 (1973), pp. 247-54.
 46. *Mawangdui*, 1:26.
 47. James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, 3d ed., 5 vols. (Hong Kong, 1960), 5:38, 40.
 48. Alfred Salmony, *Sino-Siberian Art in the Collection of C.T. Loo* (Paris, 1933), p. 63.
 49. It was previously believed that the earliest mention of the animals of the four directions was in the *Huainanzi*, submitted to Emperor Wu in 139 B.C., but Karlgren cited earlier sources to the contrary in an early article on mirrors. Bernard Karlgren, "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 6 (1934): 26-27. More recently, the images of a dragon and tiger have been found on a lacquer box cover in the context of the Pole star and other constellations. Since the box dates to before 433 B.C., this find provides potent evidence that the belief in these animals may be as old as Han texts say it is. Wang Jianmin, Liang Zhu, and Wang Shengli, "Zeng hou yi mu Chutu de ershiba xiu qinglong baihu tuxiang," *Wen wu*, no. 7 (1979), pp. 40-45.
 50. Karlgren, "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions," pp. 30ff.
 51. Watson, *The Chinese Exhibition*, p. 107.
 52. Biologists have long recognized the importance of contour in the visual recognition of prey by predators, especially vertebrates like ourselves. Two phenomena particularly relevant for the art historian are called "coincident disruption" and "contour obliteration." The first occurs "when any object like an animal bears upon its surface a pattern of contrasted colours and tones, so arranged as to contradict anatomical features." The markings on the Mawangdui dragon do in fact contradict the anatomical divisions detectable through close inspection of the outlines of the animal. The second consists of the break-up of contour, important for concealment because "a special problem is presented by the continuous outline, often of characteristic shape, which bounds the visible surface and which is of great significance as a factor in recognition." Hugh B. Cott, "Animal Form in Relation to Appearance," in *Aspects of Form*, ed. Lancelot Law Whyte (London, 1968), pp. 126, 128. The fact that the contour of the dragon is difficult to separate from those of adjacent clouds tends to reduce the ease with which the animal's form can be identified.
 53. Experiments in eye fixation patterns bear out the importance of contour in visual recognition. A recent study has led some scientists to infer that changes in the direction of lines, i.e., angles, are primary—if not the primary—elements of visual information. David Norton and Lawrence Stark, "Eye Movements and Visual Perception," *Scientific American*, June 1971, pp. 7-8. These experiments focused on drawings and photographs. A more comprehensive theory by James J. Gibson proposes that gradients of texture, angle, tone, etc., in the contours and surfaces of objects, pictorial or real, are the major components of visual information. His theory appears consistent with, but more complex than, the study just cited. James J. Gibson,

- The Perception of the Visual World* (Boston, 1950), esp. pp. 51–76. If these studies are correct, then the Shandong artists in the first and second centuries have limited their lexicon of forms to those most essential for conveying the identity of the figure and to little more than those.
54. Jan Deregowski has noted that the purpose of a drawing may lie either in its use as a description of an object or as an identification mark for a person of a certain station or rank. The efficacy of any style will vary with respect to these two functions. The Mawangdui dragon and tiger appear to belong to the latter category. Jan B. Deregowski, "Illusion and Culture," in *Illusion in Nature and Art*, ed. R. L. Gregory and E. H. Gombrich (New York, 1973), pp. 161–91. I am grateful to Cecelia Klein for this reference.
 55. In its opening lines the poem even declares itself to be a polemic against those who still clung to the glorious memory of the Former Han. E. R. Hughes, *Two Chinese Poets* (Princeton, 1960), pp. 21, 26.
 56. Ban Gu, "Xijing fu," in *Wenxuan*, comp. Xiao Tong (A.D. 501–31) (Shanghai, 1936), pp. 5–6, hereafter, *Wenxuan*. Hughes, *Two Chinese Poets*, pp. 28–29.
 57. This attitude is reminiscent of Mencius's famous discourse on parks in *Mencius*, bk. 1, pt. 2, chap. 2. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2:153–54.
 58. Ban Gu, "Dongjing fu," in *Wenxuan*, p. 21; Hughes, *Two Chinese Poets*, p. 54.
 59. *Wenxuan*, p. 21; Hughes, *Two Chinese Poets*, p. 55.
 60. *Wenxuan*, p. 22; Hughes, *Two Chinese Poets*, p. 56.
 61. *Han shu* 22.1030–35; Fan Ye (d. A.D. 445) and Sima Biao (A.D. 240–305), *Hou han shu*, 12 vols. (Beijing, 1965), *zhi* 8, pp. 3177–81. John K. Shryock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius* (New York, 1932), pp. 103–5. In this essay, the word *ritual* is not used in its more sophisticated anthropological sense, but merely as a translation for the Chinese term *li*. In the classics, it is often proper to translate this term as "propriety," "decorum," or the like. However, in the many Han writings on the subject of *li*, the most common meaning is that of a formal ceremony in which the actions of the persons involved can have both cosmic and social repercussions, often by means of a kind of sympathetic magic. It is therefore treated as more than a matter of custom—as a method of government. This sense of *ritual* should be distinguished from a broader one in which even casual but formalized types of greeting could be regarded as ritual. There is nothing casual about the term *li* as we find it in Han texts.
 62. Yu Ying-shih, "Donghan Zhengquan zhi jianli yu dazhu daxing zhi guanxi," *Xinya xuebao* 1, no. 2 (1956): 207–80; Chi-yün Ch'en, *Hsun Yueh*, p. 14.
 63. Hans Bielenstein, "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 26 (1954): 82, 87, 88, 93ff.
 64. Chi-yün Ch'en, *Hsun Yueh*, p. 10; Houn, "The Civil Service Recruitment System," p. 153; Fan Wenlan, *Zhongguo tongshi jianpian*, 2:261.
 65. Chen Zhi, *Liang han*, p. 189.
 66. Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Chinese Political Thought*, pp. 481–83.
 67. The biography of Emperor Zhang (A.D. 76–88) provides numerous examples of his acts of piety and virtue. *Hou han shu* 3.144, 145, 147, 150, 154, 155. His successor, Emperor He (A.D. 89–105), honored the aged and worshipped at the Bright Hall as had Emperor Ming. *Hou han shu* 4.172, 174.
 68. Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Chinese Political Thought*, pp. 488–90; Hou Wailu, *Zhongguo sixiang tongshi*, 6 vols. (Beijing, 1957), 2:99. Here we might echo the statement by Michael Loewe in his *Ways to Paradise*, p. 3: "To the Han Chinese the problem of evil was a matter of cosmic order rather than theology, ethics, or psychology."
 69. Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Chinese Political Thought*, p. 484; Shryock, *The State Cult of Confucius*, pp. 40–41.
 70. Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Chinese Political Thought*, pp. 524–25. At least one writer, Dai Junren, has cast doubt upon the relationship of the book *Chunqiu fanlu* to Dong Zhongshu, to whom it is attributed. See Dai Junren, "Dong Zhongshu bushuo wuxing kao," *Zhongyang tushuguan guan kan*, March 1938, pp. 319–34. However, Dai's argument is far from conclusive and has hardly been noticed by students of the Han. Dai doubts the authorship of the *Chunqiu fanlu* chiefly on the grounds that Dong's biography does not emphasize his espousal of the five-phases theory. Dai would rather believe that the great Confucian scholar was not responsible for the many magical recipes that we find in the book, only the more rational essays referred to in his biography. This argument, however, loses considerable force when we consider the testimony of Wang Chong, who explicitly credits the five-phases theories he criticizes to Dong Zhongshu. Wang Chong (A.D. 27–97), *Lun heng* (Shanghai, 1974), pp. 242–43, 245–48, 415, 438–39. Moreover, when the *Han shu* gives interpretations of portents in its chapter on the five phases (*juan* 27A), it generally lists Dong Zhongshu's interpretation first, followed by that of Liu Xiang. These facts testify to the influence of Dong's cosmic theories and corroborate the judgment of Han works cited by Shryock.
 71. Dong Zhongshu, *Chunqiu fanlu* (Taipei, 1975), 34.223–24, hereafter, *CQFL*. Religious festivals focused on the pattern of the seasons are, of course, prevalent in many cultures throughout the world. In Han China we are fortunate to have literary sources which articulate for us the ways in which the ritual seasonal cycle was applied to problems of government, as opposed to its application in pre-Han times.
 72. Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Chinese Political Thought*, pp. 488–89; *CQFL* 19.133–34.
 73. Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Chinese Political Thought*, pp. 488–89; *CQFL* 59.302, 58.279.
 74. *CQFL* 70.340.
 75. *Ibid.*, 33.216.
 76. Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Chinese Political Thought*, pp. 490–91; *CQFL* 42.255.
 77. See n. 101 below.
 78. *CQFL* 53.284–85.
 79. For example: "There is no beginning point in the circularity of Heaven, therefore it is impossible to observe its form." *Huainanzi* 15.4a–5a; Evan Morgan, trans., *Tao, The Great Luminant* (Shanghai, 1933), p. 186. "All things owe their life to it [the Dao], but none have seen its form. . . .

- It is vast and cannot be ascribed a form." From the chapter entitled "Dao fa," in *Jing fa*, comp. Mawangdui hanmu boshu zhengli xiaozu (Beijing, 1976), p. 101. "Indeed, the *Tao* is so magnificent as to have no form." *Hanfeizi jishi*, comp. Chen Qiyu (Taibei, 1972), 8.122; W. K. Liao, trans., *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu*, 2 vols. (London, 1959), 1:55.
80. *CQFL* 51.280, 53.284–85.
 81. Lester James Bilsky, *The State Religion of Ancient China*, 2 vols., Asian Folklore and Social Life Monographs, ed. Lou Tsu-k'uang (Taibei, 1975), 1:93.
 82. From the *Zhongyong*; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:402–3.
 83. *Liji* 50.7b.
 84. *CQFL* 76.365–66.
 85. Bilsky, *State Religion*, 1:5.
 86. *Han shu* 22.1027.
 87. Ban Gu, *Po Hu T'ung*, trans. Tjan Tjoe Som, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1952), 2:391.
 88. *Han shu* 22.1027.
 89. Bilsky, *State Religion*, 1:7.
 90. *Liji* 58.32b:

In ancient times the regulations for the ruler's ritual robe corresponded to the compass, the square, the inked string [straightness], and the balance [in its design]. . . . The [circumference] of the sleeve was round to correspond to the compass; [the perimeter of the] collar was like a carpenter's square; a taut string was drawn from the shoulder to the ankle that [the clothing might] correspond to the vertical; the lower part [the hem] was adjusted like a [balanced] pair of scales so as to correspond to the level. The round part came into play when bowing and saluting so as to [convey the proper] demeanor, while the vertical line and the [other] square parts were to straighten the ruler's government.

These are the parts of clothing most likely emphasized in actual design and are those most frequently emphasized in pictorial art. Representations of clothing at the Wu shrines are astonishingly like this. Emperor Ming, in his attempts to re-create an age of perfect virtue, often instituted ritual practices on the basis of the *Liji* and other ritual texts. *Hou han shu* 2.98ff.
 91. Feng Yunpeng and Feng Yunyuan, *Jinshi suo*, 1:1469.
 92. Bilsky, *State Religion*, 2:244–45, 303.
 93. *Ibid.*, 2:302. Anneliese Bulling suggested that a similar figure from Yinan was Tai Yi, in the context of a different interpretation of the Han cosmos. See A. Bulling, "Three Popular Motives in the Art of the Eastern Han Period," *Archives of Asian Art* 20 (1966–67): 45.
 94. *Han shu* 25A.1220.
 95. *Ibid.*, 25B.1264–65.
 96. Zhang Heng (A.D. 78–139), "Dongjing fu," in *Wenxuan*, p. 60.
 97. *Han shu* 26.1274. The painting was commissioned by Emperor Wu. *Han shu* 25A.1251. The description of another painting of Tai Yi comes from a Jin dynasty (A.D. 265–419) commentary on that passage in the *Han shu* by Jin Zhuo.
 98. *Huainanzi* 6.6b. The same is stated earlier in the *Yi jing*. *Zhou yi zhushu* 8.8a.
 99. *Han shu* 25A.1225.
 100. Rudolph Arnheim traced the classical origins of this attitude in *Visual Thinking* (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 4–12ff. More recently, in her article "Style as Structure, Alois Riegl's Historiography," *Art History* 2, no. 1 (March 1979): 62–72, Margaret Iversen argues that art historians have inherited a discipline which, ironically, is inattentive to the meanings conveyable through form. But, she concludes that "this attention to form—the artifice of art—does not imply a disregard for meaning. On the contrary, it multiplies meanings."
 101. *Han shu* 20.865.
 102. Bielenstein, "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty"; a concise account of Wang Mang's use of cosmic signs can be found in William Theodore de Bary, ed., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 2 vols. (New York, 1960), 1:180–82. References to the use of apocryphal texts and portents in the Latter Han can be found in *Hou han shu*, *zhi* 7, pp. 3158, 3163, 3165, 3166.
 103. Wang Chong, in *Lun heng*, sections 42, 48, and 49, devoted three separate essays to refuting the premises and exposing the consequences of this policy.
 104. Pi Xirui, *Jingxue lishi* (Hong Kong, 1973), p. 69.
 105. Sima Qian (b. ca. 145 B.C., d. between 86 and 74 B.C.), *Shiji* (Beijing, 1959), 121.3117.
 106. Shryock, *The State Cult of Confucius*, pp. 68–69.

Glossary

a. 阴	k. 武帝
b. 阳	l. 新
c. 南武阳	m. 任子
d. 伏羲	n. 董仲舒
e. 女娲	o. 泰一
f. 利苍	p. 君
g. 轺	q. 王莽
h. 壶	r. 太极
i. 明帝	s. 秦帝
j. 班固	



FIG. 1. Bronze *hu* wine vessel. From the tomb of Prince Liu Sheng at Mancheng, Hebei. Second century B.C. (After *Wenhua da geming qijian chutu wenwu* [Beijing, 1972], p. 8.)

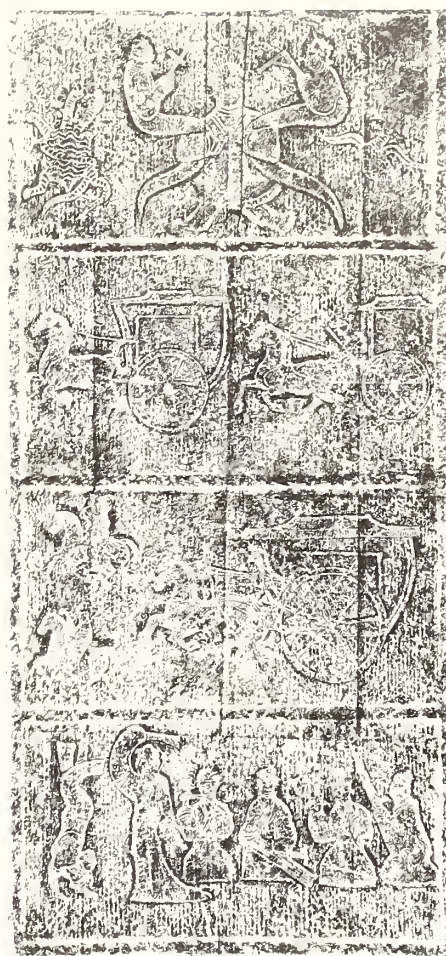


FIG. 2. Rubbing of the south side of the east stone tower at Nanwuyang, Shandong. Latter Han. (After Eduard Chavannes, *Mission Archæologique dans la Chine Septentrionale* [Paris, 1913], no. 156.)

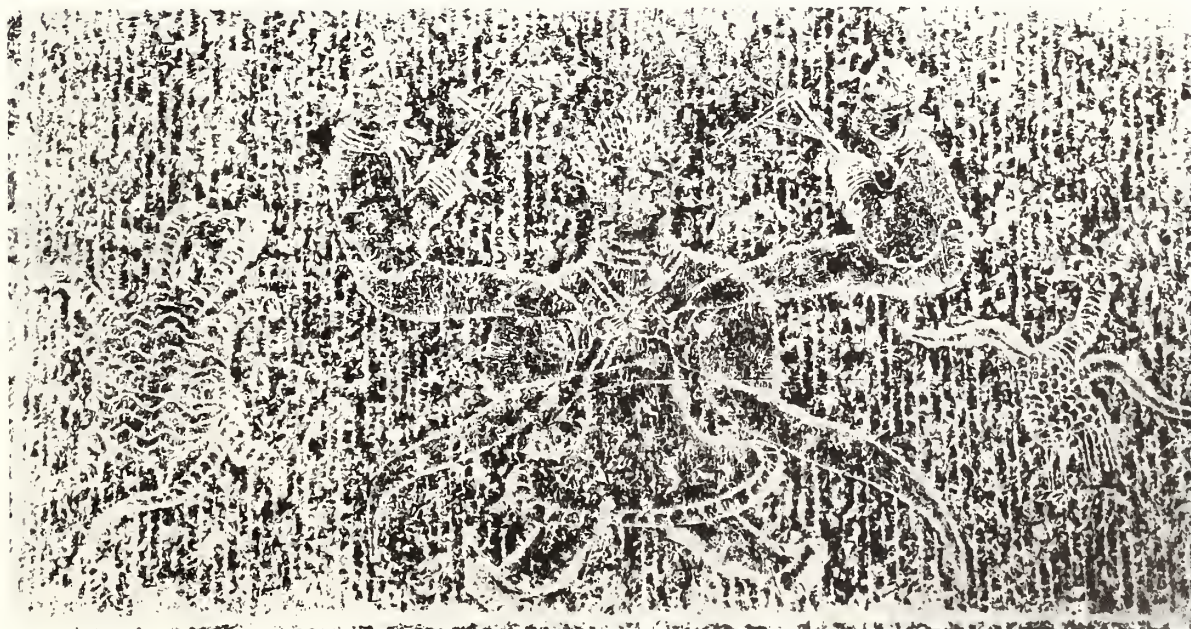


FIG. 3. Rubbing from the stone tower at Nanwuyang, Shandong (detail). (After *Handai huaxiang quanji*, 2 vols. [Beijing, 1951], vol. 1, pl. 212.)

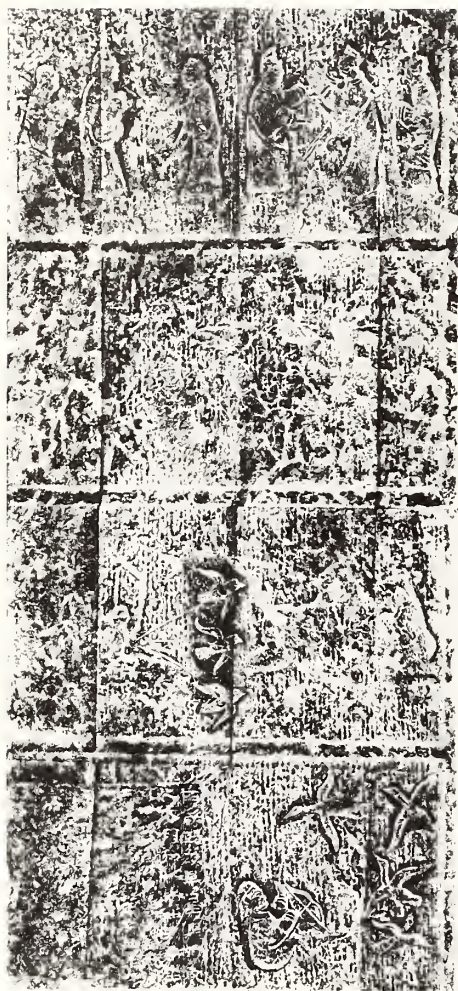


FIG. 4. Rubbing from the west stone tower at Nanwuyang, Shandong. (After Chavannes, no. 155.)

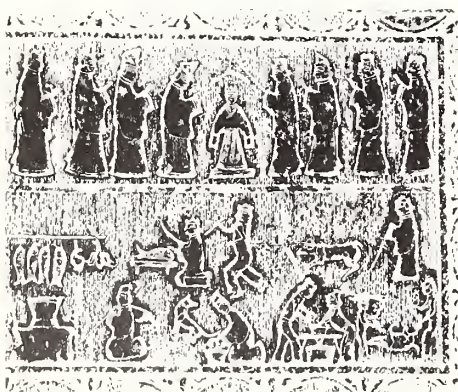


FIG. 6. Rubbing of a stone relief from Jinan, Shandong, Latter Han. (After Chavannes, no. 1224.)

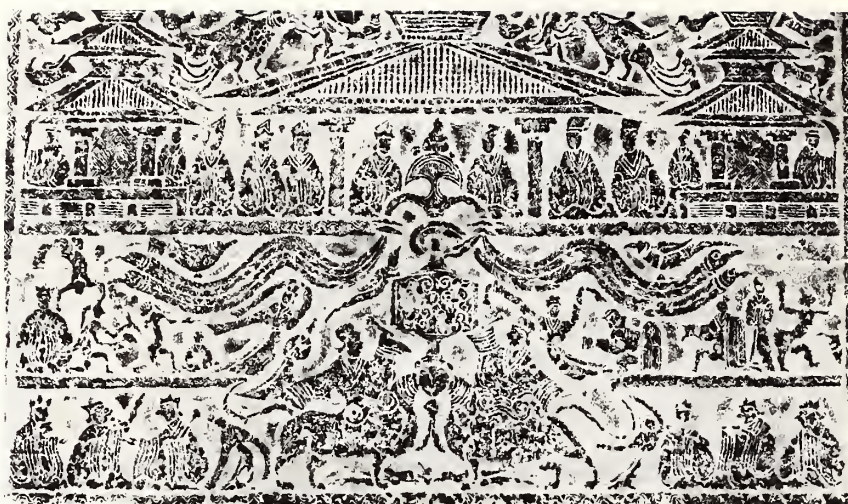


FIG. 5. Rubbing of a stone relief from Liangchengshan, Shandong, Second century A.D. (After *Handai huaxiang quanji*, vol. 1, pl. 29.)

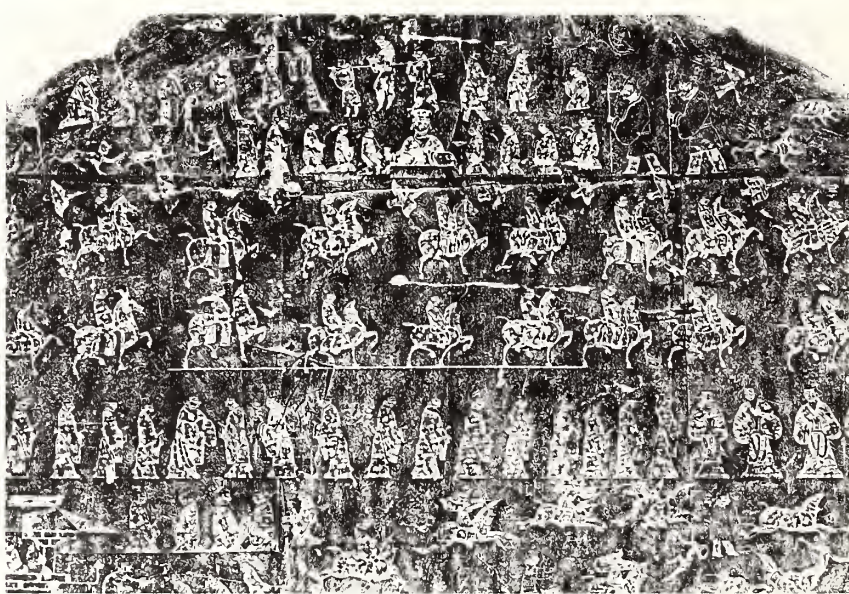


FIG. 7. Detail of a rubbing of the upper portion of the eastern partition at Xiaotangshan, Shandong, Before A.D. 129. (After Chavannes, no. 47.)

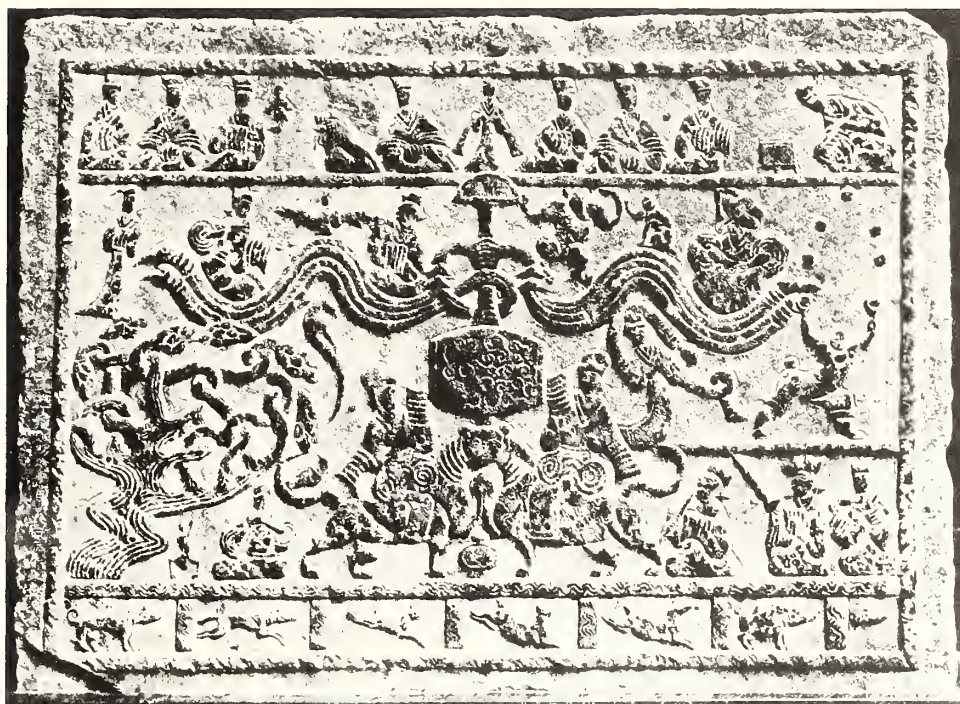


FIG. 8. Bas-relief from the collection of Baron von der Heydt, inscribed in accordance with A.D. 114.
(After Chang Renxia, *Han hua yishu yanjiu* [Shanghai, 1955], pl. 30.)



FIG. 9. Detail of a rubbing of a stone relief from the Wu shrines. (After Chavannes, no. 123.)



FIG. 10. The "red-ground" casket from tomb #1 at Mawangdui near Changsha, Hunan. Ca. 168 B.C.
(After *Mawangdui yihao han mu*, vol. 2, fig. 32.)

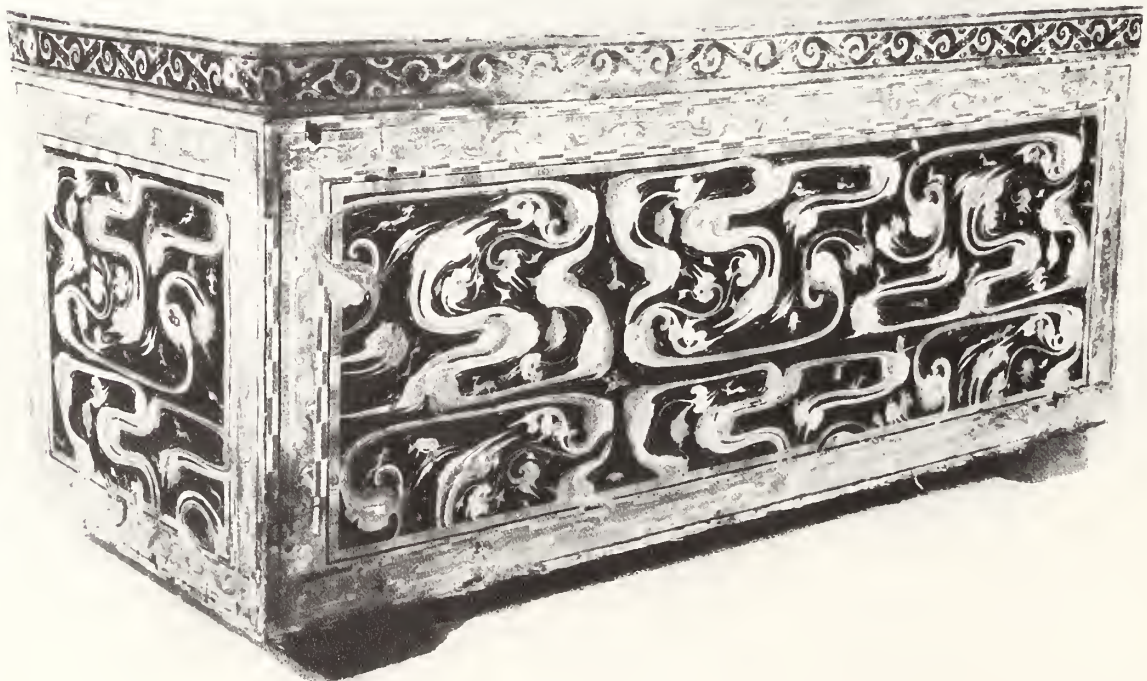


FIG. 11. The "black-ground" casket from tomb #1 at Mawangdui. Ca. 168 B.C. (After *Mawangdui yihao han mu*, vol. 2, fig. 27.)



FIG. 12. Bronze crossbow fitting. Ca. third century B.C.
Courtesy, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco.

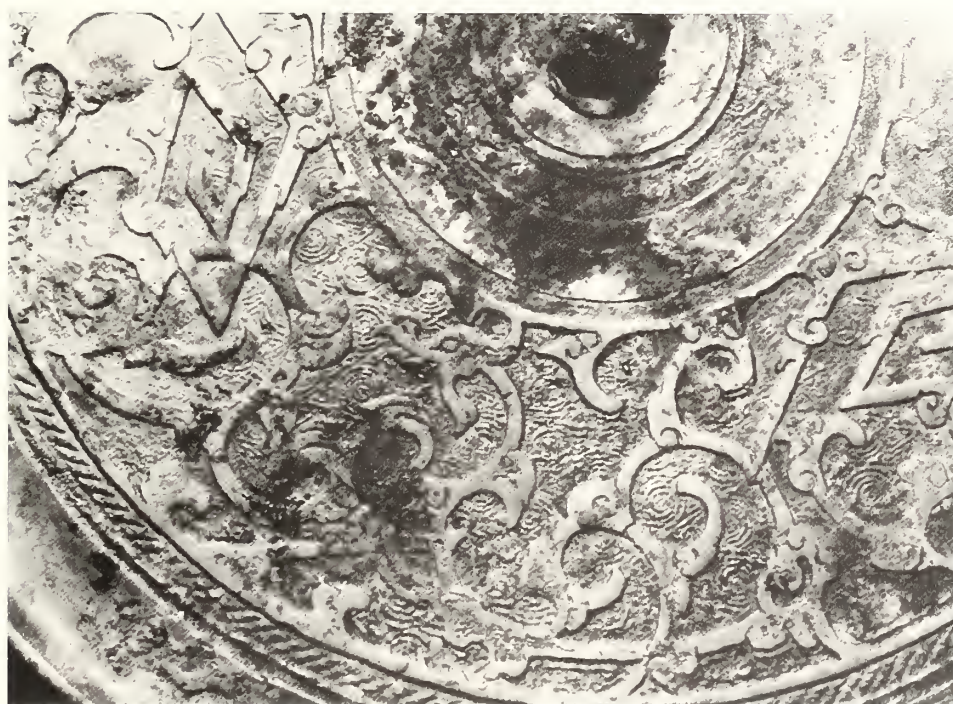


FIG. 13. Detail of a bronze mirror. Warring States period, ca. third century B.C.
Courtesy, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

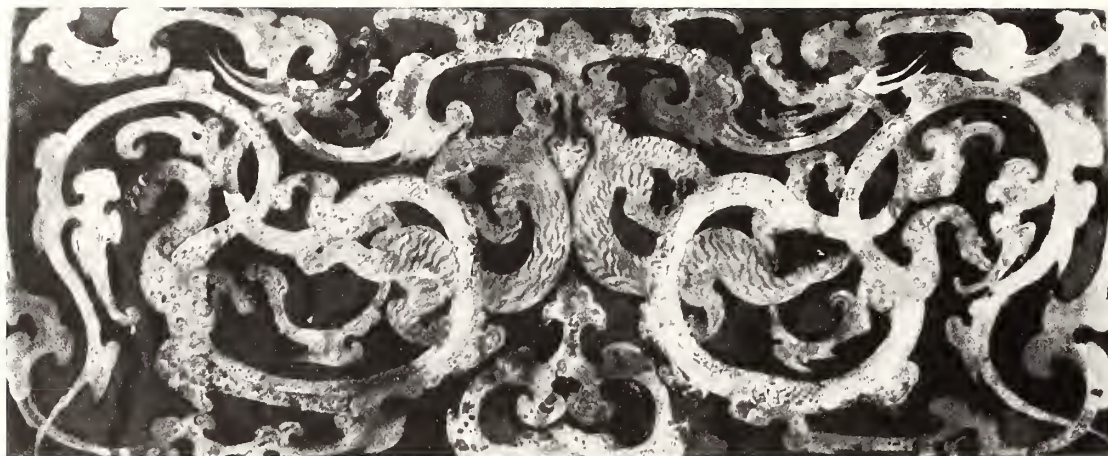


FIG. 14. Top of red-ground casket from tomb #1 at Mawangdui. Ca. 168 B.C.
(After *Mawangdui yihao han mu*, vol. 2, fig. 34.)

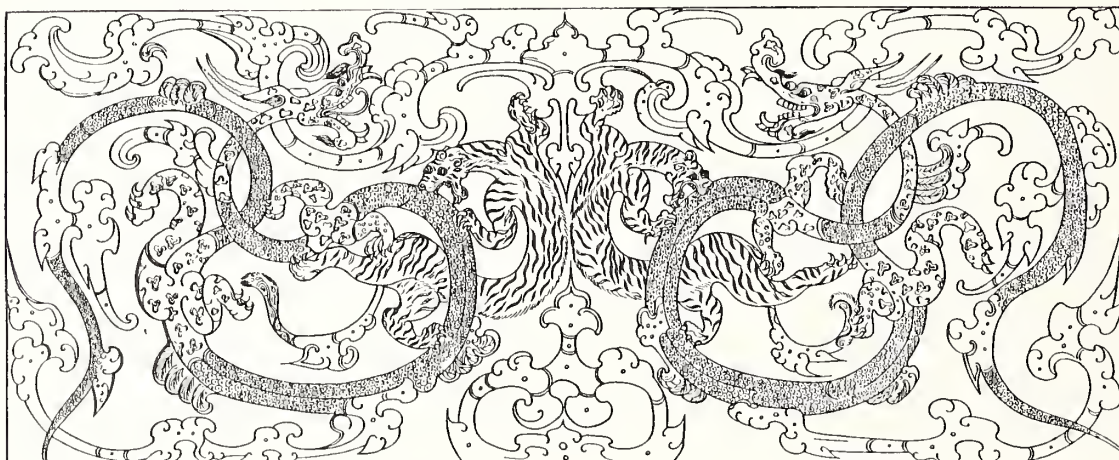


FIG. 15. Drawing of the top of the red-ground casket from tomb #1 at Mawangdui.
(After *Mawangdui yihao han mu*, vol. 1, fig. 22.)

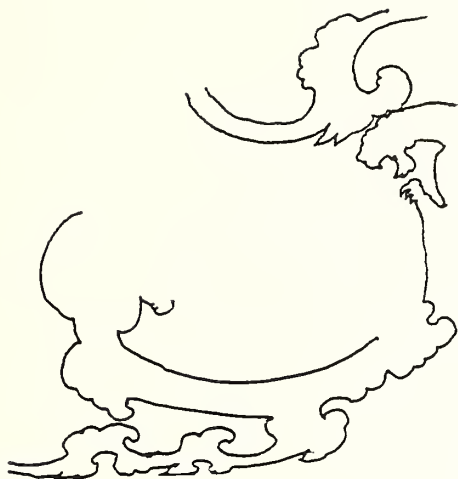


FIG. 16. Drawing of the outlines of parts of the dragon, tiger, and cloud scrolls on the top of the red-ground casket from tomb #1 at Mawangdui.
(Based on fig. 15.)



FIG. 18. Rubbing of a stone erected in honor of an official (Li Xi), Gansu Province. A.D. 171.
(After Chavannes, no. 167.)



FIG. 17. Detail of a rubbing of a stone relief from the Wu shrines.
(After Chavannes, no. 75.)

EARLY PAINTINGS OF THE GODDESS IN NEPAL

By PRATAPADITYA PAL

THE MOTHER GODDESS, IN HER MYRIAD MANIFESTATIONS, continues to enjoy great popularity in Nepal. There is reason to believe that her cult is among the most ancient in that country. Her most common appellation is “Bhagavatī,” a term almost universally applied to any image of a goddess, but in particular to that aspect known as Mahiṣāsura-mardinī, or “destroyer of the buffalo-demon.” Curiously, representations of Mahiṣāsura-mardinī cannot be dated much earlier than the tenth century, which is also the date of the earliest surviving manuscript of the *Devīmāhātmya*, a text glorifying Durgā as the destroyer of Mahiṣāsura and other *asuras*.¹

For a Śākta, a follower of Devī who is also known as Śākti (meaning “power” or “energy”), the *Devīmāhātmya* has the same significance as the Bible has for a Christian. It is customary for a devout Śākta to read the text himself or to have it recited by a brahmin. Often, a devotee would also commission a manuscript for a special occasion and donate it to a brahmin. The text is recited every day for ten days during the autumn festival of the Goddess. The Newark Museum possesses a fine illuminated copy of a *Devīmāhātmya* manuscript that was commissioned on one of these holy days in 1477 by Prince Rāyamalla, very likely to ensure his success in battle.² In the *Devīmāhātmya*, the Goddess explicitly says that the person who reads this text will not experience fear from enemies, robbers, or kings (*śatruto na bhayaṃ tasya dasyuto vā na rājataḥ* / chap. 12, v. 6a). Elsewhere we are told that the Goddess protects her devotee from fire, on the battlefield, and from great difficulties and disasters. A recitation of the text also protects the devotee from all sorts of psychological problems, from evil influences of the stars, and from bad dreams. Children are protected from evil eyes and from evil spirits.³ But perhaps the most important reason for commissioning, reading, or reciting the text was to express piety, thereby securing a place in heaven.

It is also interesting to note that the manuscript of the *Devīmāhātmya* (or *Caṇḍī*, as it is also called) is often worshipped directly in place of an image of the Goddess. In certain parts of the country, such as Gujarat and Bengal, the Goddess is frequently worshipped as a book. As the *Nīlamatapūrāṇa* tells us, “O twice-born, books should be worshipped in the temple of Durgā.”⁴

The earliest and most beautiful manuscript illus-

trations of Śākta themes known to date portray the Seven Mātṛkās, or Mothers, along with Gaṇeśa (fig. 1). These figures occur on the inside of two wooden covers now in the British Library.⁵ Their diminutive size notwithstanding, the depictions are exceptionally graceful and vibrant. Unfortunately, some of the figures are more damaged than others, but those colors which remain have preserved their freshness remarkably well, considering the age of the painting.

The Seven Mothers are led by Gaṇeśa, whose white figure is silhouetted against a blue aureole and a red halo. His trunk is outlined in pink; he sits gracefully with his weight partially supported by his gray rat. This is no ordinary rat, however, but is of gigantic proportions. Obviously, the illuminator found it incongruous to depict a rat of normal size carrying such an enormous burden. Among Gaṇeśa's attributes we can recognize the rosary, the battleaxe, and his broken tusk.

Like Gaṇeśa, each Mother is seated upon her respective mount. Māheśvarī and Indrāṇī sit with their legs loosely crossed at the ankles; the others sit in the more relaxed and graceful posture known as *lalitāsana*, where one leg is pendant. Each goddess has four arms; the principal two hands hold a skull-cup (right) and display the gesture of exposition (left). This particular combination of the attribute and the gesture with the two principal hands is a feature common to Tāntric images of the Goddess in Nepal (fig. 5). It is also rather curious to note that the upper right hand of each goddess holds the same object, viz. a *ḍamaru*, or “kettledrum.” The distinguishing attribute of each is placed in the upper left hand. Of those that can readily be recognized, Māheśvarī holds a trident, Kaumārī a spear, Vaiṣṇavī a mace, Vārāhī an elephant goad, Indrāṇī a thunderbolt, and Cāmuṇḍā a staff that may be a *khaṭvāṅga*. As to their mounts, Brahmāṇī has her goose, Māheśvarī a yellow bull, Kaumārī a peacock, Vaiṣṇavī Garuḍa, Vārāhī a man, Indrāṇī the elephant, and Cāmuṇḍā a man. The complexion of Brahmāṇī is yellow, Māheśvarī white, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, and Cāmuṇḍā are red, Vaiṣṇavī dark green, and Indrāṇī orange. Indrāṇī is further distinguished by the third eye placed horizontally on her forehead; Māheśvarī does not appear to have a third eye.

Aesthetically, the illustrations are rendered in the finest Nepali tradition. The outline of the figures is firmly drawn, enclosing the elegant forms with a soft

but sensuous grace. Very little shading is employed to delineate the form, yet a remarkable sense of volume is achieved solely in terms of line and color contrast. Each deity is set off against a background of a different color. Thus, the yellow *Brahmāṇī*, red *Kaumārī*, green *Vaiṣṇavī*, and orange *Indrāṇī* are presented against white; the white *Māheśvarī* and red *Vārāhī* against olive green; while *Cāmuṇḍā*'s red gains added intensity by being placed against a deep green aureole. The haloes, too, are painted in different shades of red, green, and mauve. In addition, darker hues are applied to reinforce the outlines of the aureoles, providing even greater relief to the figures. Thus, a perceptible sense of depth is created simply by manipulating the various color surfaces.

In addition to the rich complexions of the goddesses, the use of variegated drapery designs confers both a sense of volume and an impression of liveliness upon the various deities. All of these (except *Cāmuṇḍā*) wear garments of beautifully printed material of diverse colors. *Cāmuṇḍā* alone wears an exquisitely rendered tiger-skin which is more suitable to her depiction as an ascetic with an emaciated body.

The earliest known painted representations of the Goddess in her *Mahiṣāsura* *mardīnī* form occur in three stray palm leaves which may have belonged to a *Devīmāhātmya* manuscript and which are now in the British Library (fig. 2). Only a single sentence is written on the back of one of the folios (fig. 3), and it may be read as follows:

*om bhujendra [or bhujāṅga] kuṭilākāra gajendra kadālī-laya tha
śāstra-madhye pradhānena likhitaḥ kinna mucyate //*

The inscription is written in poor Sanskrit and is difficult to understand. I am indebted to Dr. Gauriswar Bhattacharjee of the Berlin Museum for the following comments and translation. It is not quite clear whether the first word is *bhujendra* or *bhujāṅga*. If it is *bhujendra*, then it must have been abbreviated by the author from *bhujagendra*, the use of which would have disturbed the meter. A tentative translation, as suggested by Dr. Bhattacharjee, is as follows: "[Though] lord of the serpents [yet he has a] shape, [and though] lord of the elephants [yet he has] his resort in the banana plant [which is so weak] [and therefore the person] who has written the foremost of the scriptures, will he not be liberated?"

The inscription indirectly informs us that the text must have been of the *Devīmāhātmya*, as this text alone would be described as "foremost of the scriptures" by a Śākta. We can also surmise that the text was written by a literate scribe who, however, was no Kālidāsa. The style of writing, which is quite

beautiful, does help us to corroborate the date of the pictures arrived at by stylistic analysis (see discussion below).

In spite of the effaced condition of one of the illustrations, it is clear that all three representations of the Goddess are identical except for complexion color; these are, respectively, red, green, and blue. Each image is placed within a circular aureole of red flames and is framed by red and yellow borders. The space between the edge of the aureole and the yellow border is painted deep blue. In each instance, the Goddess is nimbate, has twelve arms carrying identical attributes (mostly weapons), and stands astride her lion-*vāhana* and the decapitated buffalo. No human being, however, emerges from the buffalo's neck; instead, in each illustration the Goddess releases two serpents which wrap themselves around the necks of two *asuras*. An identical formula has been employed to represent each of the *asuras*. Their militancy is apparent in their posture. Each *asura* wields a club with one hand and, with the other, attempts to loosen the coils of the deadly snake. It is interesting to note the way in which the figures of the *asuras* spill over the frame of the illustration. In each of the representations, the Goddess wears a fine, transparent *dhoti* that reveals her firmly modeled legs. In addition, a jacket designed like a cuirass hugs her voluptuous body. The red goddess wears a blue jacket, while the green and blue goddesses wear red jackets. On one of the folios, a male and female devotee are seen worshipping the Goddess. They may represent the donor of the manuscript and his wife.

This particular formula for representing *Mahiṣāsura* *mardīnī* has remained popular in Nepal. Several representations in stone and bronze are known. The interesting feature of all these depictions is the convention that shows the Goddess, in addition to killing *Mahiṣāsura*, invariably attacking two other *asuras* as well. It is difficult to ascertain whether they depict a particular pair of generals, such as *Caṇḍa* and *Muṇḍa*, or *Sumbha* and *Nisumbha*. In such representations, *Mahiṣāsura* is usually seen emerging from the buffalo's neck, but in these particular illustrations, the artist has omitted the human form (as is also the case with another version of the subject rendered on a gilt-bronze manuscript cover).⁶ At any rate, it seems clear that this particular iconographical variation, as well as the compositional formula, was a peculiarity of the Nepali artistic tradition.

Although diminutive, the illustrations are remarkably animated and vibrant. They exhibit the elegance of manner characteristic of better-known Buddhist manuscript illuminations. They are, in

fact, stylistically comparable to some fine *Pañcarakṣā* illuminations in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (fig. 4). There, too, we notice similar compositions which depict kneeling figures representing forces of disease and evil, who turn away as if unable to bear the wrath of the Goddess. In both manuscripts, the drawing is exceptionally fine and the compositions lively. The donor couple in the *Devīmāhātmya* folio is especially engaging. Less than an inch in size, they are fully modeled figures, at once dignified and elegant. The details of their garments and physical features, as well as the offerings before them, are precisely articulated. In general, the luminous colors of these small pictures reflect the intensity and richness of early Buddhist manuscript illuminations.

The most richly illustrated Nepali manuscript of the *Devīmāhātmya* is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (figs. 5–15). In terms of both narrative intent and iconographic feature, this is the most elaborately illuminated manuscript known to date. The pictures, which are generally placed in the center of the folio, illustrate literally the themes narrated in the text. A few of the illustrations depict hieratic representations of the goddess Durgā, or Ambikā. In addition to these, the artist has provided some remarkably lively renderings of combat scenes.

A typical hieratic representation (fig. 5) shows us three devotees, wearing *dhoti*, ornaments, and tiaras, engaged in adoring a white-complexioned goddess who is seated on a blue lion. The four hands on the right hold a skull-cup, an elephant goad, an arrow, and a sword. Those on the left display a shield, a bow, a noose, and the gesture of exposition. Although the image does not correspond to any particular description in the text, it may represent the Goddess as Mahāsarasvatī, the presiding deity of the third part of the text. The red background is strewn with flowers; these are seen in the majority of the illustrations. The three devotees, shown in three-quarter profile, stand or kneel quite naturally. Two of them may represent King Suratha and the merchant Samādhi, for whom the text was narrated by the sage Medhas.

In another hieratic representation, two goddesses, one white and one black, are shown seated in an identical manner on a single lotus (fig. 6). The skull-cup and the gesture of meditation are common to both, but the white goddess carries a bow and an arrow and the black goddess a sword and a noose. Once again, the images do not agree with any of the descriptions in the text but are obviously two different manifestations of the Devī.

In two other folios (figs. 7, 8), two very spirited images are shown being worshipped by devotees.

Although both assume the same militant posture, there are striking differences between the two figures. One of the goddesses is double-complexioned (fig. 7). Her face, torso, shoulders, and upper arms are painted white, but her forearms, hips, and legs are black. As far as I know, deities with two complexions are encountered in the Vajrayāna Buddhist pantheon, but there the two complexions are divided along a vertical axis. Because of the damaged condition of the illustration, it is not clear how many arms the Goddess has, but the number appears to be eighteen. In the second of these two images (fig. 8), the Goddess is uniformly dark and is given at least ten heads and probably an equal number of legs and arms.

The half-white, half-black goddess with her eighteen arms may represent the universal, or *viśvarūpa*, form of the Goddess. The *Devīmāhātmya* tells us that she is to be worshipped in her eighteen-armed form despite the fact that she has a thousand arms (*aṣṭādaśabhujā pūjyā sā sahasrabhujā satī* /). The other figure with multiple heads and limbs is almost certainly Mahākālī, who is the presiding deity of the first part (*prathamacaritram*) of the text. She is described as follows:

I resort to Mahākālī, who has ten faces, ten legs and holds in her hands the sword, disc, mace, arrows, bow, club, spear, missile, human head and conch, who is three-eyed, adorned with ornaments on all her limbs, and luminous like a blue jewel and whom Brahmā extolled in order to destroy Madhu and Kaiṭabha, when Viṣṇu was in [mystic] sleep.⁷

Far more visually exciting are the narrative scenes in which the Goddess (or another deity) is seen in combat with various *asuras*. One of the folios (fig. 9) illustrates a fight between a four-armed deity and two *asuras* beside a water tank. Menacing serpents coil around the feet of the deity, who has four arms and carries a lotus, a conch, a club, and a wheel. The divine figure is attacked by the two *asuras*. While it may initially appear that this scene represents Viṣṇu's battle with Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who emerged from the god's ears while he was engaged in cosmic sleep on the ocean, the form of the deity is in fact unusual. The figure seems to be bisexual. The face with the third eye (unusual for Viṣṇu) appears to be identical with the faces of other images of the Goddess. There is also a slight indication of a breast on the left side of the chest, although this is not as fully delineated as it is in the female figures. However, unlike the Goddess, this figure wears a short *dhoti*, which would indicate that, despite a few feminine traits, the figure does indeed represent the god Viṣṇu. The composition is enlivened by the fluid interaction between the figures and the serpents, and the ocean is depicted conceptually, using

a formula that is typical of contemporary Indian paintings.

One of the curious features of the *Devīmāhātmya* is that the Goddess frequently fights a pair of *asuras*, such as Sumbha and Nisumbha, or Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa. Another is that the climax of the text is not the death of Mahiṣāsura; rather, it is the destruction of Sumbha and Nisumbha.

Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, the two generals of Sumbha and Nisumbha, spot the Goddess in the mountains and report back to their masters, praising her incomparable beauty. Sumbha sends Sugrīva to persuade the Goddess to be his wife. In a charming illustration (fig. 10), the Goddess, poised on a rock, converses with the messenger, who has doubtless just finished extolling his master's masculine prowess and abilities. The Goddess is visualized as a demure country girl who is out tending her goats and has met a handsome young soldier. In a second composition (fig. 11), we encounter the juxtaposition of two different scenes. The seated Goddess appears to be watching herself or one of her emanations destroy the two *asuras* who had dared to insult her. Her wrath is clearly expressed by the vigorous manner in which she pulls the *asura* by his hair and simultaneously thrusts her trident into his body. The second *asura* has already been slain. Other illustrations (figs. 12, 13) depict the Goddess engaging two *asuras*, once with a sword and again with the trident. These conflicts between goddess and *asuras* are quite credible. The protagonists are the same size, and the Goddess is shown without her divine attributes. She is, in fact, essentially human—a charming young girl who sometimes has a temper tantrum and kills an *asura* or two. Not even a nimbus is provided to suggest her divinity.

In two remaining battle scenes, however, the Goddess is provided with additional arms so that we are left in no doubt about her divine nature. In one of these paintings (fig. 14), she is shown impaling the *asura* Raktabīja. Raktabīja was a privileged *asura*: every time he bled, another *asura* would be created from each drop of his blood. Durgā, therefore, ordered Kālī to stretch her tongue out and lap up the blood before it could fall upon the ground. In the illustration, Kālī—only her bust is shown—stretches out her enormous tongue to swallow not merely a drop of blood, but an entire *asura*.

The last combat scene (fig. 15) depicts the final battle between Durgā and Mahiṣāsura. The Goddess is now equipped with eight arms. She stands astride the shoulder of the decapitated buffalo and the attacking lion-*vāhana*. With one of her left hands, she pulls the buffalo by its tail; with another, she clutches Mahiṣāsura's hair. The lion is about to take

a chunk from Mahiṣāsura's shoulder. The demon looks around helplessly as he attempts to unsheathe his sword. The composition, which is characterized by considerable drama and action, continues the basic formula which we have encountered in the earlier representations of the theme (fig. 2). Here, however, the human Mahiṣāsura is included, and the two additional *asuras* are excluded. In a sense, therefore, the earlier illustrations encapsulate in a single composition all of the various battles described in the *Devīmāhātmya*.

The background of the Bharat Kala Bhavan illustrations is invariably painted red and is speckled with flowers, symbolic of the divine presence. Most of the figures are modeled by means of outline, with the exception of the buffalo, whose form assumes greater plasticity due to light shading and the reinforcing of its outline. The figure types have undergone slight modifications. The Goddess is always shown with a naked torso, and her features are also somewhat different. Of particular interest, however, are the more convincing (because more naturalistic) representations of the battle scenes in the Bharat Kala Bhavan manuscript (as opposed to their more hieratic depiction in the British Museum folios). The artist has made obvious attempts to enliven the different battles by showing both the Goddess and the *asuras* in various postures and positions. The compositions, as a result, are more variegated, fluid, and visually exciting. Noteworthy, too, are the colorful and decorative rocks with their cubelike shapes, a hallmark of early Nepali painting.

To establish the dates of isolated book covers and manuscript pages is always a difficult task. Fortunately, we are on rather secure ground here because of the enormous amount of dated Buddhist material that has survived and because of the state of the knowledge of Nepali paleography.

The three isolated folios representing the three Durgās can be dated with fair certainty on both stylistic and paleographical grounds. The script in which the short inscription is written is described by Bendall as the "early hooked Nepalese hand."⁸ The paleography closely follows the script found in various datable manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library, including that of a *Kurukullā Kalpa*, dated to 1179, and the *Sādhnamālā-tantra* of 1165.⁹ As we have already pointed out, the paintings are stylistically close to the beautiful *Pañcarakṣā* illustrations of the first half of the thirteenth century (fig. 4) as well as to the painted covers of a *Śivadharmā* manuscript of 1139 in the Cambridge University Library.¹⁰ Thus, a date in the second half of the twelfth century for these three isolated leaves

would not be inappropriate. Stylistically, the covers with the Seven Mothers are so close to the Durgā paintings that it seems obvious that they were painted at about the same time.

I have elsewhere dated the Bharat Bala Bhavan *Devīmāhātmya* paintings to the fourteenth century. A more careful analysis of the paleography seems to favor a date in the first half of that century. The style of writing seems generally to conform to that seen in a manuscript of *Rāmāṅka-Nāṭikā*, written in 1360 and now preserved in the Cambridge University Library.¹¹ However, some of the letters continue to use earlier forms typical of manuscripts of the thirteenth century.

The stylistic elements of the *Devīmāhātmya* illustrations are closer to the Indian Museum *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript¹² of 1367 than to such mid-thirteenth-century paintings as those of the Los Angeles *Pañcarakṣā*. While the figures of the hieratic goddesses still retain the soft sensuousness of the earlier representations, the subsidiary figures, including the *asuras*, are not quite as elegant as those in the *Pañcarakṣā* illustrations (fig. 4). The modeling seems somewhat more attenuated and brittle, and both the proportions and the facial features have changed substantially. However, the remarkable continuity of the tradition is demonstrated by the fact that the artist has used the same formula for delineating the rocks as did his predecessor in the well-known illustrations of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of 1015 in the Cambridge University Library.¹³

A painting on cloth from about the same period is now in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (fig. 16). Stylistically, this cloth painting does not differ from the numerous Buddhist paintings surviving from this period. It is, however, a rare art-historical document, for no earlier painting of the Goddess has survived, even in India. The painting has been damaged at the top, but along the bottom are three panels, exactly as we find in Buddhist paintings, which represent the performance of various rituals by a priest, a lively scene with dancers and musicians, and a row of donors.

The painting represents a mandala consisting of a central figure of the Goddess destroying Mahiṣāsura; both are enshrined within the pericarp of a lotus. Eight other goddesses, identical except for their complexions, are portrayed on the outer petals of the lotus. Each is given eighteen arms; hence, we can surmise that the effaced central figure must also have had eighteen arms carrying different weapons and attributes. Each of the goddesses pulls an *asura* by his hair and thrusts a trident into his chest. There can be

little doubt that, together, the nine goddesses constitute the Navadurgā mandala. The central lotus is superimposed on two intersecting squares which produce eight triangles at the corners. These triangles and the eight interstices contain sixteen representations of the Mother Goddesses (Ṣoḍaśa Mātṛkā). The octagon is surrounded by an outer circle with a flaming perimeter. This circle is inhabited by the eight guardians of the directions (*dikpāla*), each seated within a gateway and flanked by a pair of goddesses of whom some are dancing, but most are seated. The exact identification of this group of sixteen figures is uncertain. Beyond the fiery fringe, in the two lower corners, are two more terrifying goddesses flanked by animal-headed companions. Each goddess stands in *pratyālīḍha* posture on a corpse; while one is multiarmed, the other holds a chopper and a skull-cup with her two hands. Presumably, there were two other similar groups in the upper corners of the mandala.

The group of Navadurgās is described twice in the *Agnipurāṇa*, once in the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, and once in the *Kāraṇāgama*.¹⁴ In all three texts, the nine goddesses are said to be identical except for their complexions and to possess eighteen arms. The attributes and weapons, however, differ in the different lists. The iconography here seems to correspond closely to the description given in chapter fifty of the *Agnipurāṇa*.

The nine Durgās have the following names: Rudraçaṇḍā, Pracaṇḍā, Caṇḍogrā, Caṇḍanāyikā, Caṇḍā, Caṇḍavatī, Caṇḍarūpā, Aticaṇḍikā, and Ugracaṇḍā.¹⁵ Of these, Ugracaṇḍā is the principal deity and is represented in the center of the mandala. Each goddess stands in *ālīḍha* posture with the right foot on the lion. With one hand, she pulls the *asura* by the hair as he emerges from the buffalo and, with another, drives the trident into his chest.

Nothing is said in any of these texts about the other deities to be included in the mandala. Thus, apart from being the earliest example, iconographically this fragmentary painting represents the most elaborate mandala of Navadurgās known so far. In fact, as de Mallmann observed, Navadurgā representations are so rare that she could cite only one damaged example now in the Rajshahi Museum.¹⁶ It is also interesting to note that all nine names of the goddesses contain the word *caṇḍā*, leaving no room for doubt that they are the angry manifestations of the Goddess. And yet, we are told in the *Agnipurāṇa* that consecration of the Navadurgās increases sons and other things for the devotee (*navadurgāḥ syuḥ sthāpyāḥ putrādi-vṛddhaye*).¹⁷

Despite its condition, there seems no doubt that the mandala was executed sometime near the end of

the fourteenth century. Stylistically, it can be placed somewhere between the Vasudhārā mandala of about 1367 and the Los Angeles Viṣṇu mandala of 1420.¹⁸ This becomes particularly clear if we compare the dancers and musicians in this mandala with those in the Vasudhārā mandala. In both paintings, these slim figures are remarkably alike and are characterized by a lively elegance. In general, the drawing in the Navadurgā mandala is particularly fine; one can easily surmise how bright and luminous the original colors must have been.

As is to be expected, there is abundant material for the study of paintings related to the Goddess after the fifteenth century. But the early paintings described above are particularly important, not only for their rarity, but also because they push the history of such paintings back to at least the twelfth century. When taken together with other known earlier examples of Hindu paintings that have survived in Nepal, it is evident that the tradition of mandala paintings and manuscript illumination was not confined only to the Buddhists. Meager though they may be, these early Nepali paintings have particular relevance for the study of Indian painting.

Few paintings depicting Hindu themes, either in manuscript form or on cloth, have survived from

pre-fifteenth-century India. Most of the extant paintings are either Buddhist or Jaina. Yet, it would be difficult to imagine that manuscripts of the *Devīmāhātmya* and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* were not copied and illustrated by pious Hindus all over medieval India. It would be wrong to assume that Hindus in Nepal were more interested in painting than were Hindus in India. The fact that so few of the early Hindu illuminated manuscripts have survived on the subcontinent is no reason to believe that they did not exist.

The recent acquisition by the Simla Museum of a richly illustrated manuscript of a *Devīmāhātmya*, purportedly belonging to the sixteenth century and painted in the Panjab hills, is a case in point.¹⁹ Simply because no example of sixteenth-century paintings from that hilly region had come to light previously, scholars interested in the field were almost convinced that painting originated in the area only in the seventeenth century, very possibly due to Mughal influence. Such assumptions are, of course, absurd.²⁰ It would be worthwhile for scholars of Indian painting to take a closer look at Nepal. It is this area which may provide interesting clues to the lost history of early Hindu painting in India.

Notes

1. The manuscript is preserved in the National Library in Kathmandu. In an article written in 1966, I pointed out that a manuscript of the *Devīmāhātmya* in the museum, which I dated to ca. 1400, was the earliest known illustrated manuscript of the text. See my "Paintings from Nepal in The Prince of Wales Museum," *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, no. 10 (1967), pp. 4–6, figs. 4, 5. In view of the evidence brought forward by the present article, the date of the Prince of Wales manuscript must now be moved forward to the sixteenth century.
2. For a detailed discussion of this manuscript, see my *The Arts of Nepal*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1974–78), vol. 2: *Paintings*, pp. 33, 60; fig. 12.
3. Swami Jagadiswarananda, *Devī Māhātmya* (Madras, 1953), p. xiv. The verse is as follows:
 agnīnā dahyamānastu śatrumadhyagatā raṇe /
 viṣame durgame caiva bhayārtāḥ śaraṇaṃ gatāḥ //
 Most of chapter twelve of the *Devīmāhātmya* is devoted to the benefits derived from chanting the text in the words of the Goddess herself.
4. Ved Kumari, *The Nīlāmata Purāṇa* (Srinagar, Jammu, 1968), p. 164. *durgāgr̥the pustakānāṃ pūjā kāryā tathā dvija*. Also, *līṅgsthāṃ pūjayeddevīm pustakasthāṃ tathāiva ca*, from the *Yoginītantra*, in *Bṛhattantrasāra*, ed. Krishnanda Agamvagish (Calcutta, n.d.), p. 425.
5. The photographs of these two covers, as well as those for figures 2 and 3, were kindly supplied by Mr. Simon Mathews of London. The illustrations are rarely more than two inches high.
6. Pal, *The Arts of Nepal*, vol. 1: *Sculpture*, fig. 14. The tying of the *asura* with a serpent by the Goddess is described in the *Devīpurāṇa* (*tarjjamānaṃ hataṃ muddhni nāgapāśena veṣṭitam* // chap. 32, v. 37).
7. Jagadiswarananda, *Devī Māhātmya*, p. 2.
8. For a discussion of the paleography of Nepali palm-leaf manuscripts, see Cecil Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1883), Introduction.
9. *Ibid.*, Table of Letters. Mss. ADD. 1686 and 1691.2.
10. Pal, *The Arts of Nepal*, vol. 2, fig. 54.
11. Bendall, *Buddhist Sanskrit Catalogue*, Table of Letters, Ms. ADD. 1409.
12. Pal, *The Arts of Nepal*, vol. 2, figs. 28, 29.
13. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, figs. 14, 15.
14. For a description of the Navadurgās, see Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de l'Agni-Purāṇa* (Paris, 1963), pp. 147–49. The *Devīpurāṇa* (chap. 42, v. 10) lists an important place of pilgrimage called Navadurgāsthala but says nothing about the shrine of the image, except that the goddess was called Trimuṇḍā.
15. A different list of names of the Navadurgās is found in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (see Jagadiswarananda, *Devī Māhātmya*, p. xiv). They are: Śailaputī, Brahmācārīṇī, Candraghaṇṭā, Kuśmāṇḍā, Skandamātā, Kātyāyaṇī, Kālārātrī, Mahāgaurī, and Siddhidātrī.
16. Mallmann, *Enseignements Iconographiques*, p. 149.
17. *Agnipurāṇa*, chap. 50, vv. 10–12.
18. Pal, *The Arts of Nepal*, vol. 2, figs. 1, 72.
19. This manuscript was discovered in the autumn of 1977 and still awaits publication.
20. That mandalas were painted and manuscripts written and perhaps illuminated by the Hindus prior to the eleventh century is evident from the *Devīpurāṇa*, a text of immense importance for the Śākta religion. In chapter ninety-three, in connection with the worship of the goddess Nandādevī, Śiva says the following about religious paintings on cloth:
 paṭasya lakṣaṇaṃ vaksye yathā śidhyanti sādhaḥkāḥ /
 granthikeśavihīne tu ajīrṇe samatantuke // v. 148
 asphāṭite achidre tu sthalenaiva samālikhet /
 maṅgalarūpiṇī kāryā jayādyaḥ parivāritā // v. 149
 vṛddhena bhavate vṛddho vṛādhite vṛādhito bhavet /
 kurūpeṇa kurūpastū mūrkhena tu na pūjyate // v. 150
 lekhaḥkasya ca yadrūpaṃ cite bhavati tādṛśam // v. 151
 I shall now tell you the characteristics of *paṭas* or cloth paintings with which the adept achieves his goals immediately. The cloth for the painting should have no knots or loose threads [literally, hair] and it should not be old; all the threads should be smoothly woven. One should rest it on a place without cracks or holes and then paint the images of the auspicious Nandā along with Jayā and other attendants. If the painter is old, then the image also looks old; if he is indisposed, then the image looks ill; if he is ugly, then the picture is without beauty. One should never worship a painting drawn by a fool. The form of the image will always reflect the condition of the artist's mind.
 In an earlier chapter (ninety-one), the author of the *purāṇa* discusses the importance of donating books to brahmins. A detailed discussion of this chapter must be postponed for another occasion, but some of the information is relevant for us. Rather than quote the original text, I will briefly summarize the pertinent portions. We are told that the manuscript should consist of palm leaves and should have two wooden boards, to be tied together with either red or black thread. One should write very carefully, making sure that the letters do not crowd one another and that the writing is legible. When finished, the manuscript should be placed on a decorated cloth and worshipped along with the painting of the deity invoked in the text.
 Although we do not know the exact date of the *Devīpurāṇa*, that chapter ninety-three is earlier than 1050 is evident from the fact that almost the entire chapter is quoted by Hemādri and Lakṣmīdhara, both of whose dates are known. It is probably earlier than the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, which is usually dated to the eleventh century, and was probably compiled in its present form sometime between the sixth and tenth centuries. In both chapters ninety-one and ninety-three, the word *pustaka* ("book") has been used. This is a loan word from Old Persian and could not have been introduced before the sixth century, as it is not included in Amarasiṃha's *Amarakośa*, generally regarded as a sixth-century lexicon.
 In any event, these references to both painted images and manuscripts are among the earliest in Sanskrit religious literature. Especially significant is the discussion of the

pañcitras, which confirms the suggestion made above that painted images of the Goddess in India must have existed much earlier than the present evidence indicates. Another passage in the text prescribes both a manuscript and a

painting (among other objects) as suitable images for the worship of the Goddess (*pustakasthāṃ mahādevi pāduke pratimāsu ca / citre vā trīśikhe khaḍge jalasthāṃ vāpi pūjayet* // vv. 93, 105). See also n. 4 above.



FIG. 1. Covers with the Mothers; colors on wood. Twelfth century. The British Library.



FIG. 2. Folios representing Mahiṣāsuramardini; colors on wood. Twelfth century. The British Library.

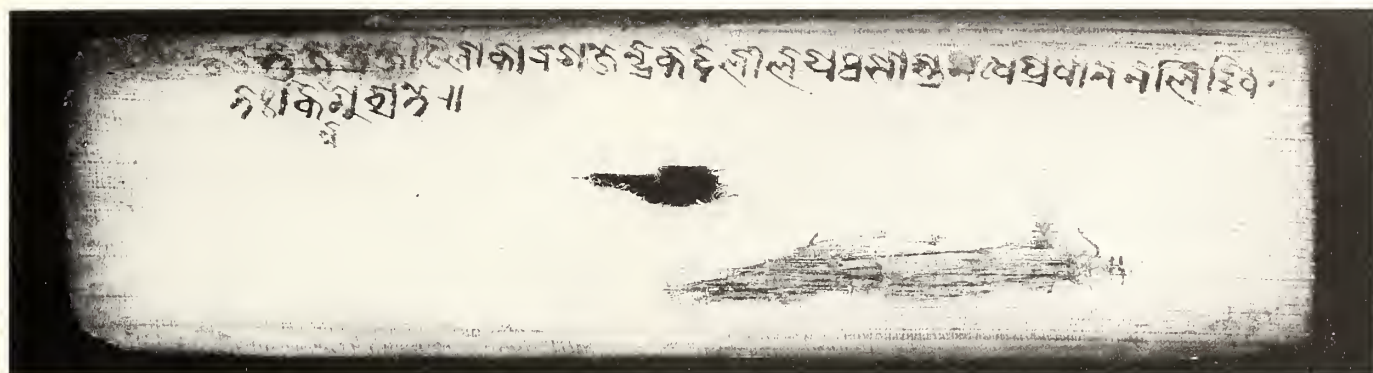


FIG. 3. Reverse of a folio in fig. 2, with inscription.



FIG. 4. The goddess Mahāpratisarā, from a *Pañcarakṣā* ms.; colors on paper. Ca. 1200. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection.



FIG. 5. Mahāsarasvatī (?), folio from a *Devīmāhātmya* ms.; colors on palm leaf. Fourteenth century. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi. Photographs of figs. 5–15, courtesy, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.



FIG. 6. Durgā and Kālī (?), same ms. as fig. 5.



FIG. 7. Universal form of Durgā, same ms. as fig. 5.



FIG. 8. Mahākālī, same ms. as fig. 5.



FIG. 9. Viṣṇu fights Madhu and Kaiṭabha, same ms. as fig. 5.



FIG. 10. Devī conversing with Sugrīva, same ms. as fig. 5.



FIG. 11. Devī destroying *asuras*, same ms. as fig. 5.



FIG. 12. Devī destroying *asuras*, same ms. as fig. 5.



FIG. 13. Devī destroying *asuras*, same ms. as fig. 5.



FIG. 14. Devī and Kālī fight with Raktabīja, same ms. as fig. 5.



FIG. 15. Devī fighting Mahiṣāsura, same ms. as fig. 5.

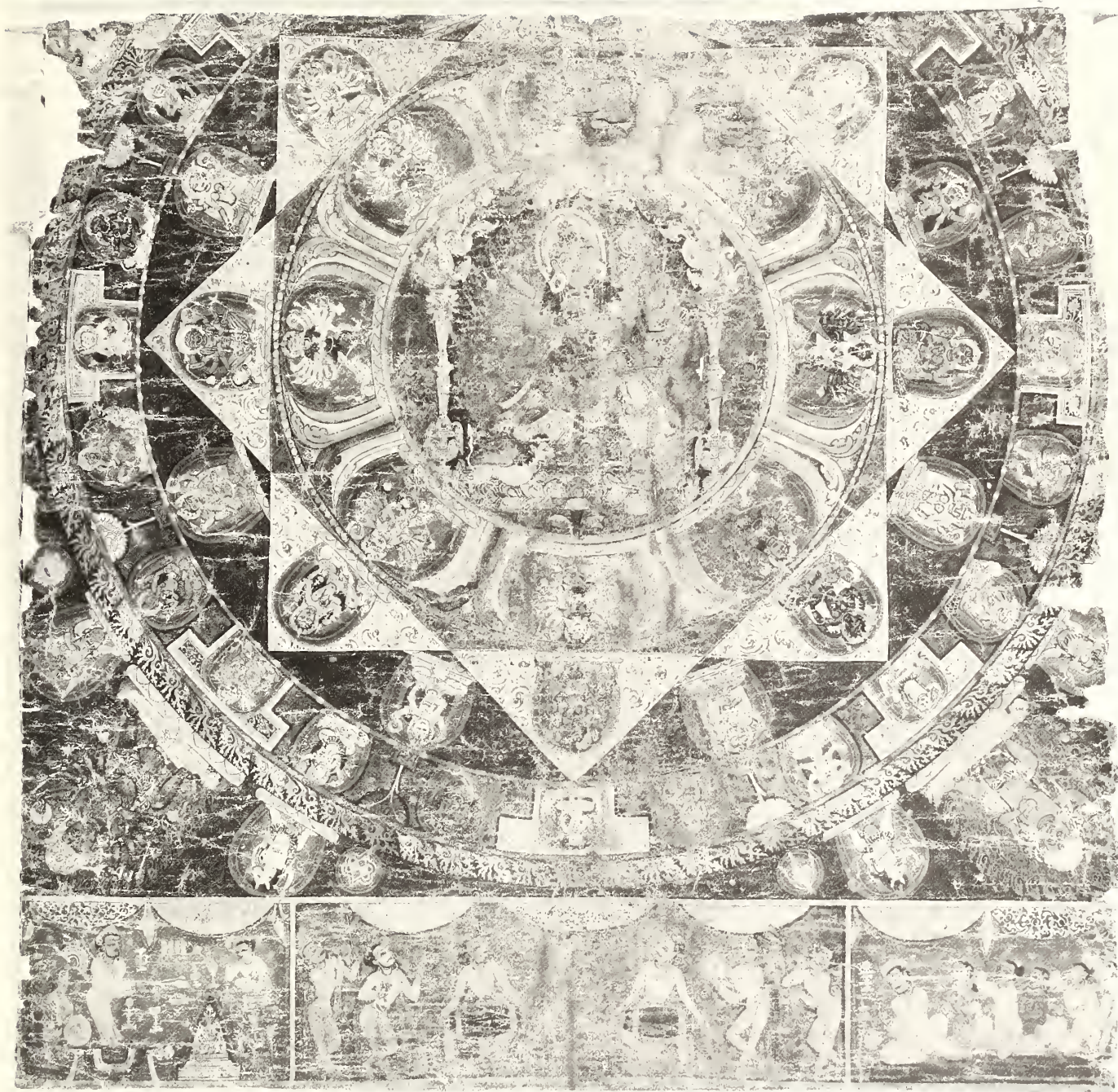


FIG. 16. Navadurgā mandala; colors on cotton. 1375–1400. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection.

THE SIDDHESVARA TEMPLE AT PALĀRI AND THE ART OF KOSALA DURING THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

BY DONALD M. STADTNER

THE HISTORY OF MONUMENTS IN ANCIENT KOSALA, or modern southeastern Madhya Pradesh, has been expanded by the recent discovery of a brick temple located in the village of Palāri (Raipur District). The existence of the shrine, locally known as the Siddheśvara Temple (ca. A.D. 675–85), is testimony to the importance of Kosala as an independent area in central India sponsoring a distinctive regional school of temple architecture and sculpture during the seventh and early eighth centuries.¹ The stages in the development of the art of Kosala during this period present a unified picture that can be charted systematically from its beginnings under the Somavāmśī dynasty in the capital of Śrīpura, or modern Sirpur (Raipur District). Features of the Siddheśvara Temple conform to the small number of well-known brick monuments from Kosala such as the Lakṣmaṇa Temple (ca. A.D. 595–605) at Sirpur, the Indal Deul Temple (ca. A.D. 650–60) and the Śabarī Temple (ca. A.D. 700–710) at Kharod (Bilāspur District), and the Rājīvalocana Temple (ca. A.D. 700–710) at Rājim (Raipur District) (see map, fig. 1).²

Inasmuch as none of the early Kosala temples bears dated inscriptions, any chronology of the monuments must take into special consideration the Lakṣmaṇa Temple at Sirpur, the most securely dated temple in the entire region. Founded at the close of the sixth century by the last Somavāmśī ruler, Śivagupta (ca. A.D. 595–650), the temple represents an example of work with which later temples in Kosala can be compared.³ Both the Indal Deul Temple and the recently discovered Siddheśvara Temple introduce such a wide range of new architectural and sculptural characteristics that it is reasonable to assume that approximately half a century separates these two shrines from the Lakṣmaṇa Temple. Also helping to confirm this chronology is an epigraph associated with the founding of the Rājīvalocana Temple by a Nala dynasty ruler which has been dated paleographically to ca. A.D. 700. While less reliably dated than the Lakṣmaṇa Temple, the sculptural style at the Rājīvalocana Temple inaugurates a new, albeit short-lived, phase in the art of Kosala that can provide a meaningful comparison with earlier work belonging to this period. Since there are no historical inscriptions between the end of the Somavāmśī control of Kosala in the middle of the seventh century and the rise of

the Nalas at the beginning of the eighth century, the Indal Deul and Siddheśvara temples were undertaken during a period when Kosala was probably ruled by unknown former feudatories of the Somavāmśīs or by smaller dynasties about which there is no information.

The Siddheśvara Temple faces west overlooking a large tank located on the outskirts of Palāri. The temple is constructed entirely of brick except for the stone doorway and a new stone porch. Except for the west side of the superstructure and its summit, which have been restored recently, the temple is in an excellent state of preservation. The brick surface of the exterior has retained the bulk of its original plaster covering, which has in recent times been painted dull red.

The ground plan of the Siddheśvara Temple is determined by a modified stellate design (fig. 2). None of the brick temples of this period in Kosala exhibits a genuine stellate plan, for the central and corner divisions of each temple are parallel with the major axis (figs. 3, 4, 5). A true stellate plan is one in which each vertical division of the wall is designed at an oblique angle. Stellate plans were adopted infrequently in India, and it is therefore somewhat surprising not only that stellate plans were used widely in Kosala during the seventh century, but also that the earliest extant temple in India to incorporate stellate elements occurs at Sirpur (Rāma Temple, ca. A.D. 595–605) (figs. 3, 14). Because of the dissimilarity of stellate plans found in Kosala, it would be incorrect to establish a chronological or progressive sequence based upon a comparison of plans per se.⁴ The picture that emerges is one of intense experimentation with different forms of stellate ground plans. Indeed, of the six surviving temples from this period, only two, the Lakṣmaṇa and the Rājīvalocana shrines, were not designed according to a stellate plan.

As is the case with all stellate temples from this period, the oblique divisions of the Siddheśvara Temple were designed between the wide central (*bhadra*) and corner (*karṇa*) wall segments (fig. 2). The wide *bhadra* division of each wall consists of two pairs of recessed pilasters interrupted by a large circular-shaped window, or *candraśālā* (fig. 8). Pilasters used to define the wall surface are present on the early Lakṣmaṇa Temple, but these are not as

elaborate as the nearly identical pilasters found on the Indal Deul and Siddheśvara temples. *Candraśālās* containing a deity are found on the Indal Deul and Siddheśvara shrines, whereas the *candraśālās* of the Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma temples bear only miniature pilasters and an inverted heart-shaped motif (figs. 12, 14, 15). Surmounting each of the large *candraśālās* on the central divisions of the Siddheśvara Temple is a large lion head (*grāsamukha*), upon which rests a crouchant lion facing outward. Identical lion faces appear over the *candraśālās* on the earlier temples at Sirpur and on the Indal Deul Temple, but the single crouchant lion is one of the new features found only on the later Siddheśvara Temple.

To either side of the central division is a narrow oblique section (*pallavī*) consisting of a single pilaster, ornamented at its base with a double-bodied gryphon (*vyāla*) resting its front legs upon the head of a double-bodied kneeling elephant (fig. 8). The same motif occurs on the inner divisions of the Indal Deul Temple, but here it has been considerably expanded. The neighboring division (*pratikaṇṇa*) of the Siddheśvara Temple is similar to the central segment, except that the prominent *candraśālā* bears a human face and the two smaller *candraśālās* are placed against the upper portion of the pilaster. Adjacent to the corner segment is a narrow, recessed, oblique division comprised of a single pilaster ornamented at its base with lions and elephants. Each corner section is similar to the central division, except that pairs of small lions and elephants are placed at the top of the recessed pilasters (fig. 8). The corner divisions of the Indal Deul Temple are identical to those at Palāri, except that they lack the pairs of lions and elephants (fig. 15). It is significant that no such figural sculpture is present on the exterior of the earlier Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma temples at Sirpur.

An important aspect of the connection between the Indal Deul Temple and the Palāri shrine is the narrow horizontal band of miniature *candraśālās* separating the temple wall of the Siddheśvara edifice into two nearly equal portions (fig. 6). This thin register is interrupted only over small portions of the larger *candraśālās* of the central and corner divisions. It is a feature, significantly absent from the early Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma temples at Sirpur, which is an important characteristic of the later Śabarī Temple, where the band is also continuous except for small interruptions on the corner and central sections (fig. 17). At the Indal Deul Temple, however, the thin register is used merely as a means to break up the surface of individual pilasters on the central division only (fig. 15). No such device is used

on the exterior of the Rājīvalocana Temple at Rājim, whose elevation is conservative, conforming generally to that of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple. A prominent band dividing the wall surface into horizontal divisions occurs among the few surviving ninth- and tenth-century temples in Kosala and is not an uncommon feature in the architecture of medieval north India. This deliberate division of the wall suggests not only that the Siddheśvara Temple succeeds the Indal Deul shrine, but also that the former shrine should be dated rather late in the sequence of temples belonging to this period.

The major components of the plinth (*vedībādhā*) moldings of the Siddheśvara Temple reveal only small differences from the earlier Sirpur shrines and the slightly later Rājīvalocana and Śabarī temples. Such similarity suggests that only minor variations occurred throughout this period in the design of the plinth. The chief elements in all of the standing temples are wide sloping segments (*khura-kumbha*) at the bottom, upon which are heavy, bulbous moldings (*kalaśa*) ornamented with an overhanging leaf pattern (fig. 8).⁵ This leaf motif is characteristic of the art of Kosala from the seventh through the tenth century and is found in modified form in the art of later Orissa. Above the molding is a narrow register (*antarapaṭṭa*), upon which is placed a sloping segment (*kapotapālikā*) that bears *candraśālās* with half-*candraśālās* on the oblique divisions.

The temple superstructure, or *śikhara*, of the Siddheśvara Temple consists of four distinct stories (*bhūmis*). None of the temple summits in Kosala has survived, but it is likely that each tower was surmounted by a large cogged wheel, or *āmalaka*, comprised of brick. Each vertical division of the wall is continued into the superstructure and is interrupted at the level of the roof cornice (*varaṇḍikā*) by a narrow horizontal register of small *candraśālās*. The *śikhara* of the Siddheśvara Temple most closely resembles that of the Indal Deul, as was equally the case with the elevation of its temple wall.

The central section of the Siddheśvara Temple superstructure consists of large *candraśālās* placed against sets of squat pilasters on each story (fig. 6). Unlike the earlier Indal Deul Temple, these *candraśālās* do not contain images, but rather miniature pilasters and pendentive designs. At each corner of the lowermost *candraśālā* is a crouchant lion; it is a motif which occurs in the corresponding location on the Indal Deul Temple. The adjacent division, positioned at an oblique angle, consists of squat pilasters supporting a miniature two-sided shrine, or *kūṭa-stambha*. Placed on top of each miniature shrine is a small *āmalaka* (*āmalasārikā*) with a vasselike finial (*kalaśa*) composed entirely of plaster.

Between each *bhūmikaṇḍa* and each miniature shrine is a small crouchant lion. An earlier use of *kūṭa-stambhas* is found on each division (*anuratha*) flanking the central segment on the *śikhara* of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple. In these examples, short pilasters carry a thin register supporting a three-sided shrine that is provided with a small *āmalaka* and a *kalaśa* finial (fig. 12). The *kūṭa-stambhas* of the Indal Deul Temple tower are nearly identical to the Palāri examples, except that they lack crouchant lions (fig. 15).

Adjacent to the corner division is a deeply recessed, narrow segment, comprised on each story of a pilaster ornamented with a large, standing, two-bodied lion (fig. 6). On the fourth story, a single-bodied lion squats upon its haunches and faces outward—a primary indication that the original *śikhara* was terminated at this story. A close counterpart of this division can be found on the Śabarī Temple, where a single oblique segment was planned between the corner and inner divisions (figs. 5, 17). Each outer division of the Siddheśvara *śikhara* bears a large corner *āmalaka* (*karṇaṇḍa*) deeply engaged in the fabric of the superstructure. These corner *āmalakas* are found on the Lakṣmaṇa Temple, though they are not associated with any of the figural sculpture that is so conspicuous on the Siddheśvara and Indal Deul shrines.

Whereas no specific Vaiṣṇava imagery appears within the large *candraśālās* on the exterior of the Siddheśvara Temple, representations of Nṣimha and Viṣṇu occur within *candraśālās* on the Indal Deul Temple. On the south side of the Siddheśvara shrine is a standing image of Gaṇeśa and a figure of Kārttikeya riding on his peacock (fig. 7). Within the central *candraśālā* on the rear side is a figure of Sūrya rising above his horses and holding a lotus in each upraised hand. On each of the corner divisions are a male figure bearing a garland in two hands and a seated figure with one leg raised (fig. 8). It is interesting to note that the location of Sūrya in a central position on the rear of the Indal Deul shrine is the only major iconographic correspondence between these two closely related temples. On the north side of the Siddheśvara shrine in the center is a seated image of Lakṣmī showered by two elephants standing on two small lotuses. A seated male figure whose identity is unclear occurs in the surviving corner division (fig. 6).

The skillful application of plaster to create nearly three-dimensional figural forms on the exterior of the Siddheśvara Temple suggests that there existed craftsmen specializing only in plaster ornamentation. The highly plastic effect that was achieved may be appreciated in the powerful rendering of the large

crouchant lions and elephants, for which the rough brickwork beneath served as a mere armature (fig. 6). Flat surfaces on the exterior were also covered with plaster and incised with geometric and floral patterns. That the well-formed sculpture in plaster conforms so closely to the underlying brickwork is an indication that the plaster is certainly coeval with the construction of the temple.

The heavy reliance upon plaster to ornament the exterior of the Siddheśvara shrine is an additional reason for dating this temple rather late in the seventh century. No such use of plaster can be detected, for example, at the Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma temples at Sirpur, which belong to the early part of the seventh century. Plaster ornamentation was an important feature of the now largely effaced exterior of the Indal Deul Temple, but it can be inferred from the underlying brickwork that plaster was relied upon to a slightly lesser degree than it was at the later Siddheśvara Temple. Innumerable layers of plaster and whitewash applied in the modern period to the Rājīvalocana and Śabarī temples have obscured the original appearance of these shrines, but in neither temple was exterior figural sculpture planned in brick or plaster. The absence of figural sculpture probably implies that the elevations of these two later temples belong to a different category of building.

The formal organization of the Siddheśvara Temple doorway owes much to that of the earlier Indal Deul shrine, although it is considerably more complex and elaborate. Dominating the entranceways of both temples are two life-sized images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the left and right sides, respectively (fig. 9). A pair of smaller standing Gaṅgā images on *makaras* has been added on the inner jambs and, at the Siddheśvara Temple, a separate frieze of sculpture placed above the lintel. Both entranceways have little in common with the earlier shrine doorway of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple. At that temple there are no river deities, and the small-scale figural sculpture is contained within rectangular niches in orderly rows on the jambs and lintel (fig. 13).

The iconographic focus of the doorway is a seated, four-armed image of Lakulīśa placed in the center of the lintel (fig. 10). The two lower arms are partially concealed by a thick coat of plaster, but the hands are probably in the expository gesture (*vyakhyānamudrā*). A large club (*lakuṭa*), Lakulīśa's symbol par excellence, rests inside his folded lower arm, while his upper left hand holds an indistinct object that is probably a book (*pustaka*). The figure's upper right hand is either missing or covered with plaster. To either side of Lakulīśa are his four traditional

disciples, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra, and Kauruṣya, whose attributes are too damaged to be deciphered. Adoration of Lakulīśa was important throughout the long history of the adjoining region of Orissa, and it is conceivable that the worship of this deity spread from Kosala into Orissa during the seventh century. The earliest known Lakulīśa images in Orissa occur on the Paraśurāmeśvara Temple at Bhubaneswar, which may be dated to the second half of the seventh century.

On the right-hand side of the lintel next to the two disciples is an image of Viṣṇu seated upon Garuḍa. On the opposite end is a representation of Brahmā riding on his goose (fig. 10). The iconography of the lintel at the Indal Deul Temple expresses a similar syncretism, but Lakulīśa is replaced by a representation of Śiva and Pārvatī (fig. 16). To either side of the deities at Kharod are large *nāga-nāginī* couples and single *nāginī* figures, whose large entwined coils form an important decorative element. There are no representations of snakes on the doorway at Palāri, but by the early eighth century *nāga* and *nāginī* images with prominent coils became a major feature not only on the lintels, but also on the jambs of the Rājīvalocana and Śabarī temples.

In the center of the frieze above the lintel is a representation of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī in the midst of attendants and musicians; an image of Sūrya may be seen on the far right (fig. 10). To the left of this central scene is a portrayal of Śiva slaying the elephant-demon, and on the opposite end of the lintel is a depiction of Śiva in combat with the demon Andhaka.

Beneath the long frieze and above the river deities are small representations of the Guardians of the Eight Directions, or Aṣṭadikpālas (fig. 10). Above the large Gaṅgā figure are (from left to right) Vāyu on a chariot of stags, Niṣṭi on a bull (?), and Varuṇa on a chariot of geese. Above the large Yamunā figure are (from left to right) an image of Kubera on a damaged ram, Īśāna riding on a foliate elephant, and Agni on a chariot drawn by parrots. On the left jamb in the same location is a representation of Indra and his consort on an elephant. These are the only surviving examples of the Aṣṭadikpālas in Kosala from this period.

An important aesthetic feature of the art of Kosala was an ever-increasing desire to augment the realism of figural sculpture by the thoughtful placement of small animals and figures in ways that interrupted symmetrical sculptural patterns. The earliest examples of this practice can be perceived on the doorway sculpture of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple. Here, for example, the feet of two small birds protrude

across the band of pearls on the outer rim of the halo of the female figure, and the man's left arm and his sash deliberately interrupt a plain vertical strip (fig. 13). These devices impart a greater sense of naturalism to sculptural groupings. At the Indal Deul, for example, small fish are placed about the shoulders of the river deities (fig. 16). The practice is carried much further at the Siddheśvara Temple, where two smaller Gaṅgā images on the inner jambs overlap a thin vertical register of lotus leaves separating the outer and inner jambs (fig. 9). In addition, single flying figures with garlands above the larger river goddesses interrupt a vertical hexagonal band. The tendency for images to interrupt or overlap each other culminates in the slightly later sculpture at Rājim.

Situated on either side of the entrance to the modern courtyard of the Siddheśvara Temple are two complete pillars (fig. 11). The pillars, one of which is sculpted with a male figure, would probably have been part of two matching sets belonging to a *maṇḍapa* which was constructed of at least four pillars. The placement of large figures on pillars, which first appears at the Siddheśvara Temple, was probably an adaptation of a strong tradition in Kosala of designing pilasters with life-sized figures. Pilasters with figures were used along the interior wall of the now destroyed *maṇḍapa* of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple and are still found in the porch of the Rājīvalocana Temple.

Following the construction of the Palāri shrine, the most significant developments in Kosala took place at Rājim, where the sculptural style associated with the Indal Deul and Siddheśvara shrines achieved its final expression in the ancient sculpture incorporated into the modern Rāmacandra and Kuleśvara temples.

Situated at the confluence of the Mahānadi and Pairi rivers, Rājim is venerated as a special site of religious pilgrimage throughout present-day Kosala. Of the dozen or more temples in the village, the most revered is the Vaiṣṇava Rājīvalocana Temple.⁶ Set into the *maṇḍapa* wall of the temple is an undated inscription recording the dedication of a lofty Viṣṇu temple ("sthanam-uccair-vviṣṇoḥ") in honor of the deceased son of a Nala dynasty ruler, Vilāsatuṅga.⁷ The date of ca. A.D. 700 proposed for the inscription by Mirashi is based on the political hiatus in Kosala following the demise of the Somavaṃśīs in ca. A.D. 650 and on the paleography of the epigraph itself. Since this inscription is the sole indication of the Nala dynasty's presence in Kosala, it can be used neither to fix the exact time of the entrance of the Nalas into Kosala nor to determine the geographical extent of their rule. The

origin of these Nala kings is unclear, but it is possible that the family moved into Kosala from the Koraput District in southwestern Orissa.⁸ A date of ca. A.D. 700 for the Rājīvalocana Temple is, however, reinforced by art-historical evidence. The sculpture associated with the temple marks the beginning of a new sculptural style in ancient Kosala.

Incorporated into the Kuleśvara Temple are four pilasters bearing figures which are among the finest examples of sculpture in the entire region.⁹ If a Yamunā image from this group is compared to related river deities at the Siddheśvara Temple and to the well-known female figures sculpted on the four interior pillars of the Rāmacandra Temple, the same pronounced curve of the hip and an almost identical use of body ornaments can be noted (fig. 20).¹⁰ On each of these similar images is a finely incised mantle that extends down from the left shoulder over the left breast and around the midsection. The figures from the Kuleśvara and Rāmacandra temples provide an effective comparison to the figures at the Rājīvalocana Temple, whose ornamentation is neither as rich nor as plastic in quality. Inasmuch as the figures on the pillars of the Rāmacandra Temple dominate the entire character of each column to a far greater extent than do those which occur on the Siddheśvara Temple, it would be reasonable to assume a slightly later date in the seventh century for these related works at Rājīm.

A Trivikrama relief built into the courtyard wall of the Rājīvalocana Temple is an instructive example of the new style inaugurated by the Nalas (fig. 19). The pronounced sense of suppleness and musculature noted in the preceding sculpture at the Siddheśvara, Rāmacandra, and Kuleśvara temples is replaced in this Trivikrama image by an artificial stiffness. Scant attention has been paid to internal modeling; transitions between the major divisions of the body have scarcely been differentiated. The chest of the figure is conceived as a single flat plane; there is little distinction between the lower and upper halves of the right leg.¹¹ Moreover, numerous patterns and designs found in the earlier sculptural work, such as the tripartite band on the upper arms, are no longer used; these are replaced in the Trivikrama relief by a single band bearing a central diadem. The elaborate jewelry executed in high relief is reduced here to simple ornaments lying flat against the skin. At the same time, however, many figures associated with this new style at Rājīm demonstrate an exaggerated degree of elasticity not present in the earlier work: note the upturned left leg of the snake-hooded figure at the bottom of the Trivikrama panel.

The original entrance to the Rājīvalocana Temple

is through a large doorway built into the courtyard wall facing the shrine *maṇḍapa*. The lateral face of each jamb bears a single thick lotus stalk which meanders from side to side (fig. 18). The expansive yet intricate, almost filigree quality of the innumerable tendrils fanning off the central stalk furnishes a useful comparison to the much more tightly conceived and less deeply undercut floral work of the earlier Siddheśvara Temple. The motif of intertwined *nāgas* and *nāginīs* on the lintel of the Indal Deul Temple doorway has been greatly expanded here to include prominent *nāga* figures on the jambs as well as on the lintel. Two small male figures and a large snake sculpted almost completely in the round have been placed directly over the surface of a tubular band of foliage on the lateral face of the jamb (fig. 18). This sculptural device, already noted in the earlier temples, is borrowed by the craftsmen at the Rājīvalocana Temple, but the concept has here reached its limit of exaggeration.

Work reflecting the style of the Rājīvalocana Temple and dating to the first or second decade of the eighth century in the rest of Kosala is largely confined to isolated sculpture found at Sirpur, Turturiya (Raipur District), and Mallār (Bilāspur District), and to the shrine doorway of the Śabarī Temple at Kharod.¹² The images at Sirpur are nearly always executed in a hard, but brittle, purplish-hued basalt. One published example is the nearly life-sized image of Viṣṇu seated upon Garuḍa, preserved in the porch of the modern Gandheśvara Temple at Sirpur.¹³ Little sculpture in Kosala can be dated to the remainder of the eighth century. An isolated doorway and a separate jamb from Dhamtarī (Raipur District), now preserved in the Raipur museum, are perhaps most representative of a small body of work which should probably be dated to the second half of the eighth century.¹⁴ A number of new motifs are introduced, the size of the female figures on the jambs has been reduced, and the deep undercutting and filigree quality of the floral work at the Rājīvalocana Temple is carried even further. Since the terminal date of Nala rule and influence in Kosala is at present unknown, the relationship, if any, of this later work to Nala patronage cannot be adequately determined.

If the Nalas of the Rājīm inscription entered Kosala from southwestern Orissa, the new sculptural style represented at the Rājīvalocana Temple may have originated in this relatively unexplored area. It is conceivable, however, that the new style was inaugurated at Rājīm upon the entrance of the Nalas into Kosala. From Kosala, the new sculptural mode may have filtered into western Orissa, where lesser-known temples in the Sambalpur District (Nar-

singhnath) and the Balāngīr District (Baidyanath, Charda, and Patnagarh) demonstrate a sculptural style having strong affinities with the style at Rājim. None of these Orissan temples is associated with dated inscriptions. It is therefore difficult to determine the chronological relationship among these sites.

Only a handful of surviving temples in Kosala date to the ninth and tenth centuries. The most well-known examples are two brick shrines at Pujāripāli (Raipur District) that reflect a continuation of many of the architectural features present in the seventh century.¹⁵ Centralized political authority was not experienced in Kosala until the rise of the Kalacuris in the eleventh and twelfth centuries from their ancient capital of Ratnapura (modern Ratanpur, Bilāspur District). It was during this period, for example, that the large stone temples at Janjgir (Bilāspur District), Mallār, and other sites were undertaken.

The newly discovered Siddheśvara Temple serves to complete the picture of the history of monuments in seventh-century Kosala. Following the construction of the Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma temples at Sirpur in the early seventh century and the Indal Deul shrine at Kharod in the middle of the seventh century, the

Siddheśvara Temple represents in many respects a culmination of certain architectural and sculptural features incepted at the beginning of the seventh century. The early work of the Somavamśī dynasty capital of Sirpur provided a strong impetus that persisted throughout the entire seventh century despite the demise of the dynasty in ca. A.D. 650. The characteristic plinth moldings and the large *candraśālās* and pilasters on the exterior wall surfaces, for example, are among the important features that remained relatively unchanged during the century. On the other hand, the extensive use of figural sculpture on both the walls and superstructures of the Indal Deul and Siddheśvara temples indicates that by the second half of the seventh century many new forms had been created. Although the Siddheśvara Temple bears the greatest resemblance to the slightly earlier Indal Deul Temple, a number of significant new elements were introduced, such as the thin horizontal band that separates the wall of the Siddheśvara shrine into two segments. The stellate plan of the Siddheśvara Temple is further proof of the experimentation with stellate plans which is one of the most distinctive and characteristic features of the architecture of early Kosala.

Notes

1. A brief notice of the Palāri shrine appeared in an early Raipur District gazetteer; see A. E. Nelson, *Central Province District Gazetteer, Raipur District, A* (Calcutta, 1909), p. 352. The village of Palāri is located about twenty kilometers south of Baloda Bāzār in the Baloda Bāzār *tahsil* of the Raipur District. I wish to thank Mr. V. S. Thakur of Raipur for bringing the site to my attention and to record my gratitude to Mr. M. A. Dhaky and Mr. Krishna Deva, both of the American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS), Banaras, for looking over the completed manuscript. Figures 7, 14, and 15 have been furnished by the AIIS, while figures 6 and 8 have been provided by Thomas Donaldson. The ground plan of the Śabarī Temple has been based upon one kindly supplied by Michael Meister. The ground plans of the other temples have also, in part, been modified in reference to those furnished by Prof. Meister, with his permission. The map and remaining illustrations are by the author.
2. The chronology of these early sites in Kosala has been drawn from my Ph.D. dissertation, "From Sirpur to Rājīm: The Art of Kosala During the Seventh Century," (University of California, Berkeley, 1976). Illustrations of the Lakṣmaṇa and Indal Deul temples are contained in A. H. Longhurst, "Ancient Brick Temples in the Central Provinces," in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1909-1910* (Calcutta, 1914), pp. 11-17. Also useful for illustrations is Douglas Barrett, *Mukhalingham Temples*, and Moreshwar G. Dikshit, *Sirpur and Rājīm Temples* (published jointly in one volume) (Bombay, 1969). For the few but significant sixth-century remains in Kosala, see my article, "A Sixth-Century A.D. Temple from Kosala," *Archives of Asian Art* 33 (1980): 38-48.
3. A stone inscription located in the *maṇḍapa* of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple has been edited by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, "The Sirpur Stone Inscription of the Time of Maḥaśivagupta," *Epigraphia Indica* 11 (1911-12): 184-201. The undated inscription, which was found "while removing the debris of this *maṇḍapa* [of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple]," records the dedication of a temple by the ruling monarch, Śivagupta, and his mother, Vāsātā, in memory of Śivagupta's deceased father, Harṣagupta (v. 20). Since it is probable that the temple was erected soon after the death of Harṣagupta and upon the accession of Śivagupta, the shrine was likely begun and finished between ca. A.D. 595 and 605. The Soma-vaṁśī kings dated their copper plates in regnal years only, but it is possible to be fairly precise about the date of Śivagupta's reign. The Bonda plates of Śivagupta were dedicated in his twenty-second regnal year on the sixth lunar day of the first half of the month Pauṣa. The only conceivable date at which these would coincide in the first half of the seventh century is ca. A.D. 616, making the date of Śivagupta's accession ca. A.D. 595; see V. V. Mirashi and L. P. Pandeya, "Bonda Plates of Maḥaśivagupta, Year 22," *Epigraphia Indica* 35 (1955): 60-65. Śivagupta's last dated record, the Lodhia plates dated to his fifty-seventh regnal year, proves that his reign extended to at least ca. A.D. 650; see V. V. Mirashi and L. P. Pandeya, "Lodhia Plates of Maḥaśivagupta," *Epigraphia Indica* 27 (1947-48): 319-25. For an architectural description of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple, see Krishna Deva, "Lakṣmaṇa Temple at Sirpur," *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, no. 2 (1960), pp. 35-44.
4. I have treated more fully the question of stellate architecture in this region in my article "Ancient Kosala and the Stellate Plan," in *Kalādarśana: American Studies in the Art of India*, ed. Joanna Williams (New Delhi, 1981), pp. 137-45.
5. The plinths of two ruined brick shrines at Sirpur, the first immediately north of the Rāma Temple and the second in the jungle slightly south of the excavated *vihāras*, indicate that an unornamented molding with a flat surface perpendicular to the ground was occasionally substituted for the common *khura-kumbha* variety.
6. The monuments at Rājīm were described for the first time by Sir Richard Jenkins, "Account of Ancient Hindu Remains in Chattisgher [*sic*]," *Asiatick Researches* 15 (1825): 499-519.
7. V. V. Mirashi, "Rājīm Stone Inscription of the Nala King Vilāsatuṅga," *Epigraphia Indica* 27 (1941): 49-57, v. 20. A second stone inscription at Rājīm, also preserved within the *maṇḍapa* of the Rājīvalocana Temple, records the dedication of a temple to Rāma in A.D. 1145 (Kalacuri Era 896) by an official of the Kalacuri dynasty of Ratnapura; see V. V. Mirashi, "Rājīm Stone Inscriptions of Prithvīdeva I: Kalachuri Year 896," in *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, ed. V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* vol. 4 (Ootacumund, 1955), pp. 450-57.
8. Two stone inscriptions belonging to a group of Nala kings were found in the Koraput District, Orissa. The epigraphs are dated in regnal years and the kings referred to in the inscriptions are not the same as those of the Rājīm inscription. The date of this group of Nala rulers can be assigned probably to the last half of the fifth and early sixth centuries, and it is possible that the Nala rulers at Rājīm were either descendants of this family or belonged to a different branch. For the inscriptions, see C. R. Krishnamacharulu, "The Nala Inscription at Poḍāgaḍh: 12 Year," *Epigraphia Indica* 21 (1931-32): 153-57; D. C. Sircar, "Kesaribeda Plates of Nala Arthapati—Bhaṭṭāraka," *Epigraphia Indica* 28 (1949-50): 12-17. A hoard of gold coins belonging to some of these Nala kings was discovered south of Rājīm in the Bastar District, Madhya Pradesh; see V. V. Mirashi, "Gold Coins of the Three Kings of the Nala Dynasty," *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 1 (1939): 29-35. For a summary of the history of these early Nala kings and their probable contact with the Vākātakas, see S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas* (Allahabad, 1967), pp. 258-61. A number of Purāṇas associate the Nalas with Kosala, but no names of kings are given; see F. E. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (London, 1913), p. 51.
9. The Kuleśvara Temple originally stood on a spur of land between the Mahānadi and Pairi rivers which almost completely eroded in the nineteenth century; see J. D. Beglar, *Archaeological Survey of India*, 23 vols. (Calcutta, 1874-1937), 7:148-49. Today the temple is located on a small island and can only be visited when the rivers are low. The Yamunā image is the only figure from this shrine that has been published previously; see *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Western India, 1904*, negative no. 2202. The attendant figure to Yamunā's right originally held a small child which has subsequently been reworked with plaster to form a vase. The other pilasters at the temple contain images of Kārttikeya, Pārvaī, and Maḥiṣāsuramardīnī.
10. Viennot considered the pillars and pilasters of the *maṇḍapa* to be contemporary with the pilasters of the Rājīvalocana

Temple and the work at Sirpur (presumably referring to the Lakṣmaṇa Temple). Viennot suggested no specific dates for the Rāmacandra Temple sculpture or for the Sirpur work other than a broad sixth- through eighth-century attribution. Odette Viennot, "Le temple de Rāmachandra à Rājīm," *Arts Asiatiques* 5 (1958): 138–43. The Rāmacandra Temple was probably constructed from ancient fragments sometime during the second half of the nineteenth century, since Jenkins did not refer to this temple in his report. See Jenkins, "Account of Hindu Remains."

11. The lower left leg of the Trivikrama image has been restored.
12. The remains of Turturiya, a site located about thirty kilometers north of Sirpur, were described first by Beglar, *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. 13. A summary of recent archaeological explorations at Mallār (or Malhār) is contained in K. D. Bajpai and S. K. Pandey, *Malhār* (Sagar, 1978). To my knowledge, there are no published illustrations of the Śabarī Temple doorway at Kharod.
13. This image in the Gandheśvara Temple is illustrated by Dikshit, *Sirpur and Rājīm Temples*, pl. 48; for images belonging to the same period at Sirpur and executed in purplish basalt, see the standing Viṣṇu and a *nāga* figure, pls. 46 and 47, respectively.
14. The Dhamtarī doorway and jamb are preserved in the Raipur Museum; the jamb is illustrated by B. C. Jain, *Pāṣāṇa Pratimāe* (Raipur, 1960), pl. 4k. A complete lintel with a bust of Śiva in the center that was perhaps placed over the extant doorway is illustrated in the same catalogue, pl. 5k. A photograph of this lintel built into a modern shrine at Dhamtarī is contained in Longhurst, "Ancient Brick Temples," fig. 4.
15. Longhurst, "Ancient Brick Temples," pl. 5.

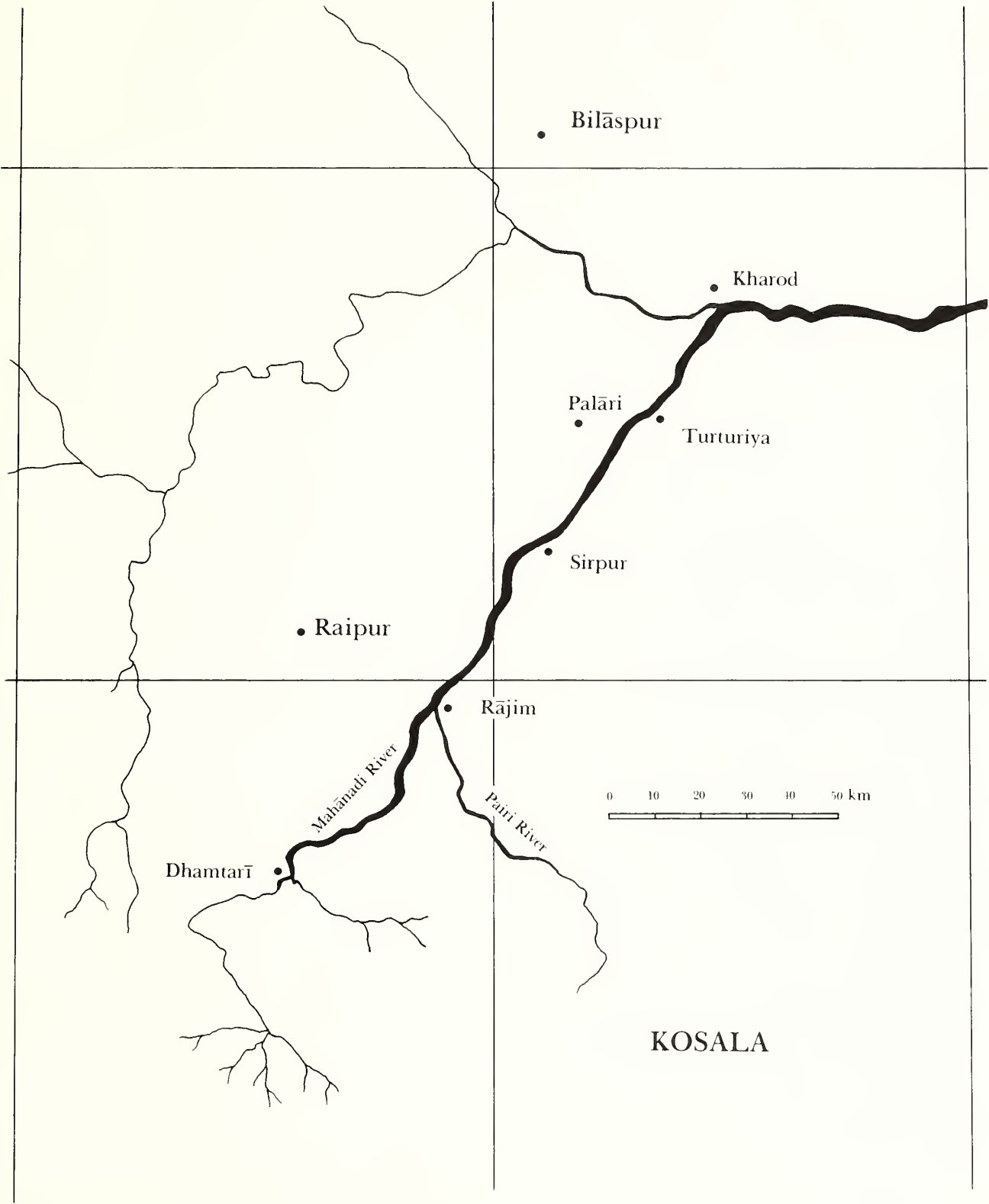


FIG. 1. Map.

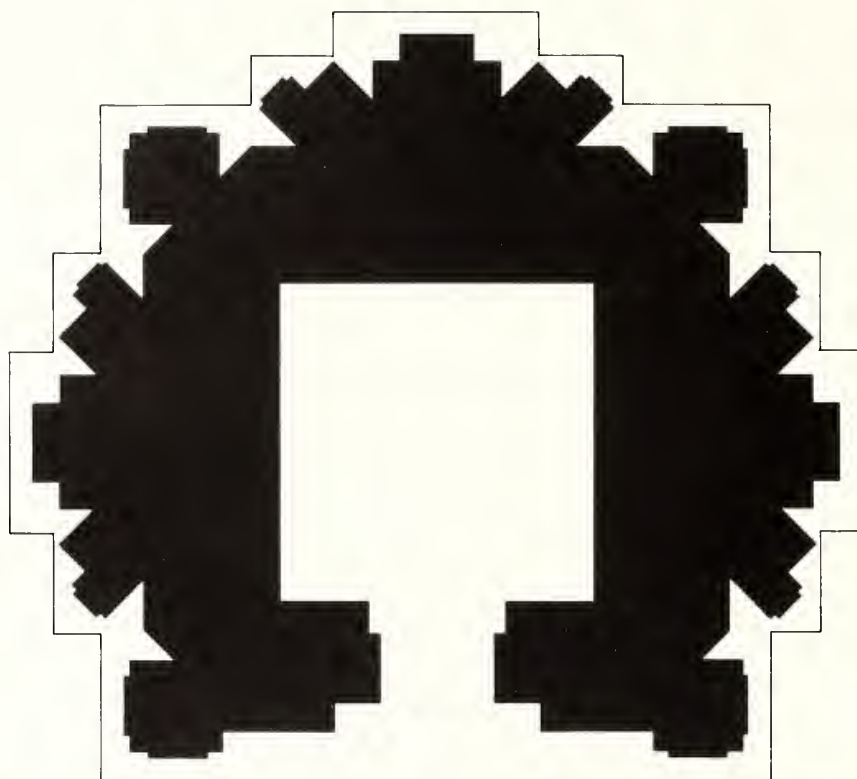


FIG. 2. Siddhesvara Temple, Palāri, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh, ground plan.

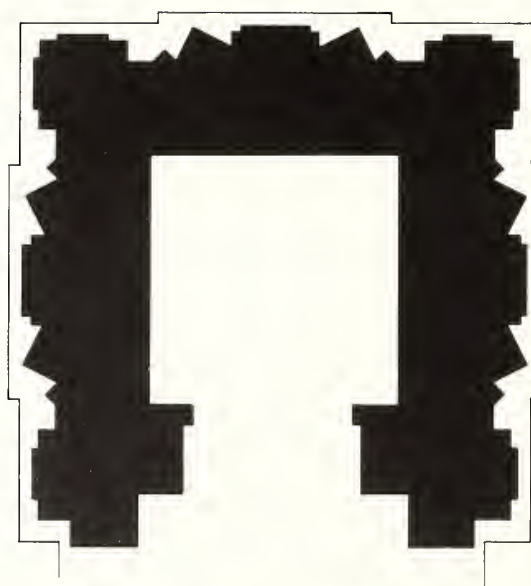


FIG. 3. Rāma Temple, Sirpur, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh, ground plan.

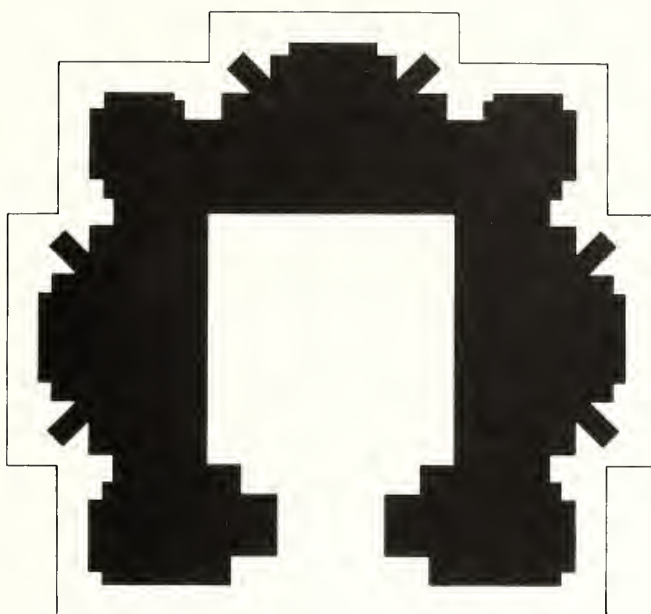


FIG. 4. Indal Deul Temple, Kharod, Bilāspur District, ground plan.

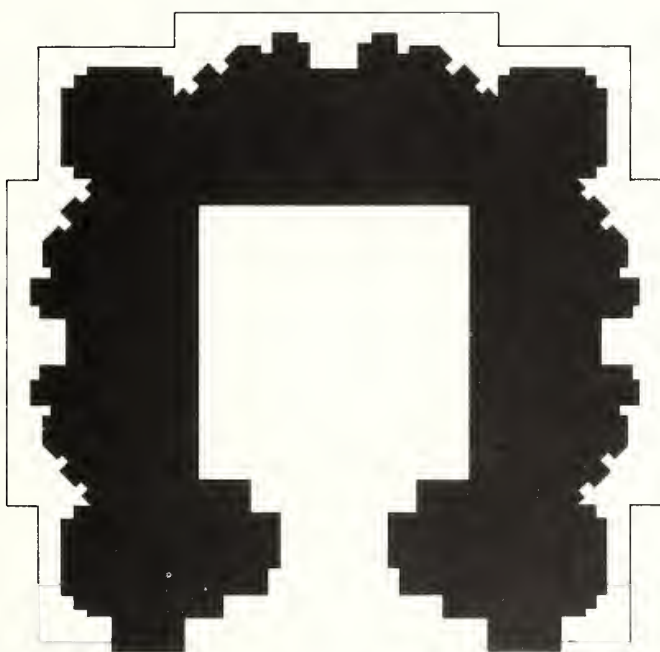


FIG. 5. Śabarī Temple, Kharod, Bilāspur District, ground plan.

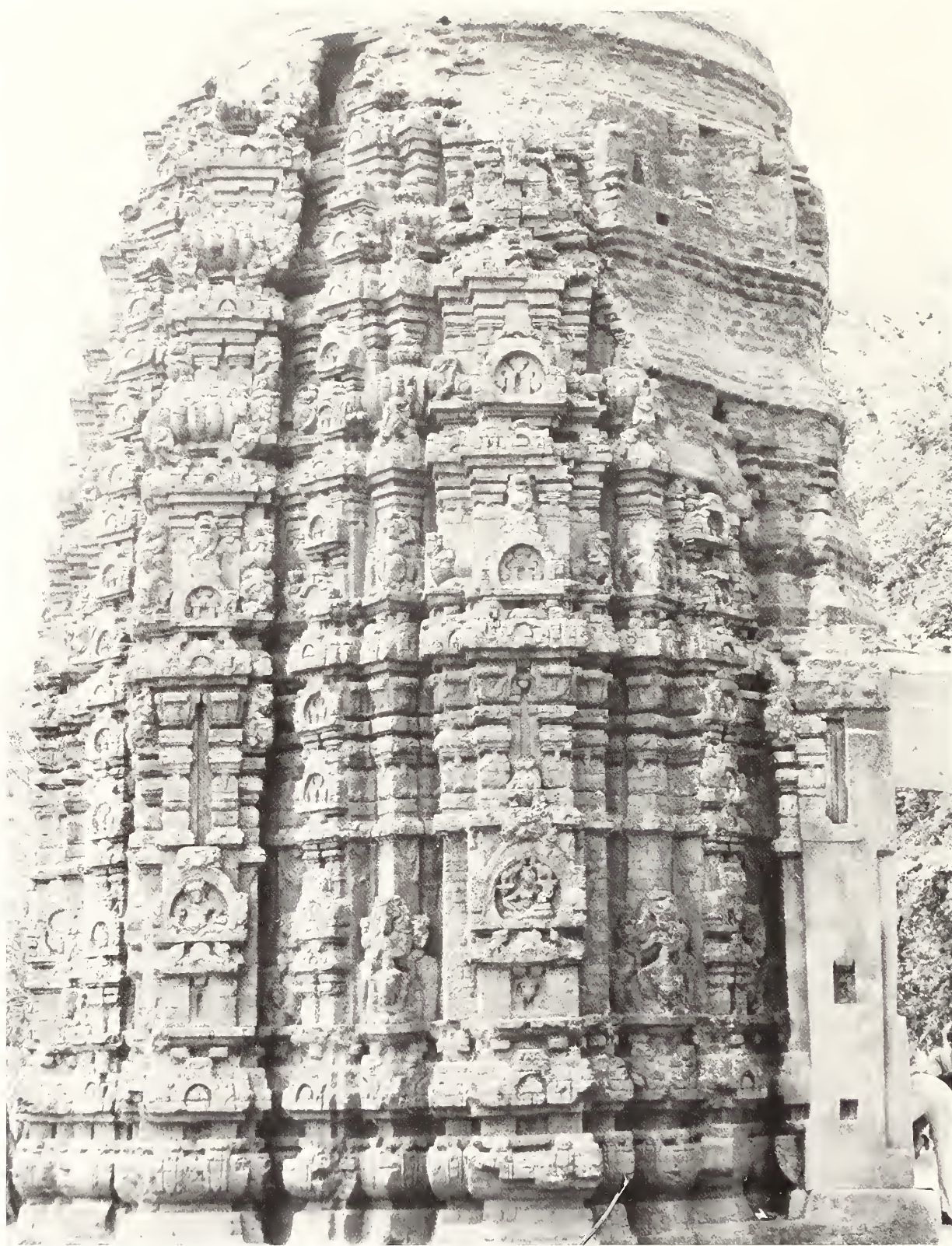


FIG. 6. Siddhesvara Temple, view from north. Courtesy, Thomas Donaldson.



FIG. 7. Siddheśvara Temple, view from south. Courtesy, American Institute of Indian Studies.



FIG. 8. Siddheśvara Temple, view from east. Courtesy, Thomas Donaldson.

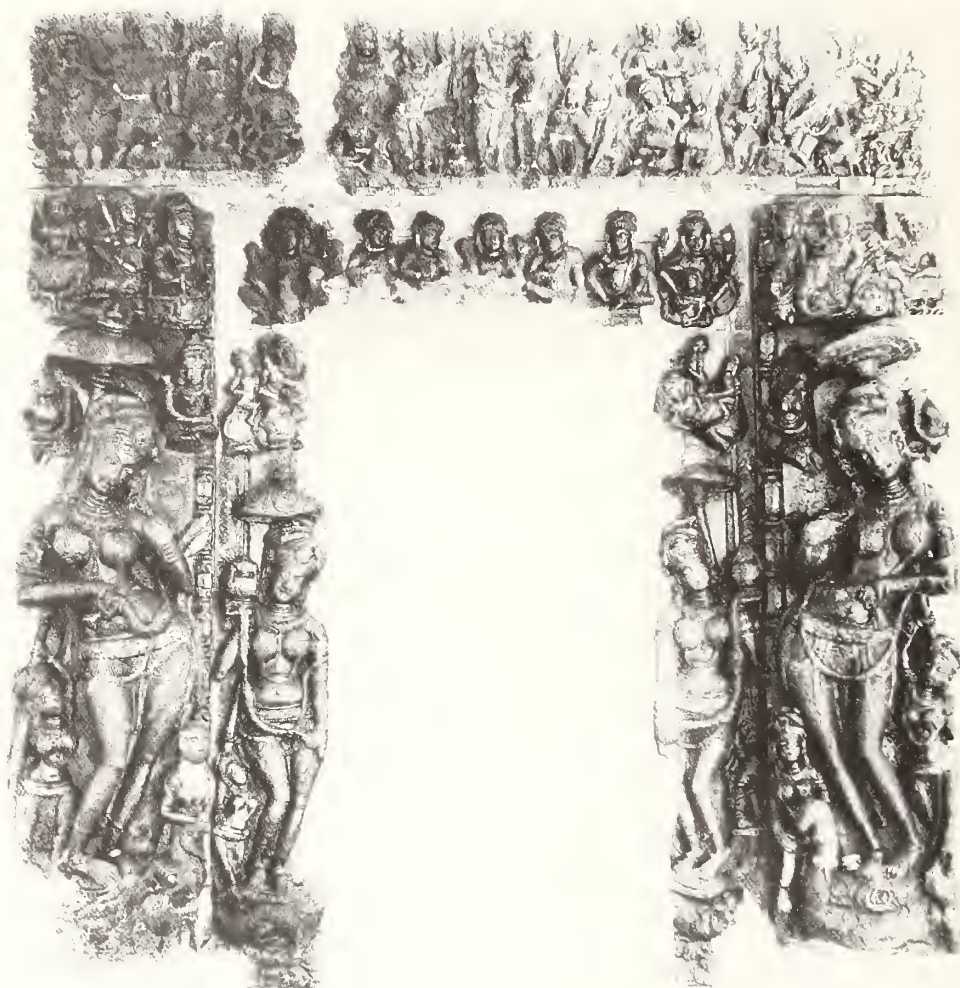


FIG. 9. Siddheśvara Temple, shrine doorway.



FIG. 10. Siddheśvara Temple, shrine doorway, lintel.



FIG. 11. Siddhesvara Temple, pillars at entrance to courtyard.

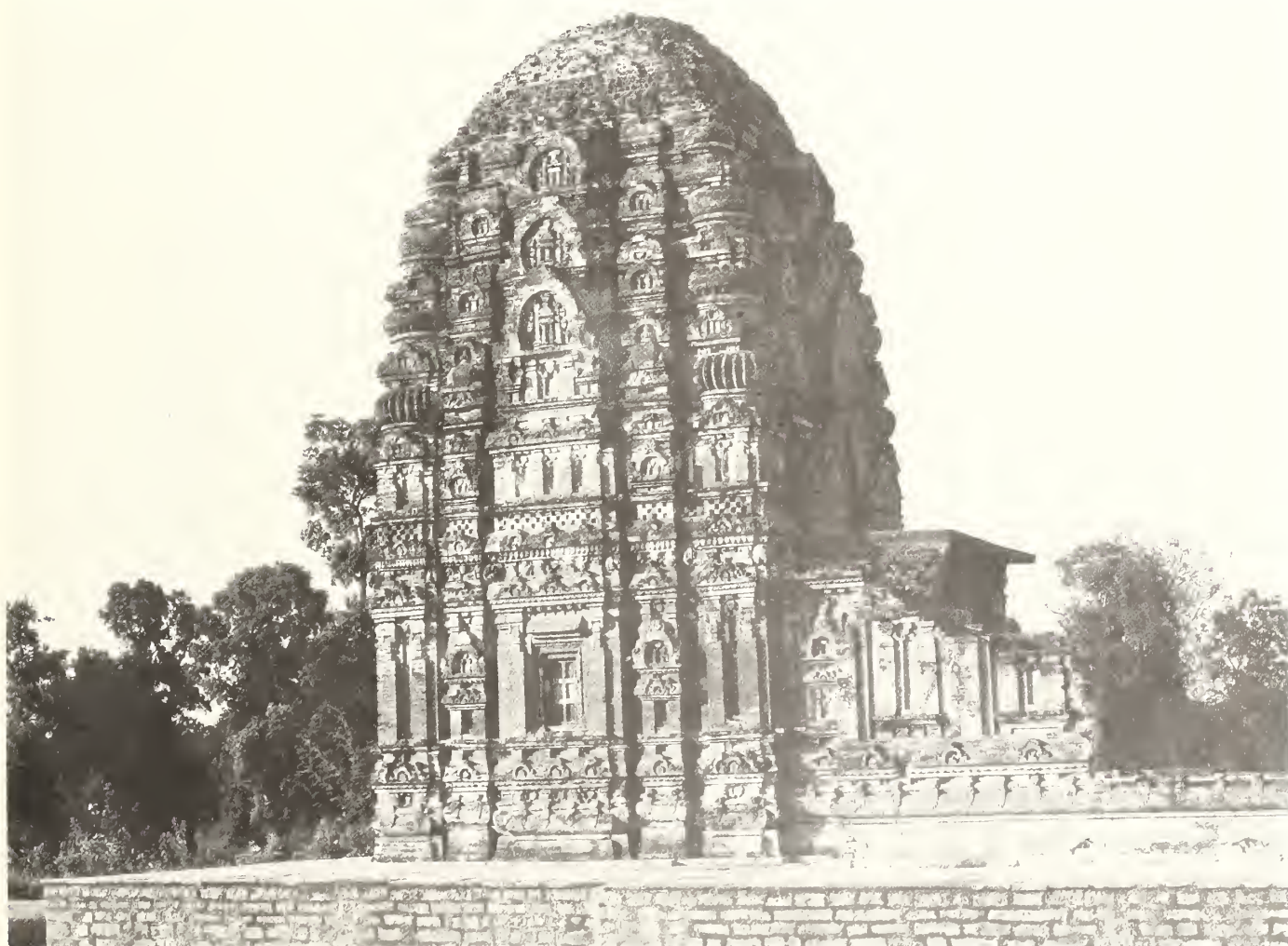


FIG. 12. Lakshmana Temple, Sirpur, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh, view from southeast.

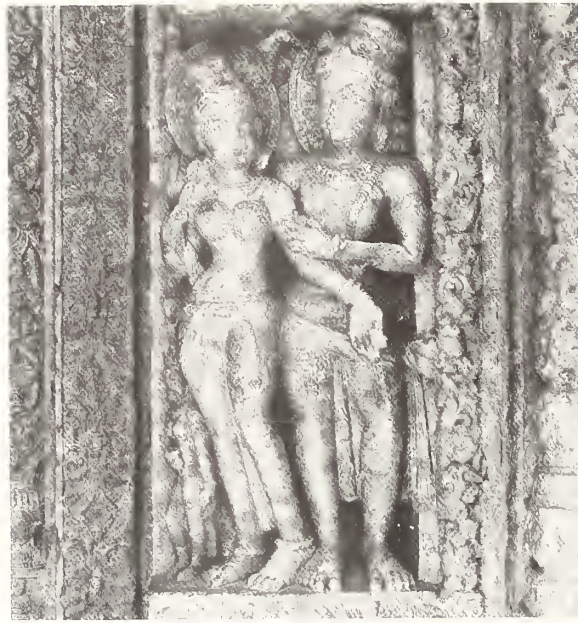


FIG. 13. Lakṣmaṇa Temple, shrine doorway, detail from right jamb.

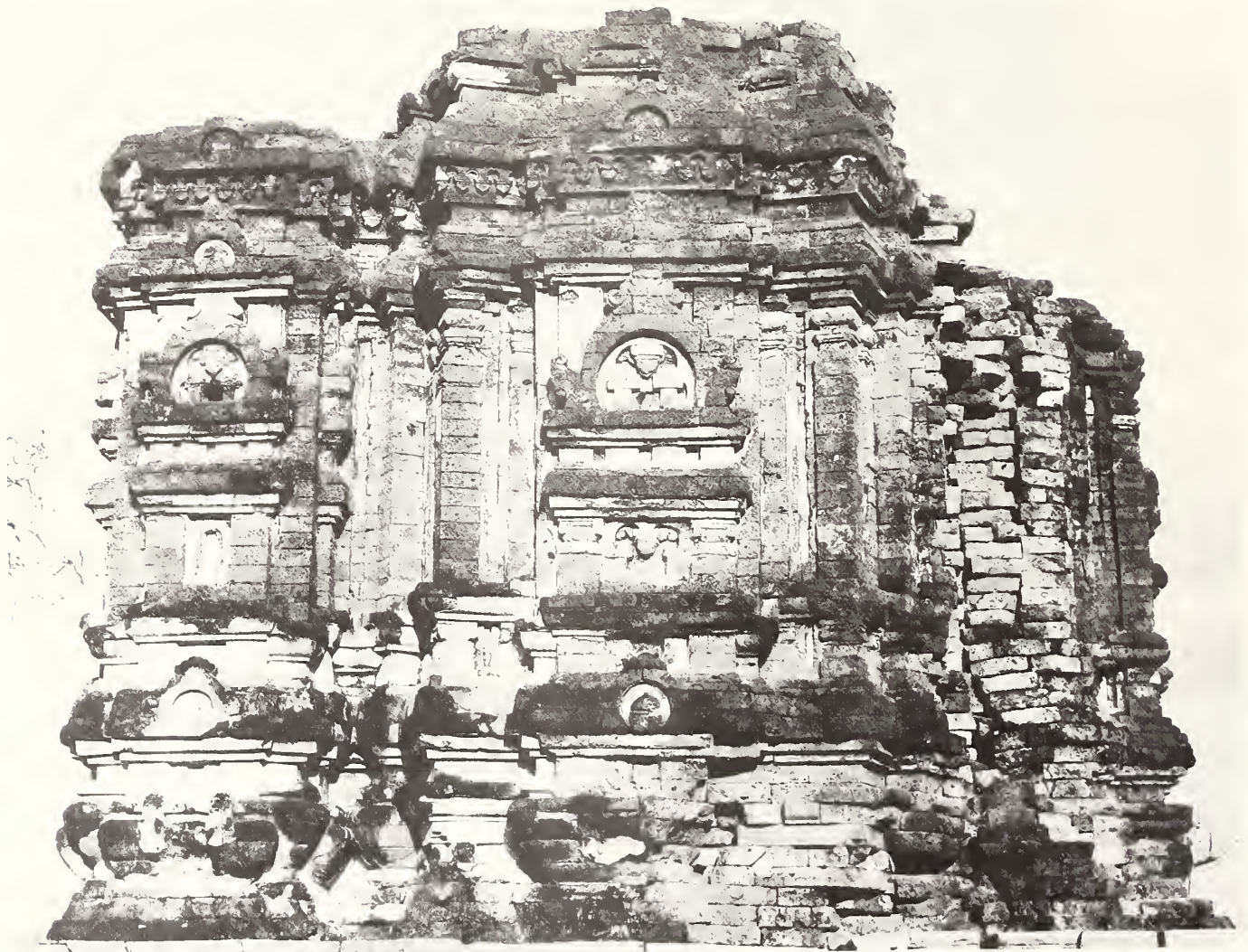


FIG. 14. Rāma Temple, view from west. Courtesy, American Institute of Indian Studies.



FIG. 15. Indal Deul Temple, view from east. Courtesy, American Institute of Indian Studies.



FIG. 16. Indal Deul Temple, shrine doorway.



FIG. 17. Śabarī Temple, view from south.



FIG. 18. Rājīvalocana Temple, Rājīm, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh, gateway door, right jamb.



FIG. 19. Rājīvalocana Temple, Trivikrama in courtyard wall.



FIG. 20. Kuleśvara Temple, Rājīm, Gaṅgā.

TANTRIC BUDDHISM AT ANGKOR THOM

By HIRAM W. WOODWARD, JR.

THE BÀYON AT ANGKOR (FIG. 1) IS A PIVOTAL monument in more ways than one: pivotal because it stood at the symbolic center of Jayavarman VII's empire; pivotal because it belongs to a historic turning point which, on the one hand, marked the culmination of the period of monumental architecture that lasted from the ninth through the twelfth century and, on the other, heralded the less grandiose traditional Theravāda Buddhist culture of thirteenth- through twentieth-century Cambodia; and pivotal because it has for so long been the focus of scholarly attention. There is still no consensus regarding the identity of the faces on the towers. The most recent suggestion, that they represent the god Brahmā, is a revival of an identification discarded in the early decades of this century, one that early Western writers had adopted from local usage (though the Khmer name is actually *Brahma*, without the long *ā*, probably due to a connection with the Brahma heavens of Buddhist cosmology).¹ In the first half of the thirteenth century the chapels of the Bāyon held statues commemorating, in part, royal ancestors and famous provincial images; the Bāyon is today no less populated by their spirits than by Western scholars' interpretations, whether current or half-forgotten, of the meaning of the temple.

If the iconographic program of the Bāyon were a simple matter, one that lent itself to the sort of demonstration that proves one name correct and all others false, the building would long ago have ceased to be an enigma. What follows in this article should not be understood as such a demonstration, but rather as a series of hypotheses (none entirely original) that appear to explain much of the data and to allow agonizing choices to be avoided. It has long been realized that while the Bāyon was being built there were changes in plan.² I will propose that the most significant change was accompanied by a shift in religious orientation. The route to this suggestion is a circuitous one that begins with a discussion of a stone sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, a work that provides some clues to the character of Jayavarman VII's Buddhism and to the nature of the original iconographic program of the Bāyon.

Hevajra

The bust in figures 2, 3, and 4 has in recent years been identified as an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara,

with a third tier of four heads missing.³ The eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara was known in Cambodia in the late twelfth century,⁴ but it never became popular as an icon. The correct identification is surely the one first proposed—that the bust depicts not the Bodhisattva of compassion, but the Tantric Buddhist deity Hevajra. Alan Priest published the sculpture as Hevajra in 1937. It may not have been he, however, who first made this identification, for the bust was purchased in 1935, along with other important Khmer sculptures, from the École Française d'Extrême-Orient. It came from "near the East Gate (Porte des Morts [*sic*]) of Angkor Thom"—the name for Jayavarman's city-within-a-city, with the Bāyon at its center. "The broken top of our figure and the arrangement of the heads," wrote Priest, "indicate that it was originally eight-headed, a single head forming the top register."⁵ Eight heads would accord with Khmer bronze images of Hevajra (fig. 5);⁶ this bronze also demonstrates that there need be no greater facial indication of Hevajra's fierce aspect than open eyes. The Khmer bronzes have sixteen arms, and examination of the sides of the Metropolitan image suggests that it also had eight arms on each side (fig. 3).⁷

The Khmer bronzes also depict Hevajra dancing. On the basis of the Metropolitan bust alone, it is difficult to be certain if the original sculpture depicted a dancing figure—whether, indeed, the head is tilted or one shoulder higher than the other. It seems, however, that fragments of the same image remain in Cambodia and that these demonstrate that the image was of a dancing figure. These fragments have not been published, but in 1969 Bruno Dagens wrote that "a large stone statue . . . unfortunately extremely mutilated, represents Hevajra dancing, as do the bronze images, and comes from a chapel situated east of the Porte des Morts of Angkor Thom, where several studies of Lokeśvara have also been found."⁸ Dagens's interest in the statue of Hevajra developed while he was cataloging the sculptures in the storage shed of the Conservation d'Angkor; it is his belief that the New York and Angkor fragments belong to a single image.⁹

In the sections that follow, I will argue that the deity Hevajra occupied a particular position in Jayavarman's Buddhist pantheon. The structural order found in the king's well-known triad of Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara)-Buddha-Prajñāpāramitā could, it seems, be expressed in a more esoteric

form. This form is embodied by a votive tablet in which Hevajra appears (fig. 6). Not every detail is clear, and in order to reconstruct this iconographic system it is necessary to make use of Japanese materials (because Shingon Buddhism preserves an earlier form of Tantric Buddhism), more or less contemporary Indian texts, and later Tibetan traditions. Even an imperfect reconstruction of this esoteric system seems to provide a place for the Bāyon.

Jayavarman's Triad

The early 1190s was probably the period in which the cult of Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara held sway at Angkor.¹⁰ Before its rise, as George Coedès made clear some years ago, the central element of Jayavarman VII's Buddhism lay in the worship of a triad consisting of Lokeśvara, the Buddha, and Prajñāpāramitā.¹¹ This triad is found on both a tiny scale (fig. 7) and on a grand one—in the temples built by Jayavarman, namely:

Preah Khan (dedicated to Lokeśvara, 1191);	the Bāyon (no dedicatory inscription, but having a Nāga- protected Buddha as its principal image); ¹²	Tà Prohm (dedicated to Prajñāpāra- mitā, 1186).
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It was traditional in Cambodia for images and temples to serve a commemorative function; they joined the soul of someone living or recently deceased (to use imprecise language) to the deity. The corresponding mortals were:

Jayavarman's father (accord- ing to the Preah Khan inscrip- tion);	Jayavarman (surmise);	Jayavarman's mother (ac- cording to the Tà Prohm in- scription).
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It is known from inscriptional evidence that images of this triad had been set up in Cambodia in the tenth century. One of these inscriptions describes Prajñāpāramitā, the perfection of wisdom, as *jina santānakāriṇī*, "begetter of the series of Buddhas."¹³ The notion of wisdom (*prajñā*) as the mother of enlightenment can be traced back, in fact, to the earliest Buddhist "wisdom" literature.¹⁴ If the mother of enlightenment is wisdom, the father is compassion (*karuṇā*). Although this concept seems not to have been explicitly stated in Khmer epigraphy, the association of Avalokiteśvara with

compassion is widespread. The qualities embodied in the triad are, therefore:

compassion; enlightenment; wisdom.

The structural parallels with the womb mandala (or Mahākaruṇagarbha-maṇḍala) of the Shingon Buddhists of Japan are particularly strong.¹⁵ There the deities are:

Avalokiteśvara; the Buddha the Bodhisattva
Mahāvairocana; Vajrapāṇi.

This triad was also known in Southeast Asia.¹⁶ Moreover, in the womb mandala literature (as elsewhere) lies another relevant level of classification—"Buddha families" (which have had considerable importance in Tibet):

<i>padma</i> ("lotus") family, headed by the Buddha Amitābha;	Buddha or <i>tathāgata</i> family;	<i>vajra</i> ("dia- mond" or "cud- gel") family, headed by the Buddha Akṣobhya.
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As noted above, the Lokeśvara-Buddha-Prajñāpāramitā triad stands at the core of Jayavarman's Buddhism, but it seems to make no place for Hevajra. The votive tablet (fig. 6), however, does provide some clues. There may be texts preserved in Chinese or Tibetan in which a system exactly parallel to that in the tablet is described, but until such texts are identified, it will be necessary to explore Hevajra's historical antecedents in order to understand more clearly his relationship to the concepts embodied by Jayavarman's triad.

Krodhas, Buddha Families, and High Patron Deities

Hevajra's relationship to the triads of the previous section is at best an ambiguous one, or so three prominent aspects of the deity suggest. In Tibet, Hevajra is what is known as a "high patron deity," the equivalent of a Buddha. Does he therefore belong in the center? He is also a form of the Buddha Akṣobhya and a member of the *vajra* family; therefore, he must belong on the right. In the *Hevajra-tantra*, however, he is an embodiment of *upāya*, or "skillful means"—a quality akin to *karuṇā*. This places him on the left. Hevajra is indeed a deity who was invented—in about the tenth century. In the paragraphs that follow, it is argued that Hevajra nevertheless had a prehistory in another guise, as the hitherto most prominent of the *krodhas*, namely, Trailokyavijaya, and that an understanding of this prehistory helps clarify his relationship to the qualities and deities of the triads described above.

Representations of *krodhas*, “angry ones,” or *vidyārājas*, “kings of magical spells,” may have first appeared in the Buddhist caves of western India as attendants to Bodhisattvas. Evidence of their dissemination from there is suggested by a Nepalese bronze the Los Angeles County Museum calls Vajrapāṇi and dates to the eighth-ninth century (fig. 8); the *krodha* is the attendant dwarf figure upon whose head the Bodhisattva’s left hand is placed.¹⁷ In a later Pāla stele, the relationship of the two figures is similar, but, as the Bodhisattva is Mañjuśrī, the attendant figure can be specifically identified as the *krodha* Yamāntaka, “slayer of death.”¹⁸ The Tantric *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* makes reference to such a head-touching as a prelude to Mañjuśrī’s order to Yamāntaka that the *krodhas* of the ten directions of space be assembled.¹⁹

In the literature and art of the Shingon Buddhists of Japan, the *krodhas* acquired a more independent importance. The arrangement at the Kyoto temple Kyōō-gokoku-ji (Tōji), where Kūkai, the founder of Shingon Buddhism, resided from 823 to 831,²⁰ appears to be the same as that found, for instance, in a commentary (translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra, 705–74) to the “Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings”:

Yamāntaka (W)		Vajrayakṣa (N)
	Acala (center)	
Kuṇḍali (S)		Trailokya- vijaya (E) ²¹

At the Tōji, however, this quincunx of *krodhas* stands beside a central quincunx of the five Buddhas, on the other side of which are five Bodhisattvas. The *krodhas* are, therefore, the third level of a three-tiered system and, in a sense, attendants to the Bodhisattvas.

Implicit in the west-center-east axis of the quincunx is the notion of three Buddha families or classes—*padma* in the west, Buddha in the center, and *vajra* in the east, where Trailokyavijaya is situated. In the womb mandala of the Shingon Buddhists, *krodhas* appear in a special section (fig. 9), and there, according to the traditional interpretation, the *krodhas* are attached to these same families. The figures in this section are:

Trailok- yavija- ya (<i>vaj- ra</i> fami- ly);	Yamān- taka (<i>padma</i> family);	Prajñā- pārami- tā;	Vajra- hūṃka- ra or Trailo- kyavaj- ra (<i>vaj- ra</i> fami- ly);	Acala- nātha ²² (Bud- dha family).
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“Acalanātha,” wrote Ryujun Tajima, “personifies the authority of the Buddha class, Yamāntaka the authority of the *padma* class; Trailokyavajra the authority of the *vajra* class; Trailokyavijaya is merely the same as Vajra-hūṃkara or Trailokya-vajra.”²³ The function of the *krodhas* is “to obey the orders of the Buddha to exercise their violence against beings difficult to conquer.”²⁴

The capacity for violence does not come easily, it can be imagined, to beings who embody compassion (*karuṇā*), which is closely tied (as indicated in the section on Jayavarman’s triad) to the *padma* family. The tendency arose for the dominant *krodhas* to be those having origins in or ties to the *vajra* family—and capable also of smiting enemies like death and false understanding with the diamond (*vajra*) of wisdom. The womb mandala provides evidence of this tendency. In the Shingon view, this mandala is based on the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, in which the *vidyārāja* attached to the compassionate Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is the horse-headed Hayagrīva.²⁵ Hayagrīva appears in the Avalokiteśvara section of the womb mandala, but in the *krodha* section (of fig. 9, as described above), it is Yamāntaka who personifies the authority of the *padma* class, not Hayagrīva. A series of links—with *prajñāpāramitā* and the *vajra* family—suggests that Hayagrīva’s replacement is tinged with *vajra*-class superiority. Yamāntaka’s usual Bodhisattva is Mañjuśrī, who in the womb mandala embodies the quality of *prajñāpāramitā*; he has characteristics similar to those of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi but is distinct from him in certain ways.²⁶ Yamāntaka, therefore, due to his traditional association with Mañjuśrī, does have at least some qualities of a *vajra*-class *krodha*, and in the *krodha* section of the mandala he usurps the position of the natural *padma*-class *krodha* Hayagrīva. The superiority of *vajra*-class *krodhas* is also demonstrated by the presence of both Trailokyavajra, “the *vajra* of the three worlds,” and Trailokyavijaya, “the conqueror of the three worlds.” For this superiority there are ancient roots; the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi himself began life as a *yakṣa* general (*senāpati*) who protects the Buddha.²⁷

In the Tibetan traditions that developed in the centuries following the formation of Shingon Buddhism, some *krodhas*, like Yamāntaka and Hayagrīva, achieved new heights of importance. Others, like Trailokyavijaya, were eclipsed or replaced. In the classification found in the “Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras” by the dGe-lugs-pa (“yellow hat”) monk mKhas-grub-rje (1358–1438), the class Kriyā-tantra has three families: *tathāgata*, *padma*, and *vajra*. The master of the *tathāgata* family is the

Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and the wrathful one is Yamāntaka; the master of the *padma* family is Avalokiteśvara, the wrathful one, Hayagrīva.²⁸ In Tibet these two *krodhas* became high patron deities, equivalents to a Buddha. In Dragon ('Brug) bKa'-rgyud-pa tradition, Hayagrīva and the Buddha Amitābha are the fierce and peaceful high patron deities, respectively, of the *padma* family, and Yamāntaka and Akṣobhya are the high patron deities of the *vajra* family.²⁹ That is to say, according to mKhas-grub-rje (in highly abbreviated form):

<i>padma</i>	<i>tathāgata</i>	<i>vajra</i>
Avalokiteśvara	Mañjuśrī	
Hayagrīva	Yamāntaka	

And in Dragon bKa'-rgyud-pa tradition:

<i>padma</i>	<i>tathāgata</i>	<i>vajra</i>
Amitābha		Akṣobhya
Hayagrīva		Yamāntaka

Hayagrīva and Yamāntaka appear in these classifications, but Trailokyavijaya, the most powerful *krodha* in both the Shingon womb mandala and in the companion diamond mandala, where a sub-mandala is named after him, is conspicuously absent.³⁰ There is a simple reason for his absence. Trailokyavijaya, the quintessential *vajra*-family *krodha*, gave birth to new divinities—Heruka, Hevajra, Saṃvara, and others—who became so important as high patron deities that they were almost never classified as mere *krodhas*. In her treatise on Tantric iconography, Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann commented on the formal similarities between Trailokyavijaya and Saṃvara but then hesitated in attaching Trailokyavijaya to the "Cycle of Hevajra" because no text says that Trailokyavijaya is a form or another name of Heruka/Hevajra.³¹ Once it is understood that Trailokyavijaya is the historical predecessor of Hevajra and his equivalents, however, the relationship can be seen in proper perspective.

The *Hevajra-tantra*, in which Hevajra is a supreme divinity and which was not translated into Chinese until the eleventh century, represents a development later than that of Shingon Buddhism.³² It is true, in a sense, that Hevajra was an invention—"evidently a deification of a formula of invocation, *he vajra* (*oh vajra*)," as Giuseppe Tucci has written. "Since the *vajra* is the symbol of nonexistence beyond time and space, it was easy to extol it and to transpose it into another symbol, a representation which could be taken as a support of concentration."³³ Both Hevajra's appearance and his importance, however, would be inexplicable had he not

usurped the place and incorporated the qualities of the *vajra*-family *krodha* Trailokyavijaya.

The collection of mandala descriptions known as the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, which dates from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, suggests something of the bifurcation that occurred. Heruka and Hevajra, separated from the old *krodha* class, appear at the center of their own mandalas. The *krodha* category persisted, but it was not as important as it had been. There is one mandala (no. 21, the Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara Mañjuśrī),³⁴ however, in which "Herukavajra" appears as southwest *krodha*—a reminder of the level of beings from which Hevajra has risen, but from which he has elsewhere separated himself.

Here a problem arises. If Hevajra, historically speaking, was a transformation of Trailokyavijaya, then a glance back at the triads set out in this and the previous section suggests not only that he is a member of the *vajra* family (which he is) and a form, from one point of view, of the Buddha Akṣobhya (which he is), but also that he should embody the quality of wisdom (*prajñā*). That, however, is not the case. In terms of the left-right distinction presented as

karuṇā ("compassion") *prajñā* ("wisdom")

he belongs on the left, not on the right. He actually holds in his embrace a female Prajñā, a personification of wisdom. He does not embody *karuṇā*, however, but a related concept—*upāya*, "skillful means." Compassion is expressed by skillful means when a Bodhisattva creates illusions in order to alleviate the sufferings of others. Because of his *upāya*, Hevajra has more in common with Avalokiteśvara than with Vajrapāṇi.

So if, as has been argued, Trailokyavijaya was a precursor of Hevajra, Hevajra's connection with *upāya* and his acquisition of a female partner also represent an important alteration of Trailokyavijaya's character. The whole development would have been made possible by the historical superiority of *vajra*-class *krodhas*, examples of which have been presented. Later Tibetan traditions provide evidence of this superiority. The Dragon bKa'-rgyud-pa Buddhists, for instance, consider their fierce high patron deities (even Hayagrīva) to be forms of Akṣobhya, head of the *vajra* family, but they arrange them in five different families.³⁵ Similarly, Heruka (Hevajra) can serve as the fierce manifestation of any of the Buddhas of the five families by changing his colors and his attributes, though his primary color remains blue or black to indicate his origin in the *vajra* family.³⁶

The Votive Tablet

The plaster impression now in the Bangkok National Museum (fig. 6) was probably made in the 1920s, at the same time objects in the National Museum were being cataloged.³⁷ It is not known where the twelfth-century bronze mold was then or may be now. The figures on the votive tablet are described in table 1.

TABLE 1. Figures on the Votive Tablet

Y3. Nāga-protected Buddha.		
A. Dancing figure with seven visible faces arranged in tiers of three, three, and one; sixteen arms; the feet on a corpse.	B. Figure in <i>pratyālīḍha</i> pose, with three visible faces and twelve arms, the principal arms in <i>prajñālīṅganābhīnaya</i> or <i>vajrahūṃkāra-mudrā</i> pose, and with an animal skin (?) behind the arms and the feet on two corpses.	
Y2. Seated figure with three visible faces and six arms, the principal arms in <i>prajñālīṅganābhīnaya</i> (?) pose.		
X. Standing figure with four arms.	Y1. Standing figure with six or eight arms.	Z. Figure in <i>pratyālīḍha</i> pose, the right arm raised high, the feet on a corpse.

A. Hevajra. This image is identical in type to the bronze in figure 5 and to others identified as Hevajra by George Coedès in 1923.³⁸ Coedès's identification is certain because one of the bronzes depicts in the deity's right hands the animals listed as attributes of Hevajra in the *Hevajra-tantra* and in mandala 8 of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.³⁹

X. Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara). Four-armed forms are common in bronze.⁴⁰

Y1. Probably a Bodhisattva. Although not necessarily Lokeśvara, six- and eight-armed Lokeśvaras are depicted at Banteay Chmar.⁴¹

Y2. Probably the Buddha Vajrasattva, as described in mandalas in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.⁴²

Y3. In the Khmer art of the late twelfth century, the Nāga-protected Buddha should be considered a supreme Buddha, not merely a depiction of an episode in the life of Gautama.

Z. Probably the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, who frequently appears in this form and pose.⁴³

B. Probably Saṃvara, the Śrī Cakrasaṃvara described in *Niṣpannayogāvalī* mandala 12, although he is usually shown in the *ālīḍha* pose, not *pratyālīḍha* (its reverse). If it in fact exists, the animal skin behind the figure would be an elephant hide.⁴⁴

To summarize:

- (A) Hevajra (Y3) Supreme Buddha (B) Saṃvara
(Y2) Vajra-sattva
(X) Lokeśvara-(Y1) Bodhisattva-(Z) Vajrapāṇi

It can be seen that these deities have a structural order like that of Jayavarman's triad. Compassion (Lokeśvara, on the left) and wisdom (Vajrapāṇi, on the right) will bring about complete Buddhahood. The meaning of the steps along the path may not be immediately apparent; the role of the central Bodhisattva (Y1), for example, is uncertain. But the basic structure is clear, and it is reasonable to view Hevajra and Saṃvara as compatible with this structure. Hevajra, therefore, is here a *padma*-family deity associable with the quality of compassion; Saṃvara, a *vajra*-family deity associable with wisdom. Ultimately, however, both belong to the *vajra* family. At the same time, the separate lotus stalks suggest that Hevajra and Saṃvara are also equivalents to and substitutes for the Buddha. The votive tablet seems to reflect a lost stage in the development of the pantheon, a stage in which Hevajra had something of a dual role—partly subservient, reflecting his *krodha* ancestry, and partly supreme, anticipating his future as a high patron deity in Tibet.⁴⁵

Angkor Thom

If the Buddha triads are writ large in Jayavarman's temples, so, in some way, should be the deities of the plaster votive tablet. One possibility is:

	Nāga-protected Buddha in the Bāyon	?
Hevajra outside the Portes des Morts	Faces on the Bāyon towers	

Preah Khan - ? - Tà Prohm

If the votive tablet does in fact describe an iconographic system followed by the planners of Angkor Thom, then the sculpture now in New York may have been intended as an image of some importance. "Partly subservient," because helping to guard the city; "partly supreme," because summing up values embodied by different images. Ultimately, of course, the hypothesis will stand only if some counterpart to the Saṃvara on the right-hand side can be identified. No stone images of Saṃvara are known. It is possible, however, that a

second image of Hevajra—a stele found somewhere west of Angkor Thom—played a role like that of Saṃvara on the votive tablet.⁴⁶

The identification that will dominate the remainder of this article is the one in the middle of the diagram—that of the faces on the Bâyon towers as the Buddha Vajrasattva. The identification itself is not new; it is one Jean Boisselier suggested a number of years ago.⁴⁷ If there is a spiritual path to the Nāga-protected Buddha that originally sat in the central sanctuary, there is also a path away from it, and the relationship between the principal image and the faces on the towers is most easily understood from the latter point of view. Structurally considered, the faces on the towers must somehow be tinged with the protective and martial qualities of the guardians and lords of the directions of space that stood in the same place on earlier towers. The central Buddha, therefore, has projections or manifestations with something of a fierce quality.

Evidence of this kind of relationship has been preserved elsewhere. In one submandala of the Shingon Buddhist diamond mandala, the supreme Buddha Mahāvairocana takes the form of Vajrasattva out of compassion for creatures not easy to convert.⁴⁸ A passage in a Chinese biography of the Buddha describes a similar projection. At the time of the Buddha's entrance into *nirvāṇa*, all of the gods except Śiva came to witness the event. Attempts to force Śiva to come failed. Finally, from his left side the Buddha emitted Vajrasattva, who rose as high as the Brahma heavens, confronted Śiva, and brought about his attendance.⁴⁹

There is another connection with Tantric traditions. In the Shingon diamond mandala, there are sixteen diamond beings (one called Vajrasattva, the others with names like Vajrarāja and Vajrarāga), four of whom surround each of the four directional Buddhas.⁵⁰ These diamond beings also appear in mandalas of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.⁵¹ The Bâyon, in the original plan, had a cruciform gallery in which sixteen of the sanctuaries (nos. 22, 23, 39, 25, 26, 27, 42, and so forth in fig. 10) were surmounted, when built, with reserves of stone where faces were intended. The intermediary sanctuaries (nos. 38, 40, 41, 43, etc.) now have towers with faces, but these are later additions.⁵² The sixteen towers with faces in the original plan may, therefore, have been intended to represent the sixteen diamond beings of a Tantric mandala.

The Matter of Brahmā

There are very good reasons for calling the faces on the Bâyon towers Brahmā or, in local nomenclature,

Brahma. This is the traditional Cambodian interpretation, one preserved, for instance, in the name Tà Prohm (“Grandfather Brahma”). There is also a tradition of Brahma gates in Thailand—a tradition that may date back nearly to the time of Jayavarman VII.⁵³

The Brahmā identification has recently been revived by Jean Boisselier.⁵⁴ Although his arguments have not been presented in full, they appear to have developed in the following way. In the southeast Prasat Chrung inscription, from one of the four corners of Angkor Thom, there is the line, “having at its head the assembly hall of the city of gods, his [the king's] land is like the sky.”⁵⁵ George Coëdès believed that the Prasat Chrung inscriptions belonged to the very end of Jayavarman VII's reign.⁵⁶ (Unfortunately, the date of the king's death has never been established.) In a Pāli text, the *Janavasabha-sutta*, a visit by Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra to this assembly hall—wherein dwell the thirty-three gods of Indra's heaven—is described.⁵⁷ This Brahmā, taking the form of Pañcasikha, creates thirty-three images of himself, one on the couch of each of thirty-three gods.

At some point the scriptural passage became incorporated into mainland Southeast Asian cosmological traditions. In a cosmology compiled in Bangkok in 1802, it is said that when Sanaṅkumāra (as Pañcasikha, with five topknots on his head) appears over the throne of any *devaputra* in the Devasudharmadevasabhā, that *devaputra* feels great joy, as if a king had received a new *abhiṣeka* and were rejoicing in the prosperity of his kingdom.⁵⁸

The theory, therefore, is that the faces on the towers represent the appearance of Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra to the gods of Indra's heaven.

Indrābhiṣeka

The argument presented thus far can be summarized as follows: (1) The presence of an image of Hevajra outside the Portes des Morts suggests that there were Tantric elements in the official Buddhism of Jayavarman VII. (2) A votive tablet in Bangkok suggests that these Tantric elements stated, in slightly different language, the concepts embodied by Jayavarman's triad (Lokeśvara-Buddha-Prajñāpāramitā). (3) If the faces on the Bâyon towers are interpreted according to this Tantrism, they should represent Vajrasattva (or a deity best known elsewhere as Vajrasattva). (4) At the same time, the tradition that the faces represent Brahmā is of considerable antiquity, and the Prasat Chrung inscription provides evidence for believing that the faces, even during the lifetime of Jayavarman VII,

were thought to represent the visit of Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra to Indra's heaven.

There is obviously a dilemma here, and in suggesting a way out of it, not every loose string can be tied. It is possible, of course, that an encompassing syncretism was planned from the very beginning. On the other hand, the change in plan at the Bāyon provides evidence not just of a filling-in, but of a conscious shift of intention. The cruciform plan was turned into a rectangular one, and faces were added to the eight small corner chapels (38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49). With these eight and the four (24, 28, 32, 36) at the corners of the rectangle, there were now twenty-eight towers in the enclosing gallery system instead of sixteen. Since it is the number sixteen that can be linked to Tantric mandalas, there are reasons to believe that the faces were originally conceived as Vajrasattva, but with the building of additional towers they became known as Brahmā.

A hypothesis can be proposed about this change—namely, that it should be connected with the “Indrābhiṣeka” ceremony, or Indra consecration, undergone by Jayavarman.⁵⁹ The evidence may be set forth as follows.

First, in the outer gallery of bas-reliefs at the Bāyon, western side, there is an inscription that says, in part, “The king retires into the forest at the moment when he celebrates the holy Indrābhiṣeka.”⁶⁰ Although there is considerable uncertainty about the identification of the historical scenes depicted in the outer gallery,⁶¹ it is probable that on the southern side is shown the Cham naval expedition (1177) and Jayavarman's installation at Angkor (1181); at the southern end of the western gallery, internal disturbances that took place in or after 1182 are illustrated; the Indrābhiṣeka follows; and on the northern gallery the invasions of Champa that commenced in 1190 seem to be depicted (the beginning of what Cham inscriptions later called the Thirty-two Years' War).⁶² Therefore, the Indrābhiṣeka may have taken place between 1182 and 1190.

Second, the Indrābhiṣeka is found in Thai tradition, though it has been performed but rarely. In 1557, for instance, nine years after the reigning king's accession, both an *ācāriyābhiṣeka* and an Indrābhiṣeka were carried out on the occasion of the dedication of a new palace, following the loss of the old one through fire.⁶³ Among the activities in an Indrābhiṣeka is a ritual reenactment of the churning of the sea of milk.⁶⁴ This element suggests a connection with Angkor Thom; the *devas* and *aśuras* flanking the Angkor Thom gates must in some way allude to the myth of the churning.⁶⁵

Third, an inscription of King Kyanzittha of Burma (reigned ca. 1084–1113) refers to a *mud-*

dhābhiṣeka and an Indrābhiṣeka upon “a *pañcaprāsāda* adorned with twenty-eight royal chambers, on a jeweled throne inlaid with stone of azure hue.”⁶⁶ Five (*pañca*) and twenty-eight total thirty-three, the number of gods in Indra's heaven. It is possible that the Bāyon's twenty-eight enclosing tower-sanctuaries, in the revised plan, allude to the twenty-eight chambers of a Burmese Indrābhiṣeka. According to a later tradition, Jayavarman VII had a court brahman from Burma, but there is no specific evidence that it was he who carried out the Indrābhiṣeka.⁶⁷

Lastly, in the passage from the 1802 Thai cosmology, Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra's visit to Indra's heaven is likened to a new *abhiṣeka*.

The data set out in the four preceding paragraphs enable us to speculate that the change in plan at the Bāyon and the Indrābhiṣeka bore some relation to each other. The Angkor Thom complex took a significant ritual—one that may have been performed by foreign priests introducing new ideas—and made it concrete. Vajrasattva faces were already partly in existence at the Bāyon; in a brilliant feat of the imagination they were transformed into Brahma.

We are still a long way, however, from fitting together into a cohesive story what is known about the religious developments of Jayavarman's reign. A matter of some importance, for instance, is the date at which the change to a quadrangular gallery was decided upon. Jacques Dumarçay has divided the construction of the Bāyon into four stages. He believes that construction began at the start of Jayavarman's reign (1181). The second and third stages are later than most of Tà Prohm (dedicated in 1186) and of Preah Khan (1191). Carving of the decor took place only at the end of the third stage. Steps were taken to change from a cruciform to a quadrangular gallery sometime during the second stage.⁶⁸ In other words, whether the decision was made in the late 1180s, close to the suggested time of the Indrābhiṣeka, or later, after the dedication of Preah Khan in 1191, the archaeological evidence does not really say. But the change of direction must have occurred around these years.

A related but more significant problem is that of the relationship between this “change of direction” and the cult of Lokeśvara. It is Philippe Stern who did the most to isolate this Lokeśvara cult, having as its diagnostic feature the presence of pediments with an image of a standing Lokeśvara. Contrary to the line of argument in this article, Stern believed that there was a necessary religious connection between these pediments and other developments of the period—the tower-sanctuaries with faces and the gods and demons flanking entranceways. “Now—and this is perhaps the most unexpected result of our

researches," he wrote,

this great reform, at once religious and aesthetic, does not correspond to the entire reign of Jayavarman VII. It arises suddenly nearly ten years after his coronation, at the beginning of what we call the transition to the second period of the Bāyon style. If finally the tower-sanctuaries continue to multiply, the vogue—if I dare use that word—of Lokeśvara seems in the third period [that of the decoration of the Bāyon] rather in decline.⁶⁹

An identifiable Buddhist text, the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*, provides insights into the nature of this cult of Lokeśvara, popular in the early 1190s.⁷⁰ This was the very time when a decision may have been made about a change in plan at the Bāyon. The argument in this article has made no space for a Lokeśvara period at all. It has, instead, merely suggested that the shift

was from an early period, in which the Vajrasattva faces were planned, to a later period, in which the faces were envisaged as Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra. Should a Lokeśvara phase be inserted into the history of the faces? Perhaps, but the data do not seem to require it. Let us suppose through most of the 1180s a dependence on the triad, in either its exoteric or esoteric aspects; then, a period of religious crisis, brought on in part by the submission of the king to an *Indrābhiṣeka*, and a crisis that allowed the cult of Lokeśvara to rise to the fore; and finally, a period dominated by the values—however they may eventually come to be defined—of the *Indrābhiṣeka*.⁷¹

Notes

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1. For the recent Brahmā identification, see below and n. 54. A historical survey of interpretations can be found on pp. 7–10, pt. 2, of Jacques Dumarçay, *Le Bayon: Histoire architecturale du temple*, 2 pts., Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Mémoires archéologiques no. 3; pt. 1: *Atlas et notice des planches* (Paris, 1967); pt. 2, text, together with Bernard Philippe Groslier: *Inscriptions du Bayon* (Paris, 1973). Brahmā, for example: John Thomson, *The Antiquities of Cambodia: A Series of Photographs Taken on the Spot* (Edinburgh, 1867), pl. 15; p. 67: "Each tower is surmounted with a four-faced Phrohm [Brahmā]." In 1911, Louis Finot, believing that the Bâyon was a Śaiva temple, observed that to put Brahmā at a higher position was to denigrate Śiva. "Mais puisque le liṅga servait parfois de couronnement aux sanctuaires et qu'il y avait des liṅgas à quatre et cinq visages, ne peut-on voir dans les tourelles à quatre faces la traduction architecturale d'un liṅga primitif?" ("Sur quelques traditions indochinoises," *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine*, 1911, pp. 21–22.) In 1925 the Buddhist nature of the Bâyon was discovered. Most Buddhist interpretations have in the past decades depended on one or another of the possibilities suggested by Paul Mus in "Le symbolisme à Angkor-Thom: Le 'Grand Miracle' du Bâyon," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1936, pp. 57–68. Mus's statements are hard to summarize without distortion: it is "Brahmā" power that permits the Buddha to perform the Great Miracle and Avalokiteśvara to become Samantamukha ("face-partout") in the *Lotus Sutra*. Jayavarman partakes of the same power; Mus speaks of the "'Grand Miracle' de Jayavarman VII, traduit par une architecture énigmatique" (p. 65) and says, "Dans l'univers, Lokēśvara, à travers tout le Cambodge, Jayavarman, le bodhisattva et le roi sont également 'face-partout'" (p. 68). New perspectives have been introduced by Jean Boisselier in "Vajrapāṇi dans l'art du Bâyon," *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Congress of Orientalists* (Leiden, 1957), vol. 2: *Communications*, pp. 324–32 (see below); and by J. Filliozat, "Emigration of Indian Buddhists to Indo-China c. A.D. 1200," in *Studies in Asian History: Proceedings of the Asian History Congress, 1961* (New Delhi, 1969), pp. 45–48. ("It may be fruitful to seek their [the four-faced towers'] origin in Indian architecture. . . . Similar representations are well known in Nepal and Tibet. . . ." [p. 47].) Illustrations of some of the material discussed by Boisselier can be found in Victor Goloubew, "Sur quelques images khmères de Vajradhara," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 5 (1937): 97–104.
2. Henri Parmentier, "Notes d'archéologie indochinoise. VIII. Modifications subies par le Bâyon aux cours de son exécution," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 27 (1927): 149–69; and "Notes d'archéologie indochinoise. IX. Autres modifications subies par le Bâyon au cours de son exécution," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 36 (1936): 281–86.
3. Sherman E. Lee, *Ancient Cambodian Sculpture* (New York, 1969), p. 111. George Cœdès proposed that the sculpture was Avalokiteśvara in a letter to Alan Priest at the Metropolitan dated 21 May 1937.
4. Jean Boisselier, "Précisions sur quelques images khmères d'Avalokiteśvara: les bas-reliefs de Bantāy Čhmār," *Arts Asiatiques* 11 (1964): 73–89, esp. pp. 75, 80.
5. Alan Priest, "A Collection of Cambodian Sculpture," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 32 (1937): 85–86.
6. The Hevajra identification was established by George Cœdès in *Bronzes khmères*, *Ars Asiatica* no. 5 (Brussels and Paris, 1923), pp. 44–45.
7. I thank Mr. Martin Lerner for making possible an examination of the sculpture in 1977.
8. Bruno Dagens, "Étude sur l'iconographie du Bâyon," *Arts Asiatiques* 19 (1969): 123–67, esp. p. 143 (author's translation). I have been unable to determine when exactly the Hevajra was uncovered. Alan Priest's purchase blank is dated 13 December 1935, and no earlier correspondence regarding the purchase survives (I thank Mr. Martin Lerner, curator of Indian and Southeast Asian art, for his assistance). Henri Marchal was excavating at the Portes des Morts in December 1935, but the Hevajra must have been discovered before then. See "Recherches dans Angkor Thom," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 36 (1936): 619. Other stone images of Hevajra found at Angkor, but not this one, are mentioned by Alice Getty in *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (n.p., 1928; reprint ed., Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo, 1962), p. 143. The Metropolitan image is illustrated also in Maurice Glaize, *Les monuments du groupe d'Angkor* (Paris, 1963), fig. 9.
9. Oral communication, New Delhi, February 1981.
10. See below and n. 69.
11. George Cœdès, *Angkor: An Introduction*, trans. and ed. Emily Floyd Gardner (Hong Kong, 1963), pp. 97–98.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 100; Cœdès, "The Central Image of the Bayon of Angkor Thom," *Indian Art and Letters* 2 (1934): 8–10; Henri Marchal, "Principal Works Carried Out on the Site of Angkor During the Year 1933," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1933* (Leiden, 1935), pp. 27–34.
13. Inscription of Prasat Beng Vien. G. Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 8 vols. (Hanoi and Paris, 1937–66), 5:99, 101. Evidence concerning tenth-century developments is pulled together in Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., "Studies in the Art of Central Siam, 950–1350 A.D.," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1975), 1:30–35.
14. E. Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature* (The Hague, 1960), p. 9 passim; *Buddhist Texts Through the Ages*, ed. E. Conze (New York, 1964), p. 146.
15. The best guide to this mandala is Ryujun Tajima, *Les deux grands mandalas et la doctrine de l'ésotérisme Shingon*, *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise* n.s. 6 (Tokyo and Paris, 1959).
16. Although the Buddha is unspecified, in the king of Śrīvijaya's inscription of A.D. 775, for instance: G. Cœdès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, vol. 2 (Bangkok, 1961), pp. 20–24. For additional material on the provenience of the

- inscription, see M. C. Chand Chirayu Rajani, "Background to the Sri Vijaya Story—Part II," *Journal of the Siam Society* 62, no. 2 (July 1974): 292–94.
17. Cf. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection* (Boston, 1966), no. 77, p. 78.
 18. The University of Iowa Museum of Art, Iowa City, *Pala Art: Buddhist and Hindu Sculpture from Eastern India, ca. 800–1200 A.D.* (Iowa City, 1969), catalog by Wayne Begley, no. 9.
 19. Ariane Macdonald, *Le maṇḍala de Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Collection Jean Prylowski no. 3 (Paris, 1962), pp. 77–78.
 20. On Kūkai and the Tōji, see Yoshita G. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York, 1972), pp. 54–58.
 21. M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1935), 1:144 (the commentary, Nanjō no. 1435 = Taishō no. 994); Takaaki Sawa, *Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art no. 8 (New York and Tokyo, 1972), figs. 64–67, 76–79, 82, 110–13, 147–49, 154.
 22. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas*, p. 85.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 86. Author's translation.
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 84. Author's translation.
 25. Robert Hans van Gulik, *Hayagrīva: The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan* (Leiden, 1935), p. 54.
 26. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas*, pp. 74, 106.
 27. Étienne Lamotte, "Vajrapāṇi en Inde," in *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à M. Paul Demiéville*, 2 vols., Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Chinoises no. 20 (Paris, 1966), 1:113–59.
 28. F. D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, *Mkhas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* (The Hague, 1968; reprinted as *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems* [Delhi, 1978]), pp. 103–5, 119, 125, 127.
 29. Stephan Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 43.
 30. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas*, pp. 211–14.
 31. Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'iconographie du Tāntrisme bouddhique*, Bibliothèque du Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie vol. 1 (Paris, 1975), p. 38.
 32. D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra-Tantra*, 2 vols. (London, 1959).
 33. Giuseppe Tucci, "Nomina Numina," in *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade*, ed. J. K. Kitagawa and C. H. Long (Chicago and London, 1969), pp. 5–6.
 34. Mallmann, *Introduction*, pp. 60–62.
 35. Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā*, p. 42.
 36. D. L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya* (New York, 1957), pp. 79, 205.
 37. Cœdès's "Tablettes votives du Siam" appeared at this time in *Études Asiatiques*, 2 vols., Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient vols. 19–20 (Paris, 1925), 1:145–62. Other articles about votive tablets include Jean Boisselier, "Aperçu historique sur les 'Saintes Empreintes' de la Thaïlande," in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne no. 28 (Paris, 1968), pp. 153–60; and Stanley J. O'Connor, "Buddhist Votive Tablets and Caves in Peninsular Thailand," *Sinlapa lae bōrānkhadi nai Prathet Thai, Art and Archaeology in Thailand*, ed. Fine Arts Department of Thailand (Bangkok, 1974), pp. 67–84.
 38. Cœdès, *Bronzes khmèrs*, pp. 44–45, pls. XXXI, XXXII.
 39. Mallmann, *Introduction*, p. 185.
 40. Cœdès, *Bronzes khmèrs*, pls. XXV, XXVI.
 41. Boisselier, "Bas-reliefs de Bantāy Chmār" (see n. 4), pp. 75–79.
 42. Mallmann, *Introduction*, p. 420.
 43. *Ibid.*, p. 415; for the Tibetan manual "Three Hundred Gods," nos. 169–71, see Blanche Christine Olschak and Geshé Thupten Wangyal, *Mystic Art of Ancient Tibet* (New York, 1973), p. 155.
 44. Mallmann, *Introduction*, pp. 188–89.
 45. There is a type of Khmer votive tablet, however, in which Hevajra appears in the center of his own mandala. It is well illustrated in an article by J. J. Boeles that provides an analysis which might be revised in the light of the interpretation of figure 6 provided here. See Boeles, "Two Yoginīs of Hevajra from Thailand," in *Essays Offered to G. H. Luce*, ed. Ba Shin et al., 2 vols., *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 23 (Ascona, 1966), 2:14–29.
 46. Illustrated in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 25 (1925), pl. LXVIB. Also described in Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 143.
 47. Boisselier, "Vajrapāṇi" (see n. 1), p. 330.
 48. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas*, pp. 206–8, 211.
 49. Leon Wieger, *Les vies chinoises du Buddha* (Paris, 1951), pp. 235–37.
 50. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas*, pp. 168–69. On the problem of whether these beings should be called Bodhisattvas, see Alex Wayman, "Reflections on the Theory of Barabudūr as a Maṇḍala," in *Barabudūr: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument*, ed. Luis O. Gómez and Hiram W. Woodward, Jr. (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 143–44.
 51. Mallmann, *Introduction*, pp. 396–400.
 52. Dumarçay, *Le Bayon*, pp. 59–60.
 53. On the gate at Wat Mahāthāt, Chaliang, see A. B. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art* (Bangkok, 1967), p. 11; fig. 9. The massive four-faced stone now at the Chao Sam Phrayā National Museum in Ayutthayā was originally part of a gate on the grounds of the royal palace. See Phrayā Bōrānrāthathānin, *Rüang krung kao* [About the old capital], Prachum Phongsāwaddān [Collected chronicles] vol. 63 (Bangkok, 1936), p. 138 (and cf. n. 63 below). Perhaps the gate was called *brahmasukuta* (or *brahmasugata*): see *Kham hai kân chāo krung kao* [Account by the people of the old capital] (Bangkok, 1967), p. 217. This gate is probably the one labeled on a nineteenth-century map of Ayutthayā as *prātū phrom* ("brahma gate"): see *Chalōm phra rāthcha anusāwarī somdet phra Rāmāthibodī* . . . [Commemoration of the King Rāmādhipatī monument] (Ayutthayā, 1970), pp. 132ff. There are gates with *brahma* names in the royal palace in Bangkok (*brahmaśrīvasti* and *brahmasobhā*): see the map in *Rüang rāchūpaphōk lae rāthathān* [About royal regalia]

- (Bangkok, 1952). The Tusitasāstā gate in the royal palace is surmounted by a tower having a human face in each of the four directions.
54. See D. L. Snellgrove, ed., *The Image of the Buddha* (Paris and Tokyo, 1978), p. 410; and Madeleine Giteau, *The Civilization of Angkor* (New York, 1976), pp. 176, 213.
 55. *sudarśanasudharmāgryā yasya dyaur iva medinī*: Coëdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 4:233.
 56. *Ibid.*, 4:208.
 57. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, trans. T. V. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, pt. 2, Sacred Books of the Buddhists vol. 3 (London, 1910), pp. 244–45.
 58. *Traip̣hūmlōkwiniṭchayakathā* (*Traibhūmilokavinicchaya-kathā*), 3 vols. (Bangkok, 1977), 3:157.
 59. I owe a great debt to Forrest McGill and Eleanor Mannika, who have pursued the subject of the Indrābhiṣeka more deeply than I have. See McGill, "The Art and Architecture of the Reign of King Prāsāthōng of Ayutthayā (1629–1656)," (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1977), pp. 57–68; Mannika, "The Churning of the Sea of Milk and the Khmer Royal Consecration," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Toronto, 12–15 May 1981.
 60. G. Coëdès, "Études Cambodgiennes. XXVIII. Quelques suggestions sur la méthode à suivre pour interpréter les bas-reliefs de Bantāy Čhmār et de la galerie extérieure du Bāyon," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 32 (1932): 74. Author's translation.
 61. B. Ph. Groslier, who believes that the galleries should be circumambulated in a counterclockwise direction, has written, "Si nous admettons comme l'a montré G. Coëdès, que l'Indrābhiṣeka marque le succès du roi, on a toutes raisons de la dater d'un peu avant 1181 puisque les textes nous disent que ce fut l'année de la consécration" (*Inscriptions du Bayon* [see n. 1], p. 162).
 62. Following Coëdès, "Quelques suggestions," pp. 78–80. He does not discuss the northern gallery, however. For a summary of events in Champa, see Jean Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa*, Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient vol. 54 (Paris, 1963), pp. 315–23.
 63. *Phra rāṭchaphongsāwaddān krung kao chabap Luang Prasōt* [Luang Prasōt recension of the annals of Ayutthayā], cs. 919. It is possible that the stone head referred to in n. 53 dates from this time, but the chronology of Ayutthayā art is still too flexible to permit certainty.
 64. For instance, H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Supplementary Notes on Siamese State Ceremonies* (London, 1971), pp. 14–15.
 65. As has been reasonably pointed out by Groslier, *Inscriptions du Bayon*, p. 239, where references to the literature on this issue can be found.
 66. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (reprint ed., Rangoon, 1960), pp. 136, 141.
 67. Mangalartha inscription (A.D. 1295), stanza XI; Louis Finot, "Inscriptions d'Añkor, 11," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 25 (1925): 393–406. It has been argued, however, that this brahman was not appointed until the first or second decade of the thirteenth century: see Lawrence Palmer Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire* (Philadelphia, 1951), p. 236.
 68. Dumarçay, *Le Bayon*, pp. 60, 61, 64.
 69. Philippe Stern, *Les monuments khmers du style du Bāyon* (Paris, 1965), p. 130. Author's translation, preserving Stern's italics.
 70. For the relevance of this text to Khmer Buddhism, see Boisselier, "Bas-reliefs de Bantāy Čhmār."
 71. Readers of two earlier articles will recognize that this article also concerns the relationship of cosmopolitan to provincial cultural change in Jayavarman's empire. But I have reached conclusions in this article that I had not anticipated when the other two were written. See Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., "The Bāyon-Period Buddha Image in the Kimbell Art Museum," *Archives of Asian Art* 32 (1979): 72–83; and "Some Buddha Images and the Cultural Developments of the Late Angkorian Period," *Artibus Asiae* 42 (1980): 155–74. In the *Archives* article there is a significant error on p. 82: the Buddha *vimaya* was honored at the Bāyon; see Groslier, *Inscriptions du Bayon*, pp. 90, 223. "Some Buddha Images" has been rendered nearly incomprehensible by faulty references to the illustrations. Correct as follows: p. 156, l. 23: A.D. 1100 (A.D. 1000); p. 159, l. 16: or adoptions (of adoptions); p. 160, l. 2 of text: Figs. 12 and 18 (Figs. 11 and 17); p. 161, l. 27: figure 15 (figure 14); p. 162, l. 5: 17 (16); l. 7: 15 (14); l. 19: 18 (17); l. 20: 18 (17), 15 (14); l. 21: 18 (17); l. 22: 13 (12); l. 23: 11 (10); l. 24: 17 (16); p. 172, l. 3: apocryphal (apocryphal); l. 9: figure 3 (figure 2); p. 174, l. 2: 21 and 22 (20 and 21); l. 20: 10 to 18 (9 to 17). The captions of figures 11 and 18 should be corrected in accordance with the chart, p. 160.



FIG. 1. The Bâyon, Angkor. View from the north. Photo by Yves Coffin.



FIG. 2. Bust identified here as Hevajra. Stone. Ht. 52 in.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1935.

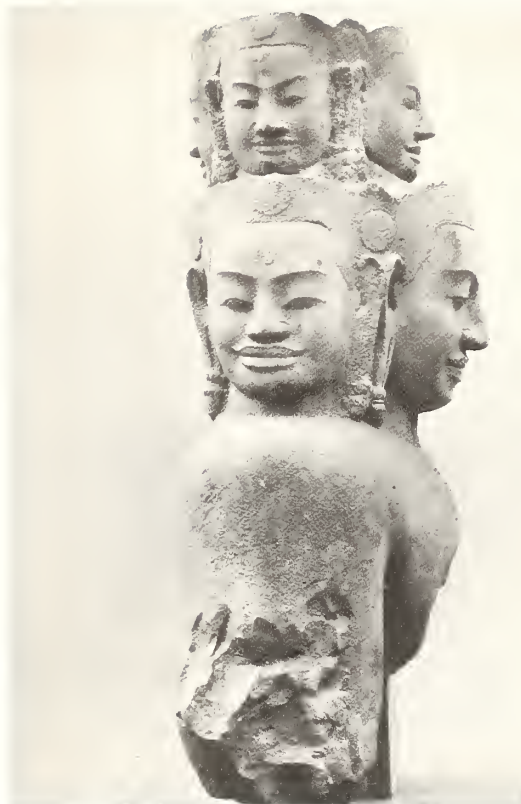


FIG. 3. Side view of the fig. 2 bust.



FIG. 4. Back view of the fig. 2 bust.



FIG. 5. Hevajra. Bronze. Ht. 6¼ in. National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand.



FIG. 6. Votive tablet. Plaster. Ht. 4¼ in. National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand. Photo by David Knapp.



FIG. 7. Triad of Lokeśvara, Buddha, and Prajñāpāramitā. Bronze. Ht. 2½ in. Private collection, Bangkok, Thailand.



FIG. 8. Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. Alloy of bronze with gilt traces. Ht. 5½ in. Nepal, eighth-ninth century. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, formerly the Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection.



FIG. 9. Krodha section, womb mandala. From Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas*.

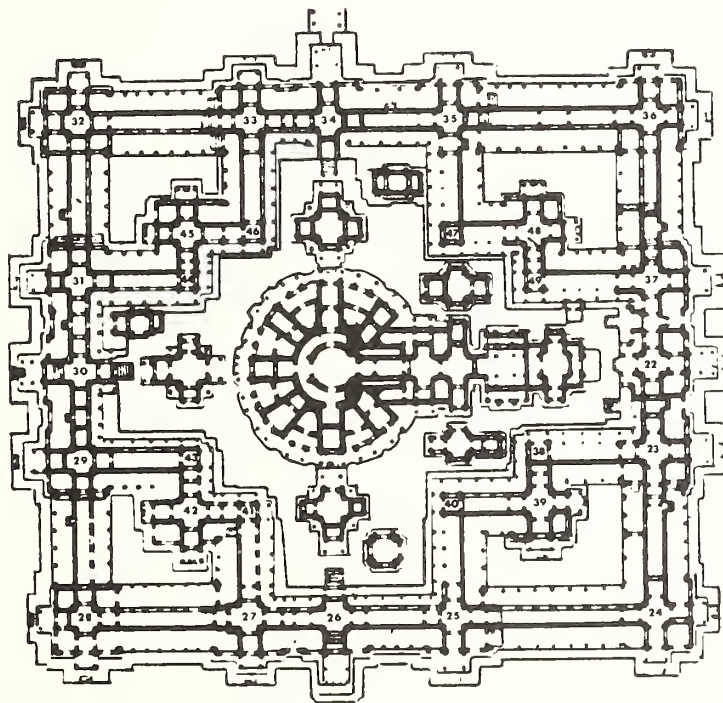


FIG. 10. The Bâyon, inner gallery system and sanctuary.

EVIDENCE FOR TWO POSSIBLE SASANIAN RUGS DEPICTED IN TUN-HUANG MURALS OF A.D. 642

By ELLEN JOHNSTON LAING

IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY, THE GREAT French sinologist Paul Pelliot explored the famous Thousand Buddha Caves at Tun-huang and photographed the tenth-century murals in one of the shrines which he had designated as Cave 64. In 1944, the National Tun-huang Art Research Institute removed the tenth-century paintings from the walls of this cave (which was subsequently designated as Cave 220 by the Institute). Revealed beneath was an older cycle of paintings and an inscription dating them to the year A.D. 642.¹

Two of the wall paintings uncovered in 1944 are Buddhist paradise scenes where dancers perform to the music of orchestras seated on rugs at either side. Despite the paradisaical theme, it is quite unlikely that the details of such paintings were invented by the artists. Rather, the best and most fastidiously executed murals appear to record with a high degree of fidelity and exactitude the architecture, decorative motifs, ritual implements, musical instruments, and similar objects of the period.

In the paradise scene on the north wall of Cave 220, two groups of musicians are seated on four rugs.² To the left of the dancers (fig. 1),³ only the border pattern of the foremost rug is vaguely discernible as a floral scroll; of the designs of the backmost rug, nothing can be deciphered. Both of the two rugs on the right-hand side (fig. 2) have red fields with no indication of design.⁴ The narrow white border of the closest rug has a curious repeat design, which can perhaps best be described as a "wave and fan" with small circular motifs in between. The rug behind this one has a very wide, dark-colored border with gross, coarse, floral half-medallions extending alternately into the center of the border from the inner and outer edges. Each of the four rugs has a thick, shaggy fringe on all four sides, suggestive of felt. In view of the fact that so little of these four rugs is actually depicted and that their patterns are so indistinctly rendered, their contribution to the history of rugs is admittedly negligible.

Far more significant and unusual is the pair of radically different floor coverings upon which members of the orchestra sit in the paradise scene on the opposite (south) wall of Cave 220.⁵ These two unfringed, squarish carpets are virtually identical to each other (figs. 3, 4, 5).⁶ The blue field is covered with staggered rows of dainty black pommée crosses with dots in between the arms. The association of

these dots with the cross is ambiguously rendered: in some instances, they appear unattached to the arms, while in others, two of the four bars appear to have on either side a branch terminating in a dot. The ground of the single wide border is red and has, in its most complete depiction, a complicated pattern of half-rosettes extending from the inner edge of the border toward the outer perimeter. Each half-rosette is a compound motif composed of a single layer of lanceolate petals and three concentric arcs of red and blue or of red, blue, and green, all enclosed in a white-pearled blue arc. In some areas, the pattern appears to be reduced to a simple series of crescents with the petals omitted or at least invisible in the available reproductions of the paintings. In between the half-medallions, extending from the outer edge of the border toward the inner edge, are green trefoils outlined in yellow white. The one clearly rendered corner transition in the border is a full medallion.

As designs for floor coverings, the motifs are extremely effective and pleasing, yet the pair of rugs on the south wall of Cave 220 appears to be unique. There is nothing else quite like these rugs among the many floor coverings depicted at Tun-huang.⁷ The delicate, star-filled field and the intricate, jewellike border contrast dramatically with the robust, gigantic blooms characteristic of the majority of rugs pictured in the paradise scenes elsewhere at Tun-huang as well as with those seen in scroll paintings which preserve T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-906) compositions.

It seems not only that there are no other rugs pictured in Chinese paintings similar to these, but also that the pearl-roundel-quatrefoil pattern itself was not favored by the Chinese as a border motif, purely floral designs being preferred for cuffs and lapels of robes, for architectural ornament, and for interior decoration. Consequently, although it may ultimately be proven that these rugs were products of a Chinese workshop, it would be difficult at this point to provide any substantiating evidence for a Chinese provenance.

An alternative, Sasanian origin for the rugs may be hypothesized. Cogent arguments can be supplied to support this contention. It is primarily in the Sasanian sphere that we find numerous examples of the deliberate division of the pearl-roundel-quatrefoil scheme into half-medallions and trefoils specifically devised as borders on utilitarian products

such as curved saddle pads.⁸ Furthermore, at the ancient Sogdian town of Pendzhikent (forty miles east of Samarkand), the pearled half-medallion and trefoil used as a rug border is depicted in a much-damaged mural painting dating from the fifth to the eighth century (fig. 6).⁹ Extending from the outer edges of the red-ground border, the half-medallions have a white, leaflike center, surrounded by a yellow arc and a beaded blue arc and held at the top by a rectangular clasp. The trefoil enters from the inner edge of the border. At the corners, the pattern is interrupted by a geometric motif of three turned squares. It is difficult to determine whether the small, white, four-petaled flowers on a blue background are part of the robe worn by one of the standing figures (of which only the feet and lower legs remain) or represent the field of the floor covering itself. Elsewhere at Pendzhikent, the appearance of a small-scale flower pattern in the field of a narrow runner verifies its use as a rug pattern.¹⁰

If the examples depicted in the paradise scene on the south wall of Cave 220 at Tun-huang actually represent woolen rugs, they were in all likelihood imported from the Iranian world, for woolen floor coverings (other than felted ones) were not produced in China.¹¹ This is substantiated by the fact that one of several Chinese terms for woolen carpet, **t'ap-t'ang*, is derived from Middle Persian,¹² and by

Chinese records where it is mentioned, for example, that in A.D. 726, the wife of the King of Bukhara (west of Samarkand) presented two large rugs to the Chinese empress. Rugs and carpets figure prominently in the lists of gifts or tribute sent to the Chinese court from a number of other Sasanian city-states in Transoxania and Sogdia, including Tur-gäch, Chäch, and Kish. In the Chinese context, "tribute" is often a bald euphemism for trade. The T'ang Chinese, in particular, were fascinated by exotica from foreign countries, and by the eighth and ninth centuries imported rugs were commonplace luxuries in the homes of the affluent.¹³

The commercial importation of these commodities from the distant kingdoms of Transoxania posed no problem: the most expedient routes were the old Silk Routes which, passing through Samarkand, branched across Central Asia and ultimately entered northwest China near Tun-huang.

A basic similarity undeniably exists between the field and border patterns of the rugs depicted on the south wall of Cave 220 at Tun-huang and those at Pendzhikent. The relationship, which is most evident in the border patterns, is sufficiently striking to permit us to postulate that two of the rugs depicted at Tun-huang were, if not actually of Sogdian manufacture, at least close reflections of a Sasanian prototype current in the year A.D. 642.

Notes

1. Basil Gray, *Buddhist Cave Paintings at Tun-huang* (Chicago, 1959), p. 54.
2. Tun-huang Research Institute, *Tun-huang pi-hua* (Peking, 1959), pl. 113.
3. Irene Vongehr Vincent, *The Sacred Oasis* (Chicago, 1953), pl. 40; Tun-huang Research Institute, *Tun-huang pi-hua: Yin-yüeh wu-tao* (Peking, 1966), pl. 21.
4. Gray, *Buddhist Cave Paintings*, pl. 40; *Tun-huang pi-hua*, pl. 114; *Tun-huang pi-hua: Yin-yüeh wu-tao*, pl. 18; Terukazu Akiyama and Saburo Matsubara, *Arts of China: Buddhist Cave Temples New Researches*, trans. Alexander C. Soper (Tokyo and Palo Alto, 1969), pl. 41.
5. *Tun-huang pi-hua*, pl. 110.
6. Ibid., pl. 111; Gray, *Buddhist Cave Paintings*, pl. 39; *Tun-huang pi-hua: Yin-yüeh wu-tao*, pls. 13, 14, 17.
7. There is only one other carpet depicted at Tun-huang which even remotely resembles those on the south wall of Cave 220. It is found in the donatrix scene of Cave 130 (Pelliot 16), which was painted around A.D. 745-55 but has been published only in two drastically differing copies. The accuracy of neither copy can be substantiated by comparison with an actual photograph of the mural. The full version (?), which shows a carpet with staggered rows of closely placed, rounded quatrefoils across the field and a pearl border, is reproduced in Akiyama and Matsubara, *Arts of China*, pl. 51. What is apparently a simplified version of the scene, showing no pattern on the field of the rug, is published in Liu Ling-ts'ang, *T'ang-tai jen-wu-hua* (Peking, 1958), pl. 6, and in Ch'in Ling-yün, *Chung-kuo pi-hua i-shu* (Peking, 1960), pl. 29.
8. At Varaksha, V. A. Shishkin, *Varakhsha* (Moscow, 1963), pls. III, VII; Tamara Talbot Rice, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia* (New York and Washington, 1965), fig. 82. At Pendzhikent, A. Yakubovskiy and M. Dyakonov, eds., *Zhivopis Drevnego Pendzhikenta* (Moscow, 1954), pls. XXVI, XXVII.
9. Yakubovskiy and Dyakonov, *Pendzhikenta*, pl. XXXV; A. Belenitzkiy and B. Piotrovskiy, eds., *Skulptura i Zhivopis Drevnego Pendzhikenta* (Moscow, 1959), pls. III, VII. Another example of this type of rug border is found in Yakubovskiy and Dyakonov, *Pendzhikenta*, pls. XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXIX; and in Belenitzkiy and Piotrovskiy, *Skulptura*, pl. VIII.
10. Yakubovskiy and Dyakonov, *Pendzhikenta*, pls. VII, IX, X, XII, XXVI, XXVIII; Rice, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia*, fig. 87.
11. Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), pp. 197-98.
12. Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919; reprint ed., Taipei, 1967), pp. 492-93.
13. Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, p. 198.



FIG. 1. Musicians seated on rugs left of dancers, Paradise Scene, North Wall, Cave 220, Tun-huang. Dated A.D. 642.



FIG. 2. Musicians seated on rugs right of dancers, Paradise Scene, North Wall, Cave 220, Tun-huang. Dated A.D. 642.



FIG. 3. Musicians seated on rug left of dancers, Paradise Scene, South Wall, Cave 220, Tun-huang. Dated A.D. 642.



FIG. 4. Musicians seated on rug right of dancers, Paradise Scene, South Wall, Cave 220, Tun-huang. Dated A.D. 642.



FIG. 5. Detail of musicians on rug left of dancers, Paradise Scene, South Wall, Cave 220, Tun-huang.
Dated A.D. 642.



FIG. 6. Detail of wall painting, Pendzhikent. Fifth to eighth century.

BOOK REVIEWS

Persian Painting: Two Publications

Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama. By Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair. 210 pp., 58 illustrations, and index. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980. \$27.50.

Epic Images and Contemporary History presents a detailed account of a manuscript of Firdausi's *Shahnama*, often designated as the "Demotte *Shahnama*." Included are essays reconstructing the manuscript's original appearance and evaluating its historical and art-historical significance, as well as a catalog illustrating and describing all known paintings from this work. Although the reproductions are rather disappointing in quality, this publication is valuable and stimulating. By combining information derived from a close analysis of surviving pages, a reconstruction is proposed which includes an estimate of the manuscript's original length as well as an indication of which stories may have been illustrated. Two appendices summarize information collected about existing pages and propose a reconstruction for the manuscript as a whole. Separate essays discuss the thematic content and formal qualities of the paintings. Finally, on the basis of the evidence collected, a suggestion is made as to the particular circumstances which led to the creation of this manuscript. In all three areas, new and provocative suggestions are made.

The basic premise underlying this study is that unusual aspects of the illustrative cycle reflect the concerns of its patron and the world in which he lived. It is suggested that the topics illustrated allude to events which occurred during the last years of Mongol rule in Iran. The patron is identified as Ghiyāth al-dīn Muḥammad, vizier to Abu Sa'īd and son of Rashīd al-dīn. The evidence collected regarding Ghiyāth al-dīn's cultural interests makes him a plausible candidate for this manuscript's patron. It is known, however, that a quite different recension of the *Shahnama* was prepared at his instigation by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī. It is possible that future discoveries will lead to different explanations for the origin and purpose of this fascinating manuscript. The hypotheses presented in this book represent the most complete and systematic statement yet attempted.

Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library: A Descriptive Catalogue. By B. W. Robinson. 365 pp., 332 illustrations, and indexes. London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1980. \$87.50.

Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library follows the general format and style used by B. W. Robinson in his earlier catalogs of the Bodleian and India Office collections. Illustrations from thirty-five manuscripts and five albums are listed in chronological and stylistic categories. Many paintings are representative rather than unusual, but several are of artistic or historical interest. Most unusual is the attribution of several manuscripts to

western India primarily because their paintings resemble those published by Ettinghausen and Fraad ("Sultanate Painting in Persian Style," in *Chhavi*, pp. 48–66 [Benares, 1971]). Unfortunately, none of the Rylands manuscripts contains either dates or any other historical information. From dated and localized manuscripts it is clear that several "Shiraz" styles were used concurrently during the fifteenth century both in that city and in the regions affected by it. This situation raises questions about the value of style as the sole criterion for dating and attributing manuscripts. A closer examination of calligraphy, as well as of pigments and paper, might provide further clues about the provenance or evolution of manuscripts. One example which merits further study is Rylands Pers 933, a copy of Firdausi's *Shahnama* with an archaic format which contains three distinct styles of paintings. One group resembles those of fourteenth-century Shiraz, while others have fifteenth- and sixteenth-century styles (pp. 11, 112–15; 244, 252–62). Archaizing paintings are also found in a 1532 manuscript apparently containing a Persian translation of Nawā'ī's *Majālis al-Nafā'is* (pp. 158–63). A Shiraz manuscript of historical interest is Rylands Pers 20, which belongs to a group of texts copied and illustrated at the tomb (*asitāna*) of a certain Ḥusām al-dīn Ibrāhīm (pp. 155–58).

This well-illustrated reference work enlarges our knowledge of Persian painting and will, no doubt, be as widely consulted as Mr. Robinson's earlier catalogs.

PRISCILLA P. SOUCEK

Orissa—Kunst und Kultur in Nordost Indien. By Eberhard Fischer, Sitakant Mahapatra, and Dinanath Pathy. 360 pp., 808 figs., bibliography, and index. Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 1980.

This handsome but unassuming paperback is a work of deep significance for the entire history of Indian art, not merely for that of the state of Orissa. In the first place, it accompanied an exhibit but is not a traditional catalog. It represents a form of writing unprecedented in this field except for a few other works, in several of which Eberhard Fischer (Director of the Rietberg Museum) also had a hand.¹ Anyone who expects this book to serve as a conventional *catalogue raisonné* will be disappointed, for the objects on display in Zürich are not discussed in any detail nor are their photographs segregated from those of others elsewhere. The exhibit itself was exceptional in that it displayed both works of art and a broader picture of culture, conveyed by photos and video-cassettes. This approach seems particularly apt for Indian art, most of which (aside from paintings and *objets de luxe* of the Mughals and courts influenced by them) was not intended to be collected and, in fact, evades our concept of the "work of art."

In the second place, this is a collaborative work, profoundly so in the sense that it not only has several authors, but also brings very different approaches to bear on related material. One parallel venture is the Heidelberg University volume on Jagannath.² The similarity rests in part on a common Germanic thoroughness as well as on the fact that both concern Orissa, where past flows into present and urban center into village with dramatic continuity, inviting both historical and anthropological viewpoints. That both volumes are slightly uneven and that parts seem uncoordinated are perhaps inevitable corollaries. I see this as a virtue, respecting the integrity of individual contributors and leaving the reader aware of problems that remain, which could easily be glossed over by heavy-handed editing. The more art-historical sections of the Zürich work include many informed observations of objects, some original, some drawn judiciously from previous writing or whetting the appetite for longer studies that are underway. The more anthropological sections tell us how objects are made and used, often focusing in detail on a single person. One can always ask, is this case characteristic? As with anthropological life-studies in general, however, it seems captious to require statistical representativeness when one might accept the value of a single, well-observed case that is at least one of several alternatives.

The historical stage is admirably set in the essay by Hermann Kulke of Heidelberg University. One particularly valuable idea, found also in his other writings, is the adaptation of Burton Stein's concept of "nuclear areas" to Orissa, where the delta and valley units served, not to displace the tribal elements, but to integrate them with Hindu society. Of interest for art history is the suggestion that in building the Sun Temple at Konarak, Narasimha Ganga I briefly retreated from his predecessors' use of Jagannath as a state god in order to invoke a more national divinity, one whose cause had become celebrated on account of the recent Muslim destruction of the Sun Temple at Multan. Likewise, the picture of a renaissance of Oriya culture under the Marathas complements in a helpful way the proposal in later essays that much fine painting and woodcarving should be redated to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In general, Kulke manages to integrate gracefully the usual dynastic information with broad, original theories that are rare in the arid plains of writing about ancient Indian history.

A chapter on architecture begins with a section on city planning by Eberhard Fischer and the promising young Oriya scholar Dinanath Pathy. This comprises a "thick description" (in Clifford Geertz's phrase) of Digpahandi in Ganjam District, a concrete contemporary example that supplements admirably recent historical studies of the political role of town planning in Orissa.³ The same authors provide fascinating accounts of temples and monasteries as institutions; of palaces, urban houses, and domestic shrines; and of overall plan, house type, and shrine for both Hindu and tribal villages. In their description of the Paicha Matha in Digpahandi, one might underscore that the present Gosain, or priest, is a Bengali, admitting that regional purity is an illusory concept.

Particularly felicitous is the selection of the home of Jagannath Mahapatra of Raghurajpur as a typical village house, for this, together with the later description of activities there, makes possible a study of the life and practices of a major artist of the *pata* ("painted cloth") tradition within the professional *chitrakara* ("artisan") community. The suggestion, furthermore, that open-air village shrines lie behind the circular, unroofed Chausath Yogini temples is provocative; another analogy can be found in some tribal villages (of Koraput District, not of the Phulbani Kutia Konds described here), where a circle of stones associated with heroes of the tribe occupies a central position. At any rate, this temple type, baffling in terms of standard Hindu architecture, provides an opportunity for speculation about the relationship between the seemingly uniform Great Tradition and the obviously diverse little traditions of both tribe and village. Hindu architecture is represented in this chapter by the translation into German of a brief, general section from Debala Mitra's *Guide to Bhubaneswar*. Invaluable as her work is as a whole, it is a lacuna in the present volume not to have more discussion of the temples that enrich many towns besides Bhubaneswar and that form the physical setting for sculpture, which is considered.

The chapter on sculpture begins with a short discussion of the burgeoning body of Orissan Śilpāsāstras by Bettina Bäumer, the Austrian Sanskritist and disciple of Alice Boner (whose controversial book, *New Light on the Sun Temple at Konarak*, is not, however, mentioned here). While the author notes the need to understand the texts in the light of living tradition, it remains difficult to relate their scholastic, impersonal tone to the practical and sometimes idiosyncratic behavior of the often illiterate artisans described throughout this volume. Even in the most Sanskritic world of Hindu temple carving, surely the role of the texts, if they belonged to sculptors and architects, was to record alternatives, to trigger the memory, and to legitimize in religious terms a tradition transmitted primarily by apprenticeship and word of mouth.

Thomas Donaldson of Cleveland State University contributes two long sections on stylistic development and on important motifs in temple sculpture. This forms a useful summary of parts of his forthcoming gargantuan monograph on Orissan temples. It would be more useful were there a chronological list of monuments discussed, many of which are, fortunately, not standard examples. This would also be more useful if the organizing ideas emerged more clearly from masses of detailed description. In fact, he shows an underlying respect for the broad principles of design and for the overall program of the temples. Throughout the standard treatment of Śaiva, Śākta, and Vaiṣṇava iconography runs a sense of the growing role of "worldly" elements (scenes of the ruler and of teachers), which do not, however, quite correspond to our notion of the secular as opposed to the religious. Donaldson discusses technical changes in carving (drawing on the ideas of K. C. Panigrahi) as well as the roles of master/apprentice and of different workshops, themes appropriate to this volume as a whole. Yet, a certain

disjunction between this section and others cannot be avoided because of the nature of the extensive previous scholarship in the field and the nature of the material, which lends itself to seeing chronological relationships between objects rather than relationships between people and objects.

Sculpture in media other than stone takes us back to Fischer and Pathy, who here combine art-historical and anthropological approaches. Wood is particularly important as the material of the Jagannath triad, which links the aniconic tribal and the profusely iconic Hindu traditions. Many fine woodcarvings dated elsewhere to as early as the fifteenth century are here placed correctly in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, although the elegant figurines of Nayagarh and the doors of Belaguntha are illustrated, these are not discussed in the text. Sections on ivory (especially throne legs) and on metal (especially post-Achutrajpur bronzes) include useful compendia of scattered examples. It is interesting that Brahmans (and women) are not permitted even to watch the casting of bronze images by the modern descendants of the classical tradition; so much for the sacerdotal basis of those images. The section on pottery draws on the informative book of the Oriya anthropologist N. K. Behura, and this will soon be supplemented by American craft-historian Louise Cort's intensive study of the temple potters of Puri. Clay and plaster make somewhat odd bedfellows in this section, despite their similarity as media, for the latter, as the authors surmise, is indeed used by members of the *chitrakara* caste, a group engaged in various kinds of painting and sculpture, but not in so impure a material as clay.

The chapter on painting, again by Fischer and Pathy, is rich in observations of artists at work. The professional *chitrakaras* are depicted in the process of making "replacement images" on cloth for the Jagannath triad at the time of the sculptures' removal before the Cart Festival; it is noteworthy that no Brahmans are present at the final painting of the eyes, nor—as they are during the actual renewal of the wood images—are *mantras* pronounced. An intriguing, odd situation is described in which two eccentric mendicants bring to Parlakhemundi an old hanging, said to have been acquired from a Telegu-speaking lady, to be recopied by the *chitrakaras* there. The production of playing cards is described in the house of Jagannath Mahapatra, the leading practitioner of the *pata* tradition in Raghurajpur. His pupil, Benudharma Mahapatra, is taken to exemplify palm-leaf manuscript illustration. My impression is that both are gifted men who have adapted to the revived market for palm-leaf souvenirs, but that neither is particularly representative of traditional practices or styles in this medium—hence, possibly, the extraordinary speed with which Benudharma executes an illustration. For wall decoration, an artist executing marriage paintings in Parlakhemundi (at the southern extreme of Orissa) is observed. There are also welcome sections on the lively, nonprofessional pictorial arts: tattoos and painting on walls by women and by tribals.

From a historical angle, this chapter is also rich. Fine and unpublished examples are illustrated, notably of wall

paintings, although, again, some are tantalizingly omitted from the text. The assertion that there are four regional schools of *pata* painting is not borne out by surviving evidence. For a general study of *pata* painting, we await the work of the Oriya poet J. P. Das. The section on playing cards follows properly the German expert Rudolf von Leyden. For resist-dyed textiles, or *kalamkari*, from Orissa, we are promised a further study by the present authors. The history of Orissa painting on paper (including important pieces in the Asutosh Museum) is boldly and, I believe, correctly said to begin around 1800. This important discussion merits expansion with clearer citations of examples; for instance, figures 536–41 illustrate works mentioned in the text but not referred to by figure number. For palm-leaf illustrations, likewise, the suggestion that none survive from before the eighteenth century seems reasonable in view of the absence of any dated before 1705 as well as of the fragility of the Orissan tala-palm leaf. While no real chronology is presented here, it is justly observed that naive and refined styles seem to have existed at the same time. As for the statement that Brahmans constituted the principal scribes, it is worth noting that the *karana*, or writer caste, was proverbially identified by the *lekhana* (stylus for working on palm leaf), and we know of at least one case of a tumeric merchant (Vaiśya) as an illustrator. I suspect that palm leaf is a medium less bound by caste restrictions than most.

The final sections of this volume lie outside the expertise of this reviewer. The one on textiles includes much technical information about the production of tassar silk and about ikat dying (by Elizabeth Escher and Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, both textile experts in Basel). The discussion of classical dance is helpful, for example, in admitting that the revived Odissi dance in this century has in part been modeled on ancient carvings. Brief sections on tribal dance and literature are provided by Sitakant Mahapatra and on Oriya literature by Nilamani Mishra, both leading Oriya specialists in these fields.

Throughout this volume, photos are sensitively composed, particularly those of Barbara Fischer, in which the occasional blurred hand of a priest at worship conveys eloquently the transient event. Yet, it is important to underscore that such photos of people are not merely nice in themselves or as a relief from reproductions of traditional art objects. The juxtaposition is an important intellectual challenge to those of us who study either people or objects. In neither area will simple description suffice, useful as that may be at a preliminary stage. Anthropologists can still learn from looking more carefully at the objects and their lineage. Art historians can still learn from thinking of art as part of a human and socially varied fabric. Thus, the relatively brief text of this volume opens up an amazing number of vistas for further work not only in Orissa, but also in other areas. I understand that the Rietberg Museum is contemplating an English version of the book. Surely that is well deserved.

Notes

1. For example, E. Fischer and Haku Shah, *Kunsttraditionen in Nordindien* (Zürich, 1972). Jyotindra Jain and E. Fischer,

Jaina Iconography (Leiden, 1978), is similarly novel for its scholarly genre.

2. Anncharlott Eschmann, Hermann Kulke, and G. C. Tripathi, *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa* (New Delhi, 1978).
3. H. Kulke, "Legitimation and Town-Planning in the Feudatory States of Central Orissa," *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 17 (1980): 30-40.

JOANNA WILLIAMS

The Art of Eastern India, 300-800. By Frederick M. Asher. 123 pp., 253 photographs, 2 maps, bibliography, and index. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1980. \$35.00.

It is easy to fall into the trap of perceiving the development of Indian art as a series of high points, primarily associated with the florescence of a ruling dynasty—the Mauryas, Śungas, and so on—interspersed with what are sometimes thought to be low points, or even lacunae. This volume is a fine example of a study of what has normally been considered one of the "valleys" of Indian art, a period whose major monuments and surviving examples have remained little known even to specialists in the art of India. Asher's work is thus truly pioneering. He has assembled for the first time a corpus of structures and images created in Bihar and Bengal in a period which cannot be defined by a single dynastic or other name—a time corresponding to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, but prior to the emergence of the Pālas. What Asher reveals is that the art of this period, while often derived from better-known artistic traditions, such as those of Sārnāth and Mathurā, had a great variety and richness of its own, both stylistically and iconographically. This richness must have helped pave the way for the burgeoning of art under the Pālas and other eastern Indian dynasties during the ninth century, yet it must also be appreciated in its own right.

Asher uses a chronological framework for his book, devoting one chapter to an introduction and to the few early works (of about the Kuṣāṇa period), another to the Gupta age, a third to what he calls the "Growth of the Style (ca. 550-700)," and a fourth chapter to the "Bridge to Pāla Art (ca. 700-800)." Although only a few examples survive from the Kuṣāṇa period, the Kuṣāṇa presence may be identified in eastern India both through stone sculptures which must have been imported into the region and through some which were apparently carved locally, but under the influence of more important art centers. By the Gupta period, Asher demonstrates, the art traditions of eastern India were already established in a variety of locations, although primarily concentrated in Bihar, especially in the Rājgir-Nālandā area. During the subsequent period, the late sixth and seventh centuries, images become even more numerous. Works from this period are more difficult to date than those of the Gupta period, however, for, while indigenous epigraphs and historical

events shed light on earlier materials, the post-Gupta age is marked by a paucity of the sort of reliable information that can be correlated with surviving art works. This paucity, Asher notes, characterizes many other regions of India at the same time. During the final period, the eighth century, art production was more widespread throughout Bihar and Bengal, and extant examples are even more abundant, a phenomenon which Asher again associates with the general patterns of production throughout the Indian subcontinent at the same time.

A chronological framework like the one used here is, of course, very typical in an art-historical study; yet, due to the almost total absence of dated works belonging to the five-hundred-year period under consideration, many difficulties naturally beset such a framework, as the author himself notes. In fact, the provenance of the works is generally more incontrovertibly established than are their dates, and an alternative would have been to use regionality as the main means of organization, with chronological developments serving as the subtheme. As it stands, unless one knows how Asher dates a particular sculpture, it can be difficult to find it in the book. More importantly, there is the possibility of obsolescence of certain aspects of the study, since the dating is the aspect of the works most subject to future revision. Such revision is certain to happen, for Asher's book is a clear reflection of the new popularity being enjoyed by Bihar and Bengal art among scholars.

Asher makes a number of astute observations about the prevalent art styles. For example, he demonstrates that sculptures like the Rājgir and Nālandā stuccos and the Sultānganj metal Buddha clearly reveal the persistence of the Gupta style but must surely be later in date. He also enters into a number of very thoughtful and provoking iconographic discussions, such as the identification of the Bodhisattva he illustrates as plate 162. But, in addition to these typically art-historical concerns, his aim is to reconstruct as completely as possible the original contexts of the works of art and their place as part of the social, religious, and historical developments of the period. Thus, the text abounds with interesting historical information, correlations between the art materials and the accounts of Fa-hsien and Hsüan Tsang, and archaeological data surrounding the discovery of many works. Therefore, it is certain to be of interest to scholars in a variety of disciplines.

The volume is handsomely produced and has excellent plates. Many of the works illustrated have never before been published. Indeed, a number of them—lying in remote and nearly inaccessible villages throughout Bihar and Bengal—have been seen by only a few Westerners in the many centuries since their creation, and even then by only the most intrepid explorers, among whom Asher must be counted. Eloquently written, a pleasure to read, having a valuable bibliography and notes, *The Art of Eastern India* is a model in every respect. It not only illuminates a hitherto little-known area of Indian art, it is an outstanding example of a study which by its very approach raises questions about many of the basic assumptions in the discipline of Indian art history. The

most important of these questions concerns the relationship of the florescence of a ruling dynasty to the florescence of art. Asher stands by dynastic divisions, which "seem well suited to the Indian situation despite their inherent weaknesses, which must always be recalled" (p. 103). But he reminds us that valleys are not vacuums: "The uneven production of monuments should not suggest, as dynastic divisions of the history of art might, that no imagery was produced in the absence of a major ruling house, but only that less is produced than during the time of a powerful dynasty" (p. 103).

SUSAN L. HUNTINGTON

Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy.

By Lothar Ledderose. 131 pp., 50 black-and-white photographs, plate list, two appendixes, bibliography, index, and Chinese characters. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979. \$30.00.

The basis of the "classical tradition," writes Ledderose in his introduction to *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy*, consisted of "certain handwritten pieces, especially those of the masters of the Eastern Chin Dynasty (317–420), [that] came to be regarded as stylistic prototypes and set aesthetic standards," eventually forming a "canon of masterworks" for one of the most influential traditions in the entire history of calligraphy. In a magnificently printed volume, Ledderose presents an admirable analysis of this tradition.

Portions of *Mi Fu* were presented as the author's *Habilitationsschrift* for Cologne University and represent a second aspect of his studies in the history of Chinese calligraphy. Ledderose's doctoral dissertation, *Die Siegel-schrift (chuan-shu) in der Ch'ing-Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1970), initiated the important German series *Studien zur Ostasiatischen Schriftkunst*, under the general editorship of his mentor, Dietrich Seckel. Trained in the German tradition of *Kunstgeschichte*, Ledderose has subsequently been exposed (as a Harkness Fellow) to the approaches developed in the United States (albeit on Germanic foundations) and further enriched by contacts with scholars in Japan and Taiwan. Such distinguished credentials promise a book of exceptional quality, and the reader will not be disappointed.

The text has three parts and progresses from a broad vertical time scale to a specific horizontal one. Basic issues in the history of Chinese calligraphy are introduced in a succinct and systematic fashion, all with a view to examining works attributed to fourth-century Chin masters, especially the Two Wangs—Wang Hsi-chih (307–65) and his son, Hsien-chih (344–88)—in the light of the writings and art of the Sung dynasty calligrapher-connoisseur Mi Fu (1052–1107). In the three major periods in the history of calligraphy, the Chin (or Tsin 晉 [317–419], to avoid confusion with the later dynasty, Chin 金 [1115–1234]), T'ang (618–905), and Sung (960–1279) dynasties, master calligraphers emerged with distinctive "personal styles" against a background of cultural

accomplishment achieved by an educated elite. Their art was aesthetically homogeneous to the extent that a "period style" may be ascertained by cogent formal analysis. This achievement was strengthened by a growing body of theoretical and critical literature on art and calligraphy, commencing in the Tsin with aesthetic concerns and observations on masters' personalities and the creative process, and expanding by the T'ang and the Sung to include comments on scripts, styles, individual works, and, finally, the authenticity, connoisseurship, and pedigrees of specific pieces. The primary goal of Ledderose's work is to document the crucial role that the calligraphers and connoisseurs of the T'ang and Sung periods play in our perception of the art of the Tsin.

If he reads nothing else in this volume, the general reader will profit from the introduction and first chapter. The specialist will be drawn into the intricate network of historical and stylistic relationships described in chapters two and three. In all three chapters are model demonstrations of the way in which extant visual material, textual records, and stylistic analysis can be brought together. The relevant excerpts from the Chinese documents appear with the author's translations (with additional footnotes) in Appendix A. In Appendix B, a handy list and numerical analysis of the Tsin works with their pedigrees as recorded by Mi Fu are found in list form. Besides the generous format and clear illustrations, the book is blessed with an elegant design, sensible and comfortable typography, and the ultimate sinological reader's convenience: footnote citations and Chinese characters in the spacious margins.

Many of Ledderose's introductory statements were applicable to the study of early Chinese painting some twenty years ago, for, indeed, he is working in a field which has thus far produced only four doctoral dissertations, including his own. (The other three are: Shen C. Y. Fu, "Huang T'ing-chien's Calligraphy and His *Scroll for Chang Ta-t'ung: A Masterpiece Written in Exile*," Princeton University, 1976; Steve J. Goldberg, "Court Calligraphy in the Early T'ang Dynasty," The University of Michigan, 1980; Marilyn Wong Fu, "The Admonitions Scroll and the Art of Hsien-yü Shu," Princeton University, 1982.) It would not be out of place, then, to review the author's statement regarding methodological problems. In so doing, the reader may see how far Ledderose has gone in providing a foundation in this one volume for those coming into the field and, further, how much ground has yet to be covered to fully illuminate this rich subject.

Although there was a consensus [among past historians] that the works of the Chin [Tsin] dynasty masters were the source of the classical tradition . . . there was, however, far less unanimity as to what these works looked like. Nearly all the originals were lost in the course of time; famous masterworks were transmitted only in the form of copies. In most cases the copies had not even been made directly from the original, but were only copies of copies. Thus several copies after one and the same prototype often came to be quite different from one another. . . . In this situation (and it is a situation in which we still find ourselves today) one could not but depend on the judgment of earlier connoisseurs. . . . Because of the artistic coherence within the calligraphic tradition every historian of Chinese calligraphy is faced with some pressing

methodological problems. . . . Whenever he picks up one thread of investigation and tries to pursue it, he soon finds himself in the midst of a vast, intricate net. When studying earlier masters he must cope with the fact that there are very few or no reliable works left. *Thus one has to establish the image of these masters as it existed at various later periods and try to work one's way back through copies and interpretations.* Similarly, when studying a late master one might meet with sources for his art throughout the entire tradition. In order to find them all and to assess their relative importance one should ideally know the history of calligraphy as well as the master himself did. A knowledge of later phases of Chinese calligraphy is thus a precondition for studying earlier phases and vice versa. (pp. 3-4; italics added)

Having thus stated the historian's chief dilemma, Ledderose then proceeds to introduce Mi Fu as an early critic through whom one may perceive earlier masters because

he was the first critic who presented his studies in the form of discussions about single objects. . . . [Although] Mi's judgments were at times biased, later scholars nevertheless had to depend on him since he provides information which is not available elsewhere. Mi Fu's critical writings then may be said to *have an effect like a filter.* . . . The only way to arrive at a proper evaluation of the picture, therefore, is to *analyze how the filter works.* (p. 4; italics added)

I have quoted Ledderose at length on the methodological problem because, in addition to the wealth of documentary material surrounding Mi Fu's knowledge of Tsin masters, all masterfully presented by him in the text and two appendixes, it is this methodology which calls for comment.

The first chapter, "The Classical Tradition," covers topics fundamental to an understanding of the history of Chinese calligraphy. These include definitions, such as of basic script "types," differentiated from "styles" (a distinction which I advocate be observed by everyone writing on the subject); formats, such as *pei* 碑 and *t'ieh* 帖, in relation to function; and the key protagonists, the Two Wangs, their representative works by script type, and the problem of the early transmission of the tradition through skilled copies. There follows a section on the most famous work of the tradition, the *Preface to the Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion* (*Lan-t'ing-chi hsu* 兰亭集序) of 353, with its battery of replications and its influence, especially in the T'ang period under the auspices of T'ai-tsung (reigned 626-49) and his chief connoisseur, Ch'u Sui-liang (596-658). In the last section of this chapter, under the subheading "Fundamental Issues," Ledderose introduces the topics he considers basic to our understanding of the period:

The rise of the classical tradition in Chinese calligraphy was characterized by several new developments: calligraphy was elevated to an art form that was widely practiced by the educated elite; copying in its various forms assumed a crucial importance; pieces of calligraphy were collected as works of art; and all these new phenomena were dealt with in a fast-growing theoretical literature. (p. 28)

He then illustrates each point with excerpts from classic

texts on the subject. Whereas the material in the previous sections had been painstakingly and systematically culled from the vast body of primary and secondary Chinese and Japanese literature, in this section Ledderose offers a more conceptual perspective. (No doubt "Fundamental Issues" bows to Professor Max Loehr, who, in an article of the same title on Chinese painting, stirred duller minds to a consideration of broader questions and potential paradoxes in the field. Ledderose here borrows the title, taking a narrower, more historical tack.)

These "issues" are to be understood not as controversial in nature, but rather as sociocultural aspects of the phenomenon of calligraphy as it evolved and developed in Chinese society: matters, on the one hand, that were the result of causative factors specific to the cultural and historical setting of fourth-century China and, on the other, that contributed to and influenced the later development of calligraphy. These issues, or themes, characterize the practice of calligraphy in East Asia in a way which is probably unique. For example, as an illustration of the development of calligraphy as an "art of the elite" (pp. 28-33), Ledderose cites the well-known account of the scholar Wei Tan (179-253), who was asked by the emperor Ming-ti (reigned 226-39) to inscribe a plaque on an imperial building while hauled up in a basket. Under these humiliating circumstances, Wei Tan was so upset that he threw away his brush, admonishing his sons and grandsons to stop practicing the regular script so as to avoid ever being treated as a lowly artisan. Ledderose comments, "We might well imagine how, after burning his big official brush, he went home in anger, got out his own cherished brush, and trying to overcome his indignation, wrote a letter to a friend in the most spectacular *hsing-shu*" (p. 52). Where else would that hastily brushed letter be as highly treasured as (or perhaps even more highly than) a plaque written for the imperial presence? Ledderose here reveals his insight into the psychology—as opposed to the mere sociology or historiography—of the issues of the time. (Such an anecdote also inserts a touch of humor into a text heavy with the traditions of serious scholarship.) We need to be reminded that artistic advances are made and new aesthetic norms set as a result of what calligraphers enjoyed doing or were moved to express in a state of heightened emotion, whether one of joy or indignation. In the face of social or political deterrents or of the burden of tradition, there was an inner dynamic, a self-sustaining momentum to the art.

In chapter two, "Mi Fu's Studies of Calligraphy," and chapter three, "Mi Fu's Knowledge of Chin Pieces," the "filter" is observed at work. First, biographical data ("Mi Fu and His Circle") and the main literary sources ("Mi Fu as Critic") are presented in a straightforward manner. It might be noted that the subheadings under the latter section are somewhat misleading: for "Methods of Investigation," it would have been more apt to say "Textual Basis for Investigation," as no excursus into methods is given; likewise, for "Historical Concepts," it would have been more to the point to say "Concepts of Attribution," as the aesthetic qualities of masters are discussed and compared without reference to their historical position. Under the

last subheading, "Aesthetic Concepts," are found the most decisive ideas underlying Mi Fu's judgments of works, and it is here, as in the next section, "Mi Fu as Copyist," that Ledderose's approach makes its impact.

In "Mi Fu as Copyist" (pp. 58–68), Ledderose treats the reader to some of the finest stylistic analyses of calligraphy found in print: first he compares individual works of Wang Hsi-chih with Mi Fu's copies; then he goes a step further and compares lexically identical or morphologically similar characters. Using the "cut-out" technique of selection (now familiar to formalists in the field), he lines up examples of characters from Wang Hsi-chih's works and Mi's copies of Wang and compares them with examples of Mi's "free" writing. He shows how close Mi's copies can be to his models and also reveals some remarkable divergences: thicker, more supple brushstrokes, compositional daring in single characters, and rhythmic columnar spacing. All depart from the "classical harmony" of Wang Hsi-chih, with his precisely executed strokes, dynamically balanced structure of the characters, and measured spacing of the lines. At the end of this subsection, "Stylistic Analysis," Ledderose refers to the passage in which Mi Fu relates how he began his calligraphy studies at age seven with the works of the T'ang master Yen Chen-ch'ing (709–85) and "copied works from the entire history of calligraphy" so that his calligraphy was described as "a compendium of old characters" (pp. 64–65). But this important passage is buried under the topic "Mi Fu as Copyist." Mi was much more than a copyist.

What sources and motivations account for the distinctiveness of Mi's style? Are they uniquely a product of Mi's aesthetic sophistication, or do purposeful changes of a common structural nature also characterize the work of his contemporaries, notably the other three Great Masters, Ts'ai Hsiang (1012–67), Su Shih (1036–1101), and Huang T'ing-chien (1045–1105)? It seems that one can pose the same question of Mi as Ledderose did earlier of Wang Hsi-chih (pp. 15–19): were his aesthetic advances an individual achievement or a collective one? In order to do justice to this question from Mi Fu's point of view, it is important to see Mi's copies not as mere copies, but as visual studies leading to an apprehension of ancient works. These were the models to be emulated in a continual learning process of self-discovery. Mi undertook such studies with far greater intensity and direction than the other three Sung masters. Thus, when Ledderose observes that "Mi Fu allows himself again special peculiarities in the execution of single strokes and in the composition of some characters" (p. 64), that "single characters . . . never . . . endanger the unity of the composition," and that "characters tilting in different directions are all bound into a natural flow of the lines" (p. 67), we might also be reading a description of the *hsing-shu* letter-writing style of Ts'ai Hsiang, Su Shih, or Huang T'ing-chien. To fully appreciate Mi's personal innovations and style, one must know more about his sources, about when and how he deviated from them, and make comparisons with the other three Great Masters and with other Sung literati.

What needs to be observed is that the greater freedom in

brushwork, the compositional structure, and the columnar spacing, all producing a greater visual coherence, were in large part a reaction of the innovative Sung masters to the rigid tectonics and strict parallelism of the T'ang masters, who had created the penultimate *k'ai-shu*. Of course, each of the Four Great Sung Masters based his art firmly on this T'ang foundation, on the work of Yen Chen-ch'ing in particular. Despite Mi's trenchant criticism of certain of Yen's brush forms, he still admired them—at least his *Cheng-tso-wei t'ieh*. None of the other Sung masters would deny a dependence on the art of Yen or of other T'ang masters. Yet they, too, looked to other sources for inspiration. Indeed, their choices were random and eclectic, indicating that they tended to heed their personal taste and to pursue whatever new ideas a calligraphic model might give them at a particular stage of their development. So, for example, Huang T'ing-chien was inspired alike by Wang Hsi-chih, Yang Ning-shih (873–957), and the cliff inscription *I-ho-ming* (which he regarded as coming from Wang Hsi-chih's hand!). Furthermore, his aesthetic distinctions centered around the size of the script, the *Lan-t'ing* being the "ancestor of small writing" and the *I-ho-ming* the "ancestor of monumental writing." Huang T'ing-chien, like Mi Fu, seemed to cull what he needed and liked from whatever models for his own purposes. This is the crux of Sung art and Sung individualism.

When Ledderose praises Mi Fu as an expert copyist for being able to adjust the characters in a line so that they came out right (p. 63), it might be more relevant to say that that is how good Mi had to be in order to rise above mere copying to the level of complete absorption and of freedom from models, where one can create one's own style. That is exactly what Mi and each of the Sung masters did, even though they all started from the same source—Yen Chen-ch'ing. This is the enigma of the Sung and of the T'ang-Sung relationship.

Here the key passage on Mi Fu's sources might be restated in slightly greater detail than is found in Ledderose (see his p. 64). Mi says that when he first began to study calligraphy at seven or eight *sui*, he studied Yen Chen-ch'ing and wrote large characters; then he admired the tight compactness of Liu Kung-ch'uan and so turned to study Liu; before long, he realized that Liu's art came from Ou-yang Hsun, so he studied him; but before long, he realized that Ou-yang's weakness was in being too stiff and rigid, so he began to admire Ch'u Sui-liang. He studied Ch'u the longest, emulating not only his compositions, but also his handling of the corners and turns of the brush, his plump beauty, and his ability to use all eight sides of the brush to perfection; before long, he began to understand that Ch'u's compositional sense derived from the *Lan-t'ing-hsu*, so he began to study that and finally came to understand the "plain blandness" of the Wei-Tsin masters. (This passage from the *Ch'ün-yü-t'ang t'ieh* is extant in a rubbing in the Takashima collection.) Thus, we see how Mi's study sought each master's original sources; the learning process for him was at once a standard to emulate and a corrective for each preceding master's potentially acquired weakness. Mi was keenly

aware that too heavy a reliance on one calligrapher would inevitably lead to learning his faults as well. Thus, he proceeded from one T'ang master to the next in order to acquire their strengths, reaching at last the Wei-Tsin period and the *Lan-t'ing*. Mi's was a dynamic process of intellectual growth: he did not strip-mine the past; he dug multiple deep shafts in his search for aesthetic gold.

In Mi's art there is a pattern of absorption, transformation, and repudiation. It is a pattern and a paradox and has to do with the dynamic and relentless growth of his artistic personality. One further example may suffice. A key aesthetic concept introduced by Mi Fu into the criticism of calligraphy and painting was that of *p'ing-tan* 平淡 ("plain tranquility") and *t'ien-chen* 天真 ("natural perfection"). Mi's high regard for these elusive qualities caused him to criticize the *k'ai-shu* of Yen Chen-ch'ing. He said it lacked "plain tranquility" and displayed too many brush movements, having, that is, a "kicking stroke" (*t'iao-t'i* 挑踢), which he regarded as the ancestor of all later generations' ugly brush mannerisms. (Ledderose, on p. 58, mistakenly translates the phrase as "stumbling.") This is a stroke which appears at the terminations of right diagonals and hooks: the brush pauses to collect itself and recharge its momentum, and then, instead of being lifted gradually, it retracts itself, and the reassembled brush tip is "kicked back" and then forward for the final release. This creates what Ledderose correctly describes as an "indentation" in the outer contours, one which in fact (much like the skeletal joint in human anatomy) reveals the vital inner structure. Mi Fu thoroughly understood this technique, and he consciously and scrupulously sought to avoid it in his calligraphy, even after he had fully absorbed Yen's technique in his formative years. A similar paradox, or pattern of absorption and repudiation, may be observed in his study of Ch'u Sui-liang's art. To understand Mi's critical views and his fascination with the Tsin masters, even to see the classical tradition in its proper relationship to Mi's artistic range, it is necessary to comprehend the complex process of change in his calligraphy. We can then better understand the dynamic processes involved when Ledderose quotes the following:

People say my calligraphy is a compendium of old characters, because I took the best part of them all and formed them into a synthesis. Finally in my old age did I establish a style of my own. People who look at my works do not know to whom to point as my ancestor [in art]. (pp. 64-65)

Mi's sources were so varied and his transformation of them so thorough that he established a transformational paradigm for later generations. As such, he is justly considered by traditional critics the most individualistic of the Four Great Sung Masters.

Only two other Princeton monographs in the field of Far Eastern art have appeared: G. Rowley's *Principles of Chinese Painting* (1947) and A. C. Soper's *Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan* (1942). *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition* is a worthy successor and a hopeful sign of future monographs in the Far Eastern field and of things to come in the hard-pressed world of university publications. Ledderose's book is a model of form,

content, and presentation and sets formidable standards on all fronts.

MARILYN WONG FU

The Great Painters of China. By Max Loehr. 336 pp., color and black-and-white illustrations, bibliography, and index. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. \$29.95.

Few historians of Chinese art today would choose to write a history of Chinese painting that makes virtually no reference to Confucianism, Taoism, calligraphy, T'ang poetry, Sung history, the great cities of China, or pre-modern Chinese economy, social classes, and politics. The relations among these and other elements of Chinese civilization and the history of painting are of overriding interest to many of us. For Max Loehr, however, "painting . . . is a closed system," and all other matters "remain extraneous" (p. vii).

Like the very title of his book, this terse expression of the classic formalist position is curiously old-fashioned and very refreshing. To write three hundred interesting pages on painters and paintings alone requires a rigorous and compelling understanding of the idea of style, one sufficient for style alone to tell the story of art. This, too, Loehr possesses, although he is sometimes wrong. In any case, it is invigorating to encounter throughout his book one of the most sharply analytical minds in art history.

The areas in which the book falls short are in the chapters on T'ang, Five Dynasties, and Northern Sung landscape painting. Loehr does not distinguish here between works stylistically early in a tradition and works stylistically *retardataire*—late works "in the manner of" the earlier masters. He understands the history of art to be a single line of development, marked off in clear stages from A to Z, in which the initial style preserves its essential features over centuries of copying and imitation. Obviously, the older the initial style, the more problematic the claim that it has been preserved.

Specifically, the discussions of T'ang landscape styles, of Ching Hao, Kuan T'ung, Li Ch'eng, Fan K'uan, Kuo Hsi, and Hsü Tao-ning, are flawed by a misunderstanding of fundamental stylistic properties and by the use of works unrelated to those masters except as late imitations. Especially regrettable is the treatment of Li Ch'eng, who is here shown by the works adduced to be an undistinguished mixture of fourteenth-century followers, Lan Ying's school, and the Four Wangs. Hsü Tao-ning is credited with a seventeenth-century forgery, *Dense Snow on the Mountain Pass*, as well as the anonymous fourteenth-century *Crooked Trees*—a fine painting, like the Toledo Kuo Hsi, but a monument of Yüan, not Sung, art. The only plausible Ching Hao-style work, in Kansas City, is described as pre-Ching Hao, while the later Sung or Chin work in Taipei is confused with tenth-century styles. The fourteenth-century imitation of Fan K'uan in Princeton is described as stylistically earlier than the great Fan K'uan in Taipei, as is the Boston Fan K'uan, a painting of the later Sung or Chin period.

In these cases I do not think it particularly partial to observe simply that Loehr is wrong, and let it go at that.

When Loehr's purely formal approach works, which it does most of the time, it can be most impressive. Perhaps the best example is his long discussion of Tung Yüan. Precise, perceptive descriptions of the monuments are followed by a persuasive summary of the artist's style and the most plausible theory one could draw at this time regarding his probable development. This section of the book and the briefer treatment of Chü-jan that follows should be recommended to students as the most credible source on the tenth-century Chiang-nan style. In particular, I would endorse Loehr's reading of the Shanghai *Summer Mountains*. Having only recently seen it for the first time, I found it to obviously predate the Cleveland Mi Yu-jen of 1130 and to bear all of the nuances and subtleties of an original work. It shows none of the obvious signs of a copy and undoubtedly belongs, as Loehr observes, with *The Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers*, *The Riverbank*, and *Winty Groves and Layered Banks* in the essential group defining Tung Yüan's historical position and his evolution from early to late. Loehr's careful reading of the famous *Lung-su chiao-min* is also welcome and should replace the apparently popular view that the painting is more revealing of Chao Meng-fu and Sheng Mou than of Tung Yüan.

Equally admirable is the chapter on painters of the Southern Sung, a gem of taste and historical judgment. Loehr's mastery of terse, clear, revealing formal description is here precisely suited to his monuments.

Not anticipated by any of Loehr's earlier publications known to me are the two chapters on Six Dynasties and T'ang figure painting. They contain some of the most perceptive and sympathetic analyses of figure painting I have ever encountered. Every student of Chinese painting should study the author's treatment of Kuan-hsiu to understand how a great art historian can forever change one's perceptions of works of art by sharp formal analysis and the discernment of an intellectual-historical framework within which they exist—or, better, which they themselves define. Equally, the art of Chang Hsüan and Chou Fang has never been more acutely presented, or their relation to prevailing styles better described. All of the great early masters are here, in what is surely the finest historical treatment of early figure painting yet written.

The chapter on T'ang landscape painting is marred by a disinterest in the anonymous monuments at Tun-huang, the Shōsōin, and in the T'ang imperial tombs, which are the necessary matter of any true understanding of T'ang landscape. Confined, as his title indicates, to painters, not paintings, however, his treatment of attributed works and their reputed authors is of considerable interest. One finds here even Chang Nan-pen, the fire painter, whose achievement is inventively suggested by reference to two Japanese paintings of the time (the color illustrations of which are reversed).

While the treatment of Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing painters is relatively briefer than the earlier chapters, the author's views are almost always apt and fair, making one wish only that he had been able to devote more space to the later

masters. He avoids the popular dichotomy of professional-amateur distinction, for example, approaching the Che School and Wu Wei with the same impartiality and appreciation he brings to Shen Chou and the Wu School. One might wish that he had chosen something other than Wang Hui's exact copy of Fan K'uan to illustrate the achievement of the former, but one cannot argue with his characterization of the "orthodox" masters in general.

For the Yüan, if Loehr would only realize that several of the works here given to Li Ch'eng, Hsü Tao-ning, or Kuo Hsi were in fact painted by fourteenth-century Li-Kuo followers, his assessment of that tradition would be fairer. Especially admirable in his treatment of Ch'ien Hsüan, Chao Meng-fu, and the Four Great Masters of Yüan is the absence of *wen-jen* cant. Loehr approaches each master's *oeuvre* coolly and analytically, perceiving a plausible chronological development and precisely assessing the salient formal characteristics. No one does this nearly so well, and the dispassionate calm of his analyses is a bracing antidote to much recent writing on the period. He also shows himself willing throughout to reexamine afresh long-neglected or disputed works such as the late, wet album leaves attributed to Wu Chen (fig. 127) or the Wang Meng formerly in the Saito collection (fig. 129). These are attractive and interesting pictures that may or may not be as attributed, but which should not be ignored.

The *terminus ante quem* of Ch'ien Hsüan's *Dwelling in the Mountains* in Shanghai, by the way, is not 1317, the date of Ch'iu Yüan's colophon, but 1275, the date of the death of Chia Su-tao, whose seal is affixed to the right of Ch'iu's colophon. This is a Sung painting and the only identifiable early landscape painting by Ch'ien Hsüan. That fact helps greatly to understand the curiously tentative, yet original and attractive style of the scroll.

I imagine that Max Loehr will be very patient with these comments. Over the years he has instructed me in many ways, including the toleration of junior scholars. It may not be the least of his achievements that even when he seems most certainly wrong, I have always felt the need to go back and study again the subjects of his interest. If, then, I am still convinced that he is wrong, I can also imagine him saying, with that look captured so well in the photograph which decorates the jacket of his book: "But you must look again."

RICHARD BARNHART

Rimpa Kaiga Zenshū 琳派絵画全集. Edited by Yamane Yūzō 山根有三. 5 vols. Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1977-78. 60,000 yen per volume.

Rimpa, whether defined narrowly as the painting of Kōrin 光琳 (1658-1716) and his followers or more broadly to include the school of Sōtatsu 宗達 (died ca. 1640), is a term of relatively recent vintage. The art of Sōtatsu, Kōetsu 光悦, Kōrin, Kenzan 乾山, Hōitsu 抱一, and Kiitsu 其一, who have come to be regarded as the key figures in this multifaceted tradition, has nevertheless long held a great appeal in the West. Early connoisseurs, such as

Ernest Fenollosa, the author of *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, saw in what he termed the Kōetsu-Kōrin school the expression of a distinctly Japanese aesthetic outlook. The opinionated Fenollosa had nothing but contempt for literati painting in Japan, which he described as “hardly more than an awkward joke,”¹ but of the Kōetsu-Kōrin school, he wrote:

The Koyetsu-Korin school of design—painting and industries—is, first of all, a prime sign of that natural return to Japanese subject, after the Ashikaga debauch of idealism. . . . [It] was specifically grounded in a study of Japanese forms, first of all in a profound re-study of all the great work of the ancient Tosa and Fujiwara schools, and then in a restatement of this through personal genius, a clear readaptation to new conditions. It got far closer to the heart of the creators of 1200 than the pseudo-Tosas could do, because its purpose was not scholastic but creative.²

While contemporary scholars might not agree with the specifics of this statement, which appeared in 1912, in general spirit it is still consonant with a widely held view of Rimpa.

During the last years of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth centuries, many paintings of the Rimpa tradition entered Western collections—the Freer Gallery's Matsushima screens by Sōtatsu, the screen of the same subject with Kōrin's seal and signature in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, and the screens of Ascending and Descending Dragons by Sōtatsu, also in the Freer, to name only a few. Reproduction and discussion of these as well as many other previously unpublished works housed in American collections is but one reason *Rimpa Kaiga Zenshū* should make a valuable addition to the library of every major museum with a Far Eastern collection or university with a program in Far Eastern art. Unfortunately, the cost (60,000 yen per volume), if not the sheer weight of this five-volume set, puts it beyond the reach of most individuals.

Rimpa Kaiga Zenshū, published under the editorial supervision of Yamane Yūzō between 1977 and 1978, just prior to his retirement from Tokyo University, is a tribute to Yamane both as a scholar and as a teacher. A pioneer in the study of Sōtatsu, during his many years as professor of Japanese art, Yamane guided students into previously unexplored corners of the vast field of Edo painting. His former students, who now dominate the study of Rimpa in Japan, contributed the majority of the essays contained in this collection. Those best represented are Tsuji Nobuo 辻惟雄, Yamane's successor at Tokyo University, Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫, Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, and Kōno Motoaki 河野元昭. Yamane himself wrote at least one article for each volume.

The scope of this set far surpasses that of any previous single publication on Rimpa. The first two volumes are devoted to Sōtatsu and his followers, the third and fourth to Kōrin and his followers, and the fifth to Hōitsu and his followers. Each volume is arranged in five sections. The first contains large color and black-and-white photographs, primarily details of key works. The second is essentially a photographic archive of small black-and-white reproductions of works by or attributed to a particular Rimpa artist. The third contains essays, the

fourth brief captions and explanatory notes on paintings not discussed elsewhere, and the final section clear, concise English summaries of the contents of each essay.

Rimpa Kaiga Zenshū provides as nearly comprehensive a photographic resource on Rimpa painting as is available outside Japan. However, its value as a reference tool is somewhat diminished by the lack of consistency in the organization of the large photographs contained in the first section. In the first two volumes, devoted to Sōtatsu, material is arranged by subject; in the three subsequent ones, by media. This thematic arrangement results in a dispersal of works one would like to see presented as a group. Fan paintings of diverse subjects mounted on a single screen, for instance, must be sought under separate categories. Similarly, Sōtatsu-school ink paintings of Buddhist and Taoist figures and of plants and animals are divided between volumes one and two. These organizational problems are compensated, however, by the systematic presentation by media in the second section.

The essays cover a wide range of topics and vary significantly in scope and approach. While of uniformly high quality on the whole, they are rather specific and narrowly focused. Some represent new research while others are adaptations of earlier publications. The diversity among the essays seems to have been determined in part by the special problems inherent in the study of each artist and in part by the interests of individual scholars.

The identification of Sōtatsu's sources and examination of the way in which he adapts them have long been overriding concerns in research on this great innovator and forerunner of Rimpa. Yamane's “Genji Monogatari: The Sekiya and Miotsukushi Screens” 宗達筆「関屋・湊標図」について is typical of this outlook.³ Yamane discerns in the Genji screens pictorial elements from six different sources, discusses how these have been used for form rather than content, and dates the screens on the basis of their relationship to the Saigyō *monogatari* scroll 西行物語 which Sōtatsu copied in 1630. Kobayashi carries this traditional mode of investigation one step further. He not only examines the specific scenes from which Sōtatsu-school Hōgen and Heiji 保元 - 平治 fans are derived, he also arranges the fans into recensions on the basis of the degree of their relationship to the original model. Kobayashi's “Tawaraya Sōtatsu and His Fan Paintings” thus presents a methodological framework for the examination of other groups of fan paintings.

Takeda Tsuneo's contribution, which spans volumes one and two, is perhaps the most outstanding of the Sōtatsu-related essays. His examination of the evolution of the use of gold ground in screen paintings from the late Muromachi through the early Edo periods helps in understanding Sōtatsu's debt to Momoyama screen painters of the Kano school as well as his innovative exploitation of the spatial potential offered by gold background. In helping to situate Sōtatsu more firmly in his period, Takeda also opens up a little-explored area of research—the nature of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings to which Sōtatsu had access. While it is known that Sōtatsu's Dragon screens in the Freer were modeled after an anonymous Momoyama-period work in

Hompōji 本法寺, and while Takeda hints that Sōtatsu might have been familiar with Kano Tan'yū's 狩野探幽 monumental decoration of Nijō Castle 二条城, this aspect of Sōtatsu's painting deserves further investigation.

While Sōtatsu studies suffer from a near total lack of biographical data, quite the opposite is true of the colorful Kōrin, whose provocative antics were often the talk of the town. Biographical material, including personal letters and sketchbooks, together with an exceptionally large corpus of signed and sealed paintings, is readily available for study. Such rich source material has enabled scholars to document with remarkable precision Kōrin's development as a painter and his artistic contacts as well as his patronage. Much of this already familiar territory is covered in volume three of this set. Particularly noteworthy, because it forces scholars to reassess the traditional view that Kōrin painted sketches after nature, is the recent discovery, discussed by Nishimoto Shūko 西本周子, that the artist's bird and animal sketchbook in the Konishi 小西 family collection is in fact a faithful copy of a scroll painted by Kano Tan'yū that is now in the British Museum.

Yamane's essay, entitled "The Evolution of Kōrin's Painting Style," has the broadest scope of any contribution in the volume devoted to this artist. Its primary thrust, however, is not a stylistic analysis, but rather the establishment of a chronology of Kōrin's works on the basis of seals. This approach is especially important in the study of Kōrin's painting, since the dates of only seven works by him can be firmly established.

Most publications on Rimpa tend to be monographic in approach—focusing on Sōtatsu, Kōrin, and Hōitsu—or so general that the discussion of their followers amounts to little more than name dropping. The present set rectifies this situation by giving reasonable coverage of the two Sōsetsus and of later Rimpa painters such as Fukae Rōshū 深江芦舟, Nakamura Hōchū 中村芳中, and Suzuki Kiitsu 鈴木其一. Useful biographical data and a general discussion of key paintings are included in these essays. The black-and-white photographic materials accompanying these articles are an especially valuable complement, since the paintings by these less well-studied artists have never been gathered into a single reference work. Both the essays and the photographs are important in helping to understand the lines of transmission and dispersal of Sōtatsu and Kōrin styles and models.

Sakai Hōitsu is generally regarded as the founder of a third subgroup within the Rimpa tradition. Although he was inspired by Kōrin's painting, he was born nearly fifty years after the latter's death and so cannot be considered a Kōrin disciple in the strict sense of the word. Hōitsu is also distinguished from his Rimpa predecessors because he was active primarily in Edo rather than Kyoto and, as a result, was exposed to modes of painting fashionable in the capital. In his article on "Hōitsu and Edo Rimpa,"

Kobayashi explores the influence on Hōitsu both of Rimpa as it had developed in Edo following Kōrin's and Kenzan's visits there and of *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵, genre, and Western-style painting. This twofold influence, he explains, gives Hōitsu's work a new character expressive of an aesthetic outlook unique to Edo. While Kobayashi is successful in describing the broader cultural setting, he is less so in explaining the way in which it is manifested in Hōitsu's painting.

Tsuji's article on Kiitsu, contained in the final volume, is worthy of special note. Kiitsu, regarded as the last great exponent of the Rimpa style, has become the subject of serious scholarly inquiry only during the past decade. Although writings on his individual works are scattered throughout Japanese scholarly journals, this essay presents the most comprehensive data available in a single source. As is the case with Kōrin, establishing a chronology of Kiitsu's painting is a thorny problem due to the fact that a sole dated painting is known. A representation of the Asakusa Setsubun Festival 浅草節分, painted in 1857, the year before Kiitsu's death, it is but one of the many key works by him in American collections. In his article Tsuji establishes a corpus of acceptable paintings and discusses their sequence on the basis of changes in signature, seals, and styles.

Rimpa Kaiga Zenshū is a publication aimed at the Japanese academic and scholarly community. While the excellent English summaries appended to each volume give it a more international flavor than most Japanese publications, it lacks the introduction to Rimpa, statement of method, and discussion of major issues in Rimpa studies that many Western scholars would expect to find in a work of this scope. Although Yamane has chosen to include artists from Sōtatsu through Kiitsu under the heading "Rimpa School," nowhere does he discuss in a systematic manner the artistic outlook its members share or the way continuity was maintained from 1600 through 1868. Individual contributions justify considering these artists, so widely separated in time and space, as a school, yet no comprehensive statement to this effect is included. From a Western viewpoint, then, the major weakness of *Rimpa Kaiga Zenshū* lies in its lack of thematic unity. Rich in factual detail, the essays present an additive rather than a well-structured, comprehensive picture of Rimpa. These problems notwithstanding, *Rimpa Kaiga Zenshū* remains the most outstanding publication in the field.

Notes

1. Ernest F. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, 2 vols. (New York, 1912), 2:165.
2. *Ibid.*, 2:127.
3. This rather loose translation of the title of Yamane's article is provided in the English summary, 1:iii.

CHRISTINE GUTH KANDA

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FAMILY PROPERTIES: PERSONAL CONTEXT AND CULTURAL PATTERN IN WANG MENG'S *PIEN MOUNTAINS* OF 1366

By RICHARD VINOGRAD

WANG MENG'S^a *DWELLING IN RETREAT IN THE BLUE PIEN MOUNTAINS* (*Ch'ing Pien yin-chü t'u*)^b of 1366 is one of the best known of Yüan-dynasty paintings (fig. 1). At least since it was proclaimed "the supreme Wang Shu-ming [Meng] painting in the world" by Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang^c (1555-1636) in an inscription that remained attached to the scroll, it has been held in high regard by collectors, connoisseurs, and historians. Commentary has focused on the work's stylistic affinities with the art of the past, on the techniques utilized in its creation, and on its powerful expressive impact; there is general agreement on the unusual, nearly isolated character of the achievement.¹ The present study attempts to bridge the historical isolation of the *Pien Mountains* through a documented reconstruction of the context of event, association, and imagery in which it first appeared. Our examination will conclude with a separate discussion of some problematic issues of interpretation and classification as they bear on our understanding of the *Pien Mountains* painting.

Documentation

Dwelling in Retreat in the Blue Pien Mountains, now in the collection of the Shanghai Museum, is a hanging scroll executed in ink on paper, with dimensions of 141 by 42.2 cm.² The painting is identified and dated in the artist's inscription on the upper right corner of the painting surface: "In the fourth lunar month of the twenty-sixth year of the Chih-cheng reign era [accords with the period between 10 May and 8 June 1366], I, the Yellow Crane Mountain Man Wang Shu-ming, painted this *Dwelling in Retreat in the Blue Pien Mountains* picture" (fig. 1a).

A full history of the *Pien Mountains* painting after Wang Meng's era is beyond the limits of the present study, which will be concerned primarily with the context of the work at the time of its creation. However, since some of the documentation pertaining to the scroll provides evidence on matters of contemporary context, it will be useful to outline the transmission of the painting through various collections and the growth of its reputation. The sequence can be reconstructed from seals and inscriptions on the painting and its mounting as well as from accounts in painting catalogues and

other written records.

The earliest seals on the scroll are probably the four that were impressed, one in each corner, on the painting surface. Each of these corner seals has lost the part of its edge closest to the border of the mounting (fig. 1). The four truncated seals, read clockwise from the upper left, may be rendered, respectively: "Surname Chao" (*Chao hsing*);^d "Chao" (the same surname as the first); "the Eminent Family of the State of Wei" (*Wei-kuo shih-chia*);^e and "Studio of Integrity" (*Chen-pai Chai*).¹³ The identification of these seals will be taken up later in this section.

The trimming of the four corner seals must have occurred during a remounting of the scroll sometime before 1560. The latter date was approximately the end of the period of activity of Hua Hsia^g (*tsu*: Chung-fu,^h b. 1498) of Liang-hsi, whose studio was known as the Chen-shang Chai,ⁱ or Studio of True Appreciation.⁴ Hua was a contemporary and friend of Wen Cheng-ming^j (1470-1559), whose paintings for Hua included a depiction of Hua's studio.⁵ Hua Hsia's seal appears on the lower right side of the *Pien Mountains* scroll and, unlike the corner seals, is complete.⁶ Hua is identified as the former owner of the painting in the earliest extant catalogue description, found in Wang K'o-yü's^k *Shan-hu-wang hua-lu*, which has a preface dated in accordance with 1643.⁷ The record of paintings contained in the *Shan-hu-wang hua-lu* was derived from various sources; some of the works were paintings known first-hand, being either part of Wang K'o-yü's own collection or in those of friends, while other accounts were transcribed from written sources.⁸ The chapter in which the *Pien Mountains* scroll is recorded is of the latter type, compiled from an assortment of earlier texts that contained records of notable collections of past ages.⁹ The *Pien Mountains* entry appears under the heading of the collection of one "Master Hua from Liang-hsi," whose studio is identified as the Chen-shang Chai; the list was drawn from a text entitled *Feng Tao-sheng fu*.¹⁰ Wang Meng's painting is recorded under the title inscribed on the extant scroll in Shanghai, with the added description of the work as a small hanging scroll.¹¹ The only additional information recorded about the painting is that it was painted for a "Master Chao."

The entry in *Shan-hu-wang hua-lu* does not

provide firm evidence for Wang K'o-yü's direct knowledge of the *Pien Mountains* scroll, but the possibility must be granted because Wang K'o-yü's father, Wang Ai-ching,¹ was a contemporary and close friend of Hua Hsia's successor as owner of the painting, namely, Hsiang Yüan-pien^m (1525–1590), the most prominent collector and connoisseur of paintings of his era.¹² Eight of Hsiang's seals appear in various areas on the *Pien Mountains* scroll.¹³ Hsiang, in turn, provides a link with another key figure in the history of the painting, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, who served as a tutor in Hsiang's household and was shown most of the paintings in Hsiang's collection.¹⁴ In addition to Tung's own inscriptions on the painting (the longer of the two, dated in accordance with 1620, is on the *shih-t'ang*ⁿ [lit., "poetry hall"; denotes paper mounted on a scroll for annotations] of Chin-su-shan^o sutra paper mounted above the painting, and the inscription quoted above is on the upper panel of framing silk), Tung's ownership of the *Pien Mountains* scroll is further verified in others of his recorded colophons.¹⁵

After Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's death in 1636, the *Pien Mountains* painting passed through the hands of two of the most notable collectors of the early Ch'ing period. The scroll bears the seal of Keng Chao-chung^p (ca. 1640–1686), a general and high official of the K'ang-hsi period.¹⁶ Another seal was added by Liang Ch'ing-piao^q (1620–1691), recognized as one of the most discerning connoisseurs of his own or any age.¹⁷

The next circumstantial account of the *Pien Mountains* scroll appears in Wu Sheng's^r *Ta-kuan lu*, written around 1712.¹⁸ Wu Sheng's entry does not indicate whether the scroll was in his own or another's collection when he saw it, but his detailed description of the painting, recording both dimensions and materials, suggests first-hand knowledge. The next catalogue account of the scroll appeared in An Ch'i's^s *Mo-yüan hui-kuan lu*, written in the early 1740s.¹⁹ Two of An Ch'i's seals are impressed to the viewer's right of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's inscription on the *shih-t'ang*, with another on the left-hand side of the painting proper and two more on the center right of the scroll.²⁰

Many of the paintings in An Ch'i's collection were acquired by the Ch'ien-lung^t emperor in 1746, and it is likely that *Pien Mountains* was among these.²¹ The title label of the scroll, written by Ch'ien-lung, includes an assessment of the work as genuine and of the "superior upper divine class"; Ch'ien-lung's own appreciative inscription is written on the painting proper. Among the many seals impressed on the painting by Ch'ien-lung was the group of five

reserved for his most esteemed treasures.²²

The precise circumstances under which the *Pien Mountains* scroll left the imperial collection are unclear, but it seems rather quickly to have passed into private hands. Impressed on the lower left-hand side of the painting surface is the seal of Li Tsung-han^u (1769–1831), a poet and collector from Lin-ch'uan, Kiangsi; another of his seals appears on the lower right edge, just above that of Liang Ch'ing-piao.²³ From Li's collection the scroll passed into the hands of Ti Man-nung,^v an official active in the early 1860s in Kiangsi Province; the history of the scroll while in Ti's collection was recorded by his son, the late nineteenth–early twentieth-century publisher and collector Ti P'ing-tzu.^{w24}

On a square of silk mounted below the picture are seven brief passages written by twentieth-century writers. These range in date from April–May 1907 to April–May 1944 and record viewings of the scroll by the writers, who included such notable scholar-connoisseurs as Lo Chen-yü^x and Wu Hu-fan.^{y25} The *Pien Mountains* scroll was put on the market in Shanghai by the heirs of Ti P'ing-tzu around 1944.²⁶ After passing into the hands of Wei T'ing-jung,^z it went to the Shanghai Committee for the Protection of Cultural Properties by 1957 and thereafter into the collection of the Shanghai Museum, whose seal is the scroll's most recent.²⁷

As noted above, the belief that *Dwelling in Retreat in the Blue Pien Mountains* had been painted for a "Master Chao" was entered into the record by the mid-seventeenth century, and it is quite likely that this understanding had been part of the lore surrounding the painting for a century or more before that time.²⁸ This recipient is presumably the Chao associated with the two upper corner seals on the scroll, those reading "Surname Chao" and "Chao." Since the lower corner seals correspond to these in position and have also been trimmed on their outer edges, they logically should belong to the same set. These two seals convey rather more specific information about the identity of the recipient of Wang Meng's painting.

The lower right corner seal reads *Wei-kuo shih-chia*. A similar seal was impressed on several other recorded paintings, where it has been associated at various times with any of three descendants of Wang Meng's grandfather Chao Meng-fu:^{3a} either one of Chao's sons, Chao Yung^{ab} or Chao I,^{ac} or his grandson (Wang Meng's cousin) Chao Lin.^{ad29} The reference to "Wei-kuo," or the Wei kingdom, points to Chao Meng-fu's posthumous elevation to the honorary rank of "Duke of Wei"; thus, the text of the seal might be rendered either as "[Seal of] the

Eminent Family of the Wei Kingdom" or as "Generational Seal of the Family of the [Duke of] Wei Kingdom."³⁰ The date of Chao Yung's death is not precisely known, but it has been suggested that he died around 1362, some years before the execution of the *Pien Mountains* scroll.³¹ In that case, the person most likely to have continued using the seal up to the time of the painting's execution in 1366 would have to be either Chao I or Chao Lin, who, along with Chao Yung, were lineal descendants of Chao Meng-fu.³² The identity of the recipient of the *Pien Mountains* is further illuminated by the content of the remaining seal in the lower left corner. *Chen-pai Chai* was used on another occasion by Chao Lin, who, like his father Chao Yung and his grandfather Chao Meng-fu, was both painter and official.³³ The evidence of these seals and the early catalogue records thus permits a confident identification of the recipient of Wang Meng's *Pien Mountains* as Chao Lin; there are, as well, other significant facts that support this identification.

The Personal Context of the Pien Mountains: Chao Lin and Wang Meng

The evidence of Chao Lin's biography and of records of his original works is entirely consistent with his identification as the recipient of the *Pien Mountains* scroll. Available records indicate that Chao Lin's chief period of activity extended from roughly 1350 to around 1370.³⁴ He had been a student in the Kuo-tzu-hsüeh,³⁵ a kind of national college or academy for the children of officials, where his status would have depended on the accomplishments of his forebears Chao Meng-fu and Chao Yung.³⁵ After graduating he became an official; in 1365, just before the *Pien Mountains* scroll was painted, he was serving as *chien-chiao*,³⁶ or censor, in the province of Chiang-che (comprising much of the same area as modern Kiangsu and Chekiang), a large area that included the Pien Mountains and nearby Wu-hsing, the home of the Chao family and of Wang Meng.³⁶ Chao Lin may also have served as the prefect of Chü-chou in what is now southeastern Shantung Province, and there are also indications that he served as an official at the Yüan court in Ta-tu (Peking).³⁷

Chao Lin was a notable literary and artistic figure who followed his immediate ancestors' approach to literature and painting. Most of the paintings attributed to Chao Lin are of horses and grooms, following one of the specialties of his grandfather. Chao Lin's talent as a painter, however, seems to have been much narrower than that of Chao Meng-

fu or even Chao Yung.³⁸ Nevertheless, Chao Lin inherited, if not their talent, a considerable cultural prestige from his forebears, as well as, more concretely, the Ou-p'o-t'ing,³⁹ or Gull-wave Pavilion, which had been the famous studio of Chao Meng-fu in his native Wu-hsing. Chao Lin held gatherings there with friends such as Yang Chi⁴⁰ and Chang Yü.⁴¹ The Gull-wave Pavilion also connected Chao Lin to the Pien Mountains in that it was said to have commanded a view of that range. This is indicated by several colophons written by contemporaries for one of Chao Lin's recorded paintings, the *Landscape of the T'iao Stream* (*T'iao-ch'i shan-shui t'u*).⁴² In the fifteen colophons added to this scroll, several themes recur persistently: Chao Lin's relation to Chao Meng-fu and the former's inheritance of the Gull-wave Pavilion; the view of the Pien Mountains commanded by the pavilion; and the present desolation of the scene with the owner long absent.⁴³ The first of two quatrains added by Ch'ien Wei-shan⁴⁴ is representative of the repeated allusions to these themes:

Flowers on the T'iao Stream fall like snow; a late wind bears the
smell of carnage.

It is said that there still exists a Gull-wave Pavilion.

But the Duke's scion doesn't return; he departed on the stream.
Although the Pien Mountains are excellent, for whom will they
display their blueness?⁴⁵

The "Duke's scion" refers to Chao Lin's descent from Chao Meng-fu, the Duke of Wei, and echoes a similar reference in several of the other colophons to Chao Lin's connection, through Chao Meng-fu, to the Sung royal family.⁴⁶ The now lost painting is undated; two of the colophons include dates corresponding to 1373 and 1378.⁴⁷ Some of the colophons recall cultural gatherings at the Gull-wave Pavilion and contrast these past events with the present neglect of the site; others mention the distantly wandering owner or inquire rhetorically as to his whereabouts.⁴⁸ The texts are conventionally allusive, and the precise chronology of painting and colophons is uncertain. Nevertheless, taken as a group, the colophons suggest a consistent set of circumstances: Chao Lin painted the scenery surrounding his family studio and the nearby Pien Mountains; some years later, a series of colophons was added to the painting by associates, many of whom make reference to the absence of Chao Lin from the region of the pavilion and to the desolation of the site. This summary accords with what we know of Chao Lin's circumstances in 1366, when the *Pien Mountains* scroll was painted.

Wang Meng's contact with Chao Lin and his work

is documented by Wang's colophon for a handscroll of *Horses and Grooms*, composed of a series of three paintings by three generations of the Chao family: Chao Meng-fu, Chao Yung, and Chao Lin.⁴⁶ Wang's colophon is undated, but it must have been written after 1360, the year when Chao Lin's contribution to the series was completed. The handscroll had been put together by the owner of a Chao Meng-fu *Horse and Groom* painting; it was he who later asked Chao Yung and Chao Lin to paint matching subjects, as they did in 1359 and 1360, respectively.⁴⁷ The entire scroll had thus been designed to form a record of a family cultural tradition; Wang Meng's colophon emphatically states his own sense of familial pride and continuity.⁴⁸

Our account of Chao Lin's situation at the time Wang Meng painted the *Pien Mountains* can be concluded with a summary of the available data: Chao Lin periodically visited the Gull-wave Pavilion, which was within sight of the Pien Mountains in his home region of Wu-hsing. By at least 1365, Chao Lin was in office in the region that included Wu-hsing. Seals used by Chao Lin appear on the *Pien Mountains* scroll, traditionally said to have been painted for a Master Chao. Five months after the *Pien Mountains* painting was signed, Chao Lin inscribed a painting of *Bamboo and Rocks* that had been executed by his grandmother Kuan Tao-sheng.⁴⁹ Chao Lin had come across this picture while in Wu-hsi (Ch'i-yang County, Hunan Province), where, according to his inscription on the scroll, he was lodging after "fleeing disturbances."⁵⁰ Chao Lin was then in the company of his uncle, Chao I, who also inscribed Kuan Tao-sheng's painting on the same day.⁵¹ The disturbances from which the two men were refugees may well have been the same events that caused the despoliation of the area around the Gull-wave Pavilion which was noted in the colophons for Chao Lin's *T'iao Stream* handscroll. These disturbances were very likely connected with the military campaigns that were sweeping over the Wu-hsing region precisely when the inscriptions were written, in 1366.

The year 1366, when the *Pien Mountains* scroll was painted, was dominated in southeastern China by the ongoing struggle for military and political ascendancy over the region and, ultimately, all of China. This contest, with its shifting tides, temporary alliances and accommodations, and changing claims upon the loyalties and services of those who lived in the region, had been a dominant factor in the society at least since the serious economic and social disturbances of the mid-1350s.⁵² All of the populace was affected by the economic and personal disloca-

tions that followed in the wake of armed conflict; recurring natural calamities added to the hardships of the time.⁵³ The educated elite was additionally burdened with quandaries of loyalty and responsibility, facing the choice of service under the Mongol rulers of the Yüan, allegiance to rebel leaders, or the sometimes involuntary option of nonservice. Even the last alternative was often conditioned by public events: retirement, instead of constituting a complete removal from contamination by the public convulsions of the time, was very often a conventional response determined by the condition of the state, one intended as a deliberate political act based on old cultural precedents and interpreted accordingly.⁵⁴

The protagonists in the struggles in the southeast during the decade before 1366 were Chu Yüan-chang,^{am} the eventual victor and founder of the Ming dynasty, and Chang Shih-ch'eng.^{an55} Chang was a one-time salt smuggler whose petty depredations turned later to large-scale rebellion and conflict with forces of the Yüan government. He and his allies eventually gained a stronghold in the southeast, capturing the territory around Suchou in the spring of 1356 and winning control of Hangchou by late in the following year.⁵⁶ Chang settled his government in Suchou, patterning its organization on the Yüan model. Under military pressure from Chu Yüan-chang in 1357, Chang reached an understanding with the Yüan whereby he served nominally as a Yüan official while retaining autonomy within his domain. Around 1363, Chang again initiated an expansionist policy, with some success. He broke with the Yüan, arrogated to himself the title of Prince of Wu, and adopted an independent system of dates and year designations. At about the same time, Chu Yüan-chang, having in the meantime disposed of yet another rival, began to concentrate his efforts against Chang Shih-ch'eng once more. Significant success came to Chu in 1365 and 1366, when his forces seized Chang's territory north of the Yangtze. A decisive victory was obtained on 2 December 1366 at Chiu-kuan, about ten miles east of Wu-hsing, where Chu's troops, under the command of Generals Hsü Ta^{ao} and Ch'ang Yü-ch'un,^{ap} won a battle that concluded a campaign initiated on 6 September of that year.⁵⁷

This campaign is of particular relevance to the subject of the *Pien Mountains* because during its course Wang Meng's home region of Wu-hsing was engulfed in armed conflict. In the light of the characterization of the Wu-hsing region as a placid backwater by some contemporary observers, it seems likely that the campaign in 1366 would have had a profound psychological impact on those who

thought of the Wu-hsing area as a congenial setting for retirement.⁵⁸ Considering that Chu Yüan-chang's forces alone totaled some two hundred thousand troops, the destructive impact on the region must have been immense.⁵⁹ The Pien Mountains were the site of a number of skirmishes; the most intense fighting there took place in November 1366 between the forces of Chu Yüan-chang's general, Ch'ang Yü-ch'un, and those of Chang Shih-ch'eng's commander, P'an Yüan-shao.^{aq60} After the collapse of the Wu-hsing region, Hangchou, Shao-hsing, and Chia-hsing fell in succession in December 1366. Suchou itself was besieged on 27 December 1366 and fell on 1 October 1367.⁶¹

Wang Meng's own activities during the period of the mid-1360s can be reconstructed in some detail, but important questions of loyalties and service remain unresolved. Born in Wu-hsing in the first decade of the fourteenth century, Wang displayed an aptitude for scholarship and literary composition early in life.⁶² His interests must have been guided by his father, Wang Kuo-ch'i,^{at} a poet, connoisseur, and minor painter, and by the examples of his illustrious maternal relations Chao Meng-fu and Chao Yung. Wang Meng married and served as a provincial prosecutor in the Yüan government. At some point in the late Yüan, he retired in the face of the disordered circumstances of the time and region. Although Wang's activities during this period seem to have centered around his retreat on Yellow Crane Mountain near Hangchou, he also traveled about the southeast, often in the region of Lake T'ai. He visited sites of scenic or historical interest and participated with like-minded friends in gatherings marked by philosophical discussion, poetry composition, and the appreciation of paintings and other antiquities. Wang established friendships with many of the outstanding poets, artists, and belletrists of the region during this period. Most importantly, he began around 1341 to devote himself to the cultivation of his talents as a landscapist, these skills reaching maturity in the 1350s and 1360s. In the 1360s the principal arena of his activities shifted to Suchou.

Information about Wang Meng's political involvement during the mid-1360s is piecemeal and indirect, drawn largely from records of paintings and personal associations. Late in 1364, Wang Meng traveled to Mount Ling-yen near Suchou; after this visit, he painted a *Bamboo and Rock* hanging scroll (fig. 6) for the retiree Chang Te-chi^{as} and added four poems in the *chüeh-chü*^{at} form.⁶³ The poems allude to legends surrounding the ancient state of Wu in the Suchou area, involving the treacherous beauty Hsi

Shih^{au} (whose palace had been on Mount Ling-yen), the betrayed Prince of Wu who lost his country, and the Yüeh minister and alchemist Fan Li,^{av} who had helped defeat the Prince of Wu but rejected wealth and fame to retire to a life of solitary wandering in a boat.⁶⁴ Wang Meng referred to these legends several times in his poetry of the 1360s, and although they were conventional allusions when Suchou was the theme, a more pointed reference to the present predicament of the Wu region was probably intended.⁶⁵ Wang Meng himself had been compared to Fan Li several times in the poetry of Ni Tsan,^{aw} and the circumstance of southeast China being divided into combative local power centers must have seemed, to Wang and his contemporaries, a clear enough echo of the competition between Yüeh and Wu to call up the old legends.⁶⁶ The legends addressed precisely the issues—the distractions of luxury, choices between competing loyalties, the dilemma of involvement versus escape—that were of pressing concern to Wang Meng and many of his friends at just this time.

Another *Bamboo and Rock* painting by Wang Meng that may have been completed around 1364 bears on questions of political involvement.⁶⁷ The work was painted for the Taoist Hsi Ying-chen^{ax} (1302–1381), a notable student of military affairs; Wang Meng's association with him raises the possibility that Wang may have sought an active role in countering the social and military disintegration of the time.⁶⁸ The two men who added inscriptions to the painting are examples of men of culture who sought activist, leadership roles in political and military affairs: Wang Hsing^{ay} was part of the circle of poets and scholars centered in Suchou known as the "Ten Friends of the North Wall," while the monk Tao-yen,^{az} or Yao Kuang-hsiao^{ba} (1335–1418), studied military affairs with Hsi Ying-chen and became a powerful political advisor in the early Ming period.⁶⁹

There is some evidence to suggest that Wang Meng assumed official responsibilities again in the 1360s. A work by Ch'en Chi^{bb} (preface dated 1364) includes poems dedicated to Wang Meng that identify him as a *chang-shih*,^{bc} a prefectural office chief.⁷⁰ Moreover, a reference to Wang Meng as holder of the same office occurs in the works of Yang Chi.⁷¹ Yang also composed a song for "Master Yellow Crane, Wang *lu-shih*,^{bd} Shu-ming"; the *lu-shih* was a low-level civil official, roughly equivalent to an office manager.⁷² Although it cannot be firmly established for whom Wang Meng rendered such services, Chang Shih-ch'eng's government in Suchou would seem the most likely sponsor, if these references indeed

point to Wang Meng's activities in the mid-1360s.⁷³ Wang Meng could have assuaged feelings of loyalty to the Yüan by assuming service under Chang Shih-ch'eng during the period in which he made a nominal rapprochement with the Yüan government, from 1357 until 1363. In the latter year, however, Chang again claimed independence from Mongol rule, making all those scholars he had recruited in the interim rebels and perhaps precipitating Wang Meng's poetic preoccupation with themes of loyalty and involvement and his interest in military learning.⁷⁴ Whatever the exact circumstances of Wang Meng's service, his choices were complicated ones: Wang had served the Yüan early in his career, and his esteemed relatives Chao Meng-fu, Chao Yung, and Chao Lin were all Yüan officials. Early in the Ming period, Wang Meng would return to political life once more to hold a significant office under Chang Shih-ch'eng's great rival, Chu Yüan-chang.⁷⁵

Records of Wang Meng's artistic activities illuminate his associations and general outlook during the years 1365 and 1366. In the third lunar month of 1365, Wang visited the poet Yüan K'ai^{bc} in Sung-chiang and painted a now lost *Cloudy Mountains* (*Yün-shan t'u*)^{bl} scroll for him, a work described by the recipient as a powerfully unsettling and awe-inspiring image.⁷⁶ Soon after, Wang painted his monumental *Lofty Recluse in Summer Mountains* (*Hsia-shan kao-yin t'u*)^{bg} for one "Retiree Yen-ming"^{bh} in Suchou, which focused on the alternative of eremitic withdrawal.⁷⁷ Just ten days after signing the latter picture, Wang painted a handscroll depicting the *Listening to the Rain Pavilion* (*T'ing-yü-lou t'u*)^{bi} of Lu Shih-heng;^{bj} the pavilion was a celebrated gathering place in the Suchou area for politically and culturally eminent figures.⁷⁸ Wang Meng's painting of the pavilion was added to a pre-existent series of verses, stimulated by an original poem that had been written by Chang Yü^{bk} in 1348 for Lu Shih-heng's father; thus, Wang Meng's painting was part of a gesture of familial continuity.⁷⁹ Three months later, Wang Meng's concern with maintaining family tradition was expressed in his long colophon on a famous rubbing of calligraphy that had been inscribed no less than sixteen times by his grandfather Chao Meng-fu.⁸⁰ Wang's colophon is filled with his sense of delight at obtaining the treasure, mingled with wonderment at the survival of such a concrete example of cultural continuity in general and of familial traditions in particular.⁸¹ A recorded *Portrait of the Great Master T'ien-chen* (*T'ien-chen ta-shih hsiang*),^{bl} undated but bearing an inscription dated 1365, was one of Wang Meng's

few portraits and indicates some concern with commemoration; Wang's poems for the scroll are Taoist in flavor and suggest the attractiveness of an uncaring escape from all worldly concerns.⁸²

In the late spring of 1366, Wang painted *Wind and Rain on the Broken Window* (*P'o-ch'uang feng-yü t'u*)^{bm} for Liu I,^{bn} another case of his adding a painting to an existing series of texts.⁸³ Liu was an impoverished scholar who, much buffeted by the unsettled circumstances of the time, had been forced by the military upheavals to move frequently; two of the essays, dated in accordance with 1363 and 1364, note that Liu's most recent residence had been in Wang Meng's home city of Wu-hsing.⁸⁴ When Wang Meng added a painting to the assembled writings brought to him by Liu I, he may well have been feeling kinship with a refugee who had come from his home region.

Sometime during the period between 10 May and 8 June 1366, Wang Meng finished his *Dwelling in Retreat in the Blue Pien Mountains*, which, as has been discussed above, was in all likelihood painted for his cousin Chao Lin. The assembled evidence indicates that in the years immediately preceding the execution of this painting, Wang had been moving about in the region of the southeast, concerned with questions of loyalty and social responsibility, with the choice between involvement and reclusion, and with assertions of familial and cultural continuity in the face of severe disruption. His image of retreat in the Pien Mountains, a site imbued with long-standing familial associations, was painted for a cousin who, within a few months' time, would be forced to flee the southeast in the face of military turmoil. Moreover, the cousins may have been separated not only by circumstances, but by conflicting political allegiances as well. Given that the trend of affairs was clear and that the major military campaigns in the Wu-hsing region in late 1366 were foreshadowed earlier in the year, Wang Meng's *Pien Mountains* painting may have been accompanied, or perhaps stimulated, by just these events: the disruption of Chao Lin's withdrawal (or of the possibility of withdrawal) to a retreat in the area of the Pien Mountains on account of the disorders engulfing the Wu-hsing region. The *Pien Mountains* scroll would thus have been a depiction of a retreat no longer secure against the confusion of the age, a portrayal in landscape of a breakdown in a familial tradition that Wang Meng valued immensely.

The Pien Mountains as Topographical and Cultural Setting

The creation and presentation of Wang Meng's *Pien Mountains* painting occurred within the context of a dynamic series of historical events and was itself a momentous cultural event. The work represents the transformation of an image of the Pien Mountains that had a topographical, literary, and art-historical shape dating from long before 1366. The Pien Mountains are located about eighteen *li* (approximately six English miles) northwest of Wu-hsing.⁸⁵ Their maximum height is approximately six thousand feet, and the range extends for a total of roughly thirty-three miles.⁸⁶ Descriptions of the mountains gathered from various sources and published in the local gazeteers emphasize their wild remoteness, the presence of a number of caverns, and three dominating crags known as the Elegant, Cloudy, and Emerald crags; the latter is the highest and most remote and was said to command a view of the waters of Lake T'ai (figs. 4, 5).⁸⁷

The legendary history of the mountains provides explanations for the two alternate characters, both pronounced *pien*, that were used more or less interchangeably to refer to the site. The first of these, that employed by Wang Meng in his painting title,⁸⁸ is a family name supposed to have become associated with the mountains after Pien Ho⁸⁹ gathered jade there; the alternate character⁹⁰ refers to a conical ceremonial cap whose shape was discerned in the mountains' form.⁸⁸ Another tradition concerning the Pien Mountains held that refugees fleeing the disturbances surrounding the revolt of Huang Ch'ao⁹¹ at the end of the T'ang period settled in caverns in the western sector of the mountains.⁸⁹ Thus, along with a certain physical presence, the Pien Mountains had from early times some special associations with the idea of a refuge or retreat.

The kind of topography of associations that could grow to surround a site was fixed especially by cultural accretions—poems, essays, and paintings about the site that became part of local lore and often became more important and better known than the physical aspect of the place.⁹⁰ In the Sung period, Yeh Meng-te⁹² composed one of the earlier poems about the Pien Mountains, emphasizing their ruggedness and isolation.⁹¹ Yang Wei-ch'en,⁹³ Wang Meng's contemporary, relied on images that convey a transcendence of the ordinary world in his poems on the Pien Mountains, while another contemporary, Chang Yü, confirmed the associations of isolation and retreat by references to traces of ancient refugees from the Ch'in dynasty.⁹²

The first records of a pictorial tradition surrounding the Pien Mountains appear in the early Yüan period, when the group of artists and writers known as the "Eight Talents of Wu-hsing" made the region a significant center of cultural activity.⁹³ One of the major figures in that circle was the painter, scholar, and literary man Ch'ien Hsüan⁹⁴ (1235–ca. 1300); his *Gazing toward the Snow on the Pien Mountains* (*Pien-shan hsüeh-wang t'u*),⁹⁵ now lost, was considered one of the artist's finest landscapes.⁹⁴ Another of the cultural leaders of the early Yüan, Chou Mi,⁹⁶ called himself "The Old Man from the South Side of the Pien Mountains."⁹⁵ Both Ch'ien Hsüan and Chou Mi were close friends of Wang Meng's grandfather Chao Meng-fu, whose writing and painting must have been particularly influential in forming Wang Meng's image of the place. Chao Meng-fu left poetic accounts of his sojourns in the Pien Mountains, including two verses entitled "Again Traveling in the Pien Mountains" that describe them as a remote and peaceful retreat, an appropriate place to settle in obscurity.⁹⁶ Another of Chao's poems on the same theme presents a rather gloomier image of the site during a storm but concludes with the speaker finding the mountains a satisfactory retreat.⁹⁷ Yet another of Chao's poems mentions ascending a storied pavilion and gazing upon the Pien Mountains, as if Chao's home or studio commanded a prospect of the mountains.⁹⁸

The most crucial of Chao Meng-fu's influences on Wang Meng's conception of the Pien Mountains would no doubt have been Chao's own painting of the site, known to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang in the late Ming period but now lost.⁹⁹ Tung's account of the two works suggests that there may have been some stylistic, as well as thematic, link between them; enough, at least, so that when Tung moored his boat at the site he could confirm that both had captured the "spirit-radiance" (*shen-chao*)¹⁰⁰ of the mountains.¹⁰⁰ Chao Meng-fu's poetic references to the Pien Mountains and his visits there should have been sufficient to endow the area with an aura of familial tradition, and Chao's painting of the subject may have been an important precedent for Wang's *Pien Mountains* scroll. However, unlike other instances where Wang Meng repeated a theme that had been painted by Chao and some stylistic indebtedness is clear, there is little in Chao Meng-fu's art that could be said to account for the formal, compositional, or expressive qualities of Wang's *Pien Mountains* picture.¹⁰¹

The closest and most concrete thematic precedent for Wang Meng's 1366 painting of the Pien Mountains occurred in his own oeuvre: a handscroll

entitled *The Small Retreat of Master Cloudy Forest* (or *Small Retreat in the Cloudy Forest*; Yün-lin hsiao-yin t'u,^{by} fig. 2) that Wang painted for his nephew Ts'ui Yen-hui.^{bz} Colophons written for the scroll place Ts'ui's retreat in the Pien Mountains and provide an unusually eloquent record of the significance of the retreat for Ts'ui and his contemporaries; the painting thus provides relevant background for both the pictorial and the expressive qualities of the 1366 *Pien Mountains*.

The *Cloudy Forest* handscroll is undated, and the evidence of the colophons is inconclusive as regards a date of execution.¹⁰² The present location of the scroll is unknown, but photographic reproductions adequately document the main stylistic and compositional features and permit useful comparisons with dated works.¹⁰³ The composition, divided into three distinct sections by broad bands of water, is notable for the regularity of its spatial divisions, the stability and discreteness of forms arranged parallel to the picture plane, a placid treatment of surfaces, and a somewhat constructive approach to building large forms out of repeated smaller ones. These qualities are most directly paralleled, in Wang Meng's own oeuvre, in his *Dwelling in Seclusion in Summer Mountains* (*Hsia-shan yin-chü t'u*)^{ca} of 1354 (fig. 3) and, among the works of elder contemporaries whose influence on Wang is documented, in Huang Kung-wang's^{cb} *Rivers and Hills before Rain* (*Ch'i-shan yü-i t'u*),^{cc} probably executed in the 1330s.¹⁰⁴ These stylistic relationships suggest a date of execution for the *Cloudy Forest* handscroll sometime in the late 1340s or 1350s.

According to Wang Meng's inscription, *Cloudy Forest* was dedicated to [Master] Yen-hui; Wang also composed a "Song for [Master] Cloudy Forest" ("Yün-lin ts'u")^d and inscribed it on the painting.¹⁰⁵ One of the colophons further identifies Yen-hui as Master Ts'ui from Ch'ien-t'ang.¹⁰⁶ A recorded painting by Wang Meng, entitled *Chanting the Classics in a Thatched Room* (*Mao-wu feng chin t'u*)^{ce} and painted in 1348, was also dedicated to Ts'ui Yen-hui; Wang's inscription on that work identifies Ts'ui as Wang's nephew (through marriage).¹⁰⁷ Wang's poem for that painting seems to refer to Ts'ui's life of retirement, which accords with some of the colophons written for the *Cloudy Forest* handscroll in describing a retirement occupied with scholarship and quite unconcerned with worldly matters.¹⁰⁸

Wang Meng's "Song for [Master] Cloudy Forest" is a difficult poem, couched in a rich, botanistic diction that is evocative of the style of the "Songs of the South" ("Ch'u tz'u")^d associated with the Warring States poet Ch'u Yüan.^g¹⁰⁹ Wang Meng

may have intended this poem for his recluse nephew to recall the thematic concern of those earlier songs with the virtuous subject who, though rejected by his ruler, yet maintains his upright character.

Some of the colophons written for the scroll are more circumstantial in describing Ts'ui Yen-hui's life and personality. The salient biographical features that emerge from these and other accounts are that Ts'ui was a great-grandson of Chao Meng-fu on his mother's side; he seems never to have held office, choosing rather to devote himself to scholarly pursuits, calligraphy, and painting at his retreat in the Pien Mountains.¹¹⁰ He earned part of his living by gathering and selling medicinal plants. Ts'ui thus held one of the purer positions in the range of choices that confronted men of education and talent in southeastern China in the mid-fourteenth century: that of uncompromising, high-minded retreat.

Evaluations of Ts'ui's character by contemporary observers reveal attitudes that may have influenced Wang Meng's paintings of the "reclusive dwelling" theme in general; they also help to elucidate the particular significance of the Pien Mountains for Wang. It is clear that for his contemporaries, Ts'ui Yen-hui's retreat was intimately bound up with Ts'ui's character. The sense of place that pervades Hsü I-k'uei's^{ch} colophon for the *Cloudy Forest* handscroll suggests that Ts'ui Yen-hui and his surroundings were seen as totally complementary and interpenetrating:

Master Ts'ui of Ch'ien-t'ang dwelt in this period amidst the walls and gates of the marketplace. . . . It reached the point where Master Yen-hui, whose thoughts transcended the dusty world, found the place unbearable. So he planned to depart and go elsewhere. His family on his mother's side was the Chao clan of Wu-hsing, so he traveled about on the Cha Stream there. . . . One day he was ambling from the foot of the Pien Mountains, wandering around a mountain stream valley for about five or six li, when before him he saw a great valley with various species of fir and pine, evergreen oaks and cassia—a great forest of trees standing there. . . . At the time, a fresh rain was clearing, and the clouds lodged in the sky hadn't completely dispersed. . . . the valley was shadowed in the dawn. Yen-hui wavered and couldn't bear to leave. Sighing, he said to himself: "Isn't this sufficient to shelter me?" Consequently, with tools and timber he made a lodging place. . . . In his leisure time he would take books by the ancients and peruse several lines. He also relished the large seal [Chou]^{ci} script and at times, using the icy seal method, he would make simple wooden calligraphy plaques for doorways. When the calligraphy he was writing was finished, he would again don his mountaineer's kerchief and wilderness costume and loiter about beneath the high and vast forest. Looking up he saw the clouds arrive and, just as randomly, depart without a trace, drifting gently. It was as if he could meet with them, both he and the clouds [temporarily] forgetting their outer forms. Consequently, he gave himself the sobriquet: "The Small Retreat in the Cloudy Forest." His intent was that the great retreats were in the cities or at court.

"I, because without talent, after all will place myself among the smaller ones."¹¹¹

One of the ways in which a landscape could become endowed with human personality is here revealed: Ts'ui Yen-hui's retreat in the Pien Mountains represented a conscious affirmation of his own character. Ts'ui's discovery of a site and his building of a dwelling there is imbued with the quality of a self-discovery that culminated in his epiphany under the drifting clouds, when he gave himself and his studio a new name and identity.

Another of the colophons on the *Cloudy Forest* handscroll describes Ts'ui Yen-hui's move from Ch'ien-t'ang to the Wu-hsing area in terms of a decisive shift between locales that differ not only economically and geophysically, but in moral dimensions as well.¹¹² Ch'ien-t'ang, in this formulation, represented involvement in polity and society, while Wu-hsing was portrayed as a district of peace, scenic beauty, and retirement. The places are defined through the eyes of past writers in a literate geography that lends the characterizations an especially enduring and historical tone. For a native of Ch'ien-t'ang like Ts'ui Yen-hui, the choice of Wu-hsing was a deliberate statement of his goals and self-image—a "renunciation of worldly desires" expressive of "high purpose and aims."¹¹³

Ts'ui Yen-hui's choices were the same as those which confronted Wang Meng, who alternated the responsibilities and rewards of official status with periods of retirement from public and worldly cares. Wang Meng's paintings on the theme of reclusion were the most eloquent and powerful expressions of his attitudes toward the alternatives of involvement and withdrawal; a comparison of the *Cloudy Forest* and *Pien Mountains* pictures in terms of formal and thematic treatment is especially revealing in this regard.

The two works differ in format and may well depict different sites within the Pien Mountains; moreover, if the hypothesis presented above concerning the date of the *Cloudy Forest* scroll is correct, some of the differences between the two may have resulted from broad developmental trends within Wang Meng's art. The differences in treatment of the reclusion theme are nonetheless revealing. Given the extreme reclusive character of Ts'ui Yen-hui, the overlapping flanks of ridges and hills that function as barriers to the entry of the viewer into the scene of the *Cloudy Forest* seem designed to create a mountain privacy for the dwellings at the center (fig. 2). The blurred trees in the middle distance are an integral part of the theme—these are the "cloudy

forests" from which Ts'ui Yen-hui took his name and with which he identified. It may be surmised that the painting depicts Ts'ui Yen-hui ensconced in his dwelling in the Pien Mountains, admiring his beloved cloudy forests. Despite the layers of mist and the trees that surround Ts'ui and his dwelling and the barriers formed by foreground ridges, the *Cloudy Forest* is not an image of pure isolation. To the contrary, the picture depicts Ts'ui as an exemplar and emblem of the qualities of his surroundings; he is, literally, "Master Cloudy Forest," not so much submerged in the forests as an expressive part of them. In pictorial terms, the opening of part of the foreground as a stretch of water, the parting of the forests for the passage of a stream that seems to lead in toward Ts'ui's retreat, and especially the elevation of Ts'ui's pavilion to a prominent position all compromise the hiddenness of the scene and make the retreat a relatively accessible, calm, and stable one.

In contrast, *Dwelling in Retreat in the Blue Pien Mountains* of 1366 intensifies the theme of eremitic withdrawal through visual and compositional means. In the 1366 scroll, it is the Pien Mountains themselves that are the focus and true subject rather than an emblematic figure or dwellings. The situation of the figure walking with a staff in the foreground only increases the viewer's empathetic sense of isolation from the rest of the scene (fig. 1). Beyond the relatively accessible section of water, rocks, and trees in the foreground, the figure on the path and the viewer are walled off from the rest of the landscape. The left-to-right diagonal momentum of the open foreground is at odds with a countering movement in the middle region of the picture. Beyond the high, walling ridge are more precipitous rocks, then a stream, then more rocks and a massively rising promontory, then another cascading stream before the little cluster of buildings that presumably constitutes the reclusive dwelling of the title is reached (fig. 1c). An alternate passage that begins where the stream empties out in the foreground seems initially more promising as an entry into the depths of the scene, but the massed trees that rise in this area obscure any clear path; further into the distance on the viewer's left, the imaginary traveler is confronted with the same barriers of multiple streams and ridges that prohibit access on the right side of the painting. There are two groups of modest buildings in the middle region. The cluster surrounding a cottage where a reclining figure is seen is allowed a little clearing of its own but is squeezed off to the left edge of the painting and is half-hidden by a rising promontory in front. An approach to the

buildings from behind is even less conceivable: the dwellings are backed by sheer ridges and blind, turretlike peaks before the final impressive summit (fig. 1a). The isolation of the buildings is conveyed not only by the scale and multiplicity of such barriers, but also by visual qualities of ambiguity and unreadability. The traveler who could climb to the top of the first diagonal ridge would be faced with a drop into a steep gorge that seems illuminated from below.¹¹⁴ The top of the ridge is continuous with further solid ground but seems at the same time to twist contortedly back upon itself (fig. 1b). The jutting bluff that overshadows the main group of thatched cottages is equally difficult to understand in geological terms.¹¹⁵ Suddenly upthrusting forms, abrupt shifts and harsh contrasts of light and shadow, and an eerily subterranean glow pervading parts of the picture add psychological barriers to pictorial ones. Ts'ui Yen-hui's retreat in the Pien Mountains was portrayed by Wang Meng as accessible, calm, and stable; the image of retreat painted for Chao Lin is one of nearly threatening inaccessibility and upheaval.

Issues of Interpretation

The evidence supplied by our straightforward account of the personal circumstances, historical events, familial and cultural associations, and stylistic treatment bound up in the creation of Wang Meng's *Pien Mountains* as a whole supports a coherent interpretation of the work. As we have learned, the *Pien Mountains* was in all likelihood painted by Wang Meng for his cousin Chao Lin and depicted a site laden with strong personal and familial associations for both artist and recipient. The painting was executed at a time when both Wang Meng and Chao Lin were restricted in their movements and in career and moral choices by the disorder of contemporary events which, soon after the time the *Pien Mountains* was painted, would engulf the area in military conflict and force Chao Lin to flee the southeast entirely. The site of the Pien Mountains had a history of artistic depiction by Ch'ien Hsüan, by Wang Meng's grandfather Chao Meng-fu, and by Wang himself. A comparison of Wang's *Pien Mountains* of 1366 and the presumably earlier rendering of the *Cloudy Forest Retreat* of his nephew Ts'ui Yen-hui reveals dramatic transformations in the 1366 image of the site, which emphasizes qualities of inaccessibility, ambiguity, and dynamic upheaval instead of peace and stability.

So far, we remain safely on the side of consistent coincidence between artistic form and historical

circumstance. Further progress toward an interpretation of Wang Meng's *Pien Mountains* in terms of personal situations and the responses of artist and recipient to those situations demands recourse to some interlocking critical principles. One of these is a refinement of the practice, well documented in the writings of art critics of the Yüan period, of seeing the work of art as a direct revelation of the character of its creator.¹¹⁶ In regard to the eremitic landscape, it is clear from the case of Ts'ui Yen-hui that such a landscape was regarded as so personalized and so thoroughly interpenetrated with the character of its reclusive inhabitant that it succumbed quite naturally to a reading in personal terms. The landscape of reclusion thus would become at once an emblem of its inhabitant and a revelation of the attitudes of its portrayer.

Such direct interpretation, however well established in traditional Chinese criticism, will seem problematic to those sensitive to the perils of the intentional and pathetic fallacies.¹¹⁷ A more restrained reading would note especially the parallelism between conventions of personal and artistic response. As is clear from a number of well-documented Yüan examples of recluses, individual responses to sociopolitical events in fourteenth-century China had acquired the character of conventions; their moral dimensions were carefully calculated and measured against historical and literary precedents.¹¹⁸ Painting, as well, was an activity informed by conventions, with established generic traditions for themes such as the landscape of reclusion. Given a parallelism between conventions of behavior and those of form and theme in painting, the attitude and circumstances of Wang Meng and those for whom he painted in regard to the issue of involvement versus withdrawal may be a key to understanding his eremitic landscapes.

Ts'ui Yen-hui followed the conventions of the pure-minded recluse and was so regarded by his contemporaries: Wang Meng's image of Ts'ui's *Cloudy Forest Retreat* shows Ts'ui securely situated in his niche of moral geography.¹¹⁹ Chao Lin's case was far different; he held significant offices under the Yüan and had acquired a certain political prominence almost as part of his birthright. Chao Lin's periods of retreat must have been sporadic, perhaps no more than brief intervals of rest or mourning between official assignments. At other times, his inactivity may have been forced by breakdowns in political control and by unsettled military conditions, as seems to have been the case in 1366. Wang Meng's own position in the spectrum between involvement and retreat lay between those of his

relatives Ts'ui Yen-hui and Chao Lin. Wang alternated between periods of office-holding and retirement, and his personal associations and literary efforts also show a mixture of escapist sentiment and social concern.¹²⁰

Thus, Wang Meng's artistic treatment of *Dwelling in Retreat in the Blue Pien Mountains* is likely to have paralleled his ambivalence toward the alternative of retirement (or, artistically speaking, the theme of reclusion) and to have reflected his awareness of the ironies of Chao Lin's situation, forced, or about to be, to flee the area and its familial associations. Wang's depiction of reclusion in the Pien Mountains in 1366 was of a repository, now threatened with despoliation, of his ancestral heritage and of a refuge that was no longer proof against the physical and psychological insecurities of the age. For Wang Meng, the conventions of behavior and response that ought to have governed his life and the lives of his relatives were breaking apart at the end of the Yüan, no longer valid in an "age of disintegration and collapse."¹²¹ Established patterns of cultural continuity were severed in a variety of realms—familial, political, even geographical. Wang Meng and Chao Lin were cut off physically from their home region by military disturbances, witnessed the disruption of the sense of continuity that the Pien Mountains had represented, and lived through the disintegration of not only the dynasty but conventionally secure political roles as well, both active and passive ones. It should not be surprising, then, that Wang Meng's painting of the *Pien Mountains* similarly abrogated long-standing pictorial and stylistic conventions, as seen in the work's mixture of disparate stylistic traditions, visual ambiguities, and geological turmoil. The blind complexity of the scene endows the setting of the retreat with something of the air of a trap, reflecting the perilous nature of choice in the late Yüan. Ambiguities of light and structure and willful manipulations of form seem emblematic of the artist's perceptions of a contemporary political and moral order so confusing in its imperatives of loyalty and action that it shaped, or distorted, the very landscape in its own conflicting image.

Yet another approach to bridging the gulf between the realms of landscape form and human significance involves questions of genre definition and of the purposes which the *Pien Mountains* picture was meant to serve. Most discussions of the *Pien Mountains* have granted the standard of realistic landscape traditions as the background for the picture, even if only to emphasize its departures from such traditions. The stylistic references in the painting to the manners of the tenth- and eleventh-

century masters of monumental landscape Chü-jan^{ci} and Kuo Hsi^{ck} support the use of this frame of reference, as does the importance of descriptive effects of light, texture, mass, and momentum within the work.¹²² On the basis of its title, however, *Pien Mountains* would be more accurately classified as overlapping two genres: landscapes of reclusion and landscapes of specific sites. The generalized landscape of reclusion had an early history in the Northern Sung period and comprised one of the most important themes in Wang Meng's oeuvre; there are several major extant examples of "reclusive-dwelling-in-summer-mountains" landscapes which display the eremitic theme within generalized scenes of nature in a seasonal aspect.¹²³ The landscape of the specific site, on the other hand, was of such special importance in the history of Yüan painting that some separate treatment of this subject is justified.

Landscapes depicting specific, identified sites were relatively rare in painting before the Yüan period and fall chiefly into a few well-established scenic categories, such as landscapes of the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers, depictions of Mount Lu, and renderings of the West Lake near Hangchow.¹²⁴ In the landscape art of the scholar-amateur painters of the Yüan period, however, the situation is exactly reversed. Any review of major landscape images from the Yüan will include a remarkable number of specific locales: the Ch'iao and Hua mountains, the Floating Jade Mountains, the Fu-ch'un Mountains, the scenery of Chia-ho, the Stone Cliff at the Pond of Heaven, the Jung-hsi Studio, Hua-ch'i, Lake T'ai, and Mount Hui are only some of these.¹²⁵ The importance of such themes raises one of the major paradoxes of Yüan landscape painting: just at the time when Chinese landscape art was undergoing a fundamental reorientation, that is, away from concern with specific visual and descriptively realistic qualities, it was also engaged to an unprecedented degree with narrowly specific subjects.¹²⁶ One key to the resolution of this paradox is understanding that the predominant subjects of Yüan scholar-amateur landscape were, for the most part, not merely generally notable sites or famed scenic spots, but rather local mountains and streams, regional vistas, studio environs, and villa settings which were closely tied to the artist or recipient or both by bonds of ownership, personal association, or family history. The landscape of the scholar-amateur painter in the Yüan period was to a considerable degree what might be termed the landscape of property.¹²⁷

From a broad perspective, then, a division can be

observed between the mainstream of early Chinese landscape painting, which consisted largely of *shan-shui*^d pictures—literally, “mountain-and-water” pictures, or “naturescapes”—and landscapes of property. Naturescapes, as represented in a pure form by the Northern Sung monumental tradition, were concerned with conveying the fundamental aspect of natural forms and forces. Typical landscape elements presented in recurring modes were favored, especially seasonal themes enlivened by anonymously generic figural and architectural elements: travelers, fishermen, pavilions, temples, and the like. The Northern Sung fondness for elaborate classification and coherence of detail, as manifested in Kuo Hsi’s landscape painting text *Lin-ch’uan kao chih*, is oriented toward an ordered, idealized realism, with the emphasis on capturing the quintessential in nature and on comprehensiveness and fullness of realization.¹²⁸ In terms of style and form, the tendency in the earlier tradition is toward a consistent realism, clarity of spatial order, and coherence of design.

The landscape of property had a much more limited history before the Yüan period, but it is represented in a pure form by a few enormously influential images of villas, studios, and retreats attributed to the scholar-painters Wang Wei,^{cm} Lu Hung,^{cn} and Li Kung-lin^{co}—respectively, the *Wang-ch’uan Villa* (*Wang-ch’uan t’u*),^{cp} *Ten Views from a Thatched Hall* (*Ts’ao-t’ang shih-chih t’u*),^{cq} and *Dwelling in the Lung-mien Mountains* (*Lung-mien shan-chuang t’u*;^{cr} fig. 7).¹²⁹ These were serial views of the environs of the retreats of their painters, the scenery thoroughly saturated with a kind of indwelling presence of their resident-imagers; each ridge and vista is layered in poetic imagery and personal associations from poems composed, rambles taken, and views admired at each chosen spot.¹³⁰ Unhappily, none of these famous images is represented by surviving authentic paintings; thus, stylistic corollaries of this mode of painting can be only tentatively identified. There is, however, enough consistency among the various engraved or painted copies of these designs to suggest the outlines of a stylistic definition of the mode. Characteristic features include breaks in spatial continuity, inconsistent scale relationships, use of arbitrary devices of presentation (especially those related to cartographic conventions of schematic frontality and elevated viewpoint), an emphasis on figures and dwellings through special framing or scale effects, and a lack of concern with specific effects of texture and volume.¹³¹

However small a group these pre-Yüan landscapes

of property constituted, it is clear that the images associated with Wang Wei, Lu Hung, and Li Kung-lin were seen as a related group in later times and that they were disproportionately influential for such early Yüan artists as Chao Meng-fu.¹³² Thus, when in early Yüan works like Chao Meng-fu’s *Autumn Colors on the Ch’iao and Hua Mountains* (*Ch’iao Hua ch’iu-se t’u*)^{cs} of 1296 (painted for his friend Chou Mi as a reminder of Chou’s ancestral homeland) or Ch’ien Hsüan’s image of his own retreat, *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* (*Fou-yü shan-chu t’u*),^{ct} we find the conventions of the early landscape of property reappearing, complete with spatial discontinuities, incongruous scale relationships, and limited volumes, we are perhaps confronted, not with a fundamentally revolutionary approach, but rather with an elevation of a hitherto minor and specialized genre to an unprecedented prominence.¹³³ The Yüan scholar-amateur movement was, to be sure, a complex phenomenon, synthesizing elements of archaism and stylistic revival with a host of interrelated contributing factors.¹³⁴ The importance of the role played by the newly popular landscapes of property in forming the direction of Yüan landscape painting as a whole and the degree to which performances in this genre constitute a key to the identification of artistic affiliations within the complex society of Yüan landscapists are questions which lie beyond the scope of this essay. It does seem clear, however, that the expansion of this mode was a central factor in shaping the distinctiveness of the Yüan scholar-amateur landscape movement.

The implications of the distinction between these modes—that is, naturescapes and the landscape of property—are rather far-reaching. A naturescape might be painted for a particular patron, but its implied audience is universal. This is landscape in the public domain, so to speak, and the fundamentally descriptive painting techniques developed for this mode made the experience of such images accessible to the broadest possible audience. In terms of human significance, the naturescape is bound up with metaphors of harmonization and moral proportion, of balance and equipoise, of creation and its fulfillment.¹³⁵ The landscape of property, by contrast, is addressed, often explicitly, to a private audience: the artist, a single recipient, or, at most, a clique made up of men whose thinking and circumstances were similar to those of the two primary parties to the exchange. The style and techniques utilized in the presentation of this mode involve a kind of recognition of artistic property rights in which abbreviations, distortions, and,

above all, personalizations of the public visual language into a private idiom are countenanced. The landscape of property involves implied metaphors of cultivation and production, of control and dispensation, and can be fundamentally a statement about possession (or dispossession), personal properties (or character), and inheritance (or cultural and familial continuities).

It is precisely these latter qualities of intended audience, style, and statement that are here attributed to Wang Meng's *Dwelling in Retreat in the Blue Pien Mountains* of 1366. When the full context and function of the work are understood, it can be seen to belong partly to this thematic mode of the landscape of property and to make important use of the conventions of that mode.

The remaining affinities of the *Pien Mountains* scroll with the generalized landscape of reclusion are also relevant to its uniquely powerful expressive impact. Wang Meng was in some ways at odds with the artistic currents of his time and milieu in that, to a greater extent than most other scholar-amateur landscape painters of the Yüan, he seems to have seriously attempted to recapture visual, thematic, and expressive qualities of the early monumental landscape art of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The bulk of his surviving and recorded landscape oeuvre is comprised of generalized naturescape themes—groves and streams, lofty mountains, seasonal landscapes, and the like—though the added subtheme of reclusive dwelling is also often present.¹³⁶ These works include clear references to

the styles of such early landscape masters as Chü-jan but transcend the level of mere allusion to render powerfully effective transcriptions of texture and volume, light and shadow, mass and structure. It is this aspect that strongly distinguishes Wang from his scholar-amateur contemporaries, whose many landscapes of property—whether handscrolls surveying intimately known environs or somewhat cartographically rendered panoramas or idiosyncratically stylized studio settings—were couched in expressions that acknowledge their conventionality and prepare the viewer for a personal statement. Among his own landscapes, Wang Meng's *Pien Mountains* was embedded, chronologically and formally, within a series of images that included the *Lofty Recluse in Summer Mountains* of 1365 and *Reading in Spring Mountains* (*Ch'un-shan tu-shu t'u*;¹³⁷ fig. 8), whose partly seasonal themes and powerfully monumental descriptive styles prepare the audience for generalized statements about the natural world. Thus, some considerable part of the disturbing power of Wang Meng's *Pien Mountains* image derives from the way in which it refers simultaneously to the two modes of naturescape and the landscape of property. Before its contextual affinities with the landscape of property are fully recognized, we respond to the *Pien Mountains* as if it were addressing us with the rhetoric of the naturescape. In that voice, it seems to say that not only the site of the Pien Mountains but the natural world at large is violence-torn and inaccessible.

Notes

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1. See An Ch'i, *Mo-yüan hui-kuan lu* (preface dated 1742), reprinted in *I-shu ts'ung-pien* (ISTP), comp. Yang Chia-lo, 30 vols. (Taipei, 1962–68), vol. 17, no. 161, 3.160–61; also Wen Chao-t'ung, "Wang Shu-ming *Ch'ing Pien yin-chü t'u*," in *I-lin ts'ung-lu* (1966; reprint ed., Hong Kong, 1975), 6:259–61; Max Loehr, "Studie über Wang Mong (die Datien Werke)," *Sinica* 14, nos. 5–6 (1939): 287–88; and James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yüan Dynasty (1279–1368)* (New York, 1976), pp. 122–24. In Western-language studies of Wang Meng's paintings, the site is customarily rendered "Mt. Ch'ing-pien," based on the Chinese titles used by Wang Meng and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang in their famous versions of the subject. This is largely an art-historical custom, however; most geographical and poetic references to the site call it the Pien Mountains, with the character *ch'ing* (blue) used adjectivally, if at all. I have adhered to the latter rendering throughout my article.
2. *Shang-hai Po-wu-kuan ts'ang-hua* (Shanghai, 1969), no. 22.
3. All but the square relief seal *Chao* in the upper right are square intaglio seals; cf. An Ch'i, *Mo-yüan hui-kuan lu* 3.160.
4. Nakata Yujiro, "Mindai no hojo," in *Shodō zenshū*, ed. Yasaburō Shimonaka, n.s., 26 vols. (Tokyo, 1954–68), vol. 17: *Chūgoku, Gen, Min I* (1956), pp. 19–20.
5. See Anne De Coursey Clapp, *Wen Cheng-ming: The Ming Artist and Antiquity*, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 34 (Ascona, 1975), p. 53, fig. 19; Marc F. Wilson and Kwan S. Wong, *Friends of Wen Cheng-ming: A View from the Crawford Collection* (New York, 1974), pp. 90–91; and Wen Chien, "Wen Cheng-ming *Chen-shang-chai t'u*," *Wen-wu*, no. 6 (1978), pp. 89–90, pl. I.
6. An Ch'i, in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan lu* 3.160, identifies Hua's seal but transcribes the second character of his name as "Yu";^c An also misleadingly implies that the gourd-shaped *Chen-shang* seal on the painting belonged to Hua.
7. Wang K'o-yü, *Shan-hu-wang hua-lu* (preface dated 1643; reprint ed., Wu-ch'eng, 1916), 23.25.
8. Hin-cheung Lovell, *An Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Painting Catalogues and Related Texts*, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, no. 16 (Ann Arbor, 1973), pp. 32–33.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
10. Wang K'o-yü, *Shan-hu-wang hua-lu* 23.25.
11. *Ibid.* For discussion of the complications arising from discrepancies in accounts of the scale of the *Pien Mountains* scroll, see Yonesawa Yoshiho, Kawakita Michiaki, and Suzuki Kei, eds., *Chūgoku Bijutsu*, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1965), vol. 3, nn. to pls. 17 and 18, and p. 192; and Richard Vinograd, "Wang Meng's *Pien Mountains*: The Landscape of Eremitism in Later Fourteenth Century Chinese Painting" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979), pp. 55–56, nn. 154–55. What appears to be an exact, reduced-size copy of the Shanghai Museum *Pien Mountains* scroll has recently been published as the small hanging-scroll version of the subject; see Wai-kam Ho, ed., *Kō Kōbō, Gei San, Ō Mō, Go Chin* (1979), vol. 3 of *Bunjinga suihen*, ed. Hironobu Kohara, 20 vols. (Tokyo, 1975–79), pl. 34, p. 166. This smaller version, presently in the Princeton Art Museum, measures 97.3 × 28 cm, about two-thirds the size of the Shanghai version. The Princeton copy is virtually identical to the Shanghai Museum work in composition, and the wording of the artist's inscription is the same. The Princeton version bears two purported Wang Meng seals which are absent in the Shanghai Museum scroll; apart from one imperial seal of Ch'ien-lung, none of the seals on the Princeton copy matches those on the Shanghai Museum version. In particular, the Princeton Museum copy lacks any seal of Hua Hsia, and there are no seals linking the painting to a "Master Chao"; thus, there is little reason other than size to link the Princeton version with Hua Hsia's account. Moreover, the Princeton scroll reveals numerous instances of hesitant brushwork and flat, lifeless passages, both of which strongly suggest the hand of a copyist.
12. Lovell, *Annotated Bibliography*, p. 32; see also Ch'en Chih-mai, "Hsiang Yüan-pien," in *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, 2 vols. (New York, 1976), 1:539–44.
13. Hsiang's seals on the *Pien Mountains* scroll include three impressed below Wang Meng's inscription: *Ching-yin-an-chu*^{tw} (square relief); *Hsiang Yüan-pien yin*^{cx} (square relief); *Hsiang Tzu-ching chia chen ts'ang*^{cy} (rectangular relief). Others of Hsiang's seals include *Hsiang Mo-lin chien-shang chang*^{cu} (upper right corner, square intaglio); *Mo-lin shan-jen*^{da} (lower left, square intaglio); *Tzu-ching so ts'ang*^{db} (lower left corner, square intaglio); *Hsiang Yüan-pien yin*^{cx} (right side, square relief); *Mo-lin pi-wan*^{dc} (right side, square relief). For these and other seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien, see Victoria Contag and Wang Chi-ch'ien, *Seals of Chinese Painters and Collectors*, rev. ed. (Hong Kong, 1966), pp. 610–15; 700–701.
14. Nelson I. Wu, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636): Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art," in *Confucian Personalities*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (Stanford, 1962), pp. 268–70.
15. See Sun Ch'eng-tse, *Keng-tzu hsiao-hsia chi* (1761 ed.), facsimile reprint in *I-shu shang-chien hsüan-chien* (ISSCHC), *hsü-chi* (Taipei, 1971–72), 2.11a–12a (pp. 99–101); and Wang K'o-yü, *Shan-hu-wang hua-lu* 19.3.
16. See Thomas Lawton, "Notes on Keng Chao-chung," *Renditions*, no. 6 (Spring 1976), pp. 144–51. Keng's gourd-shaped relief seal *Chen-shang* appears on the right side of *Pien Mountains*; cf. Contag and Wang, *Seals*, p. 564, no. 7.
17. See *Signatures and Seals on Painting and Calligraphy: The Signatures and Seals of Artists, Connoisseurs, and Collectors Since the Tsin Dynasty*, comp. Joint Board of Directors of the National Palace Museum and the National Central Museum, Taiwan, 6 vols. (Hong Kong, 1964), 3:149; also Laurence Sickman, Introduction to *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.*, ed. Laurence Sickman et al. (New York, 1962), pp. 25–26. Liang Ch'ing-piao's square relief *Ts'ang-yen*^{dd} seal is impressed on the upper right side of *Pien Mountains*.

18. Wu Sheng, *Ta-kuan lu* (preface dated 1712), ISSCHC ed. (Taipei, 1970), 17.14.
19. An Ch'i, *Mo-yüan hui-kuan lu* 3.160. See Lovell, *Annotated Bibliography*, pp. 47-49, no. 57, for the date of An Ch'i's text; and Thomas Lawton, "Notes on Five Paintings from a Ch'ing Dynasty Collection," *Arts Orientalis* 8 (1970): 191-215.
20. See Contag and Wang, *Seals*, pp. 536-38. Those appearing on the *Pien Mountains* scroll include, on the *shih-t'ang*: *An*^{de} (round relief); *I-chou chien-shang*^{df} (square intaglio); lower left corner: *An shih I-chou shu-hua chih chang*^{dg} (long rectangular intaglio). In the middle of the right side of the painting are: *Tzu-sun pao-chih*^{dh} (diamond-shaped intaglio); and *Chen-pi*^{di} (square relief); the latter seal is virtually identical to one used by Keng Chao-chung (cf. Contag and Wang, *Seals*, p. 564), but its placement next to the diamond-shaped seal of An Ch'i indicates that it, too, belonged to An.
21. Cf. Lovell, *Annotated Bibliography*, pp. 48-49.
22. The principal imperial seals of the Ch'ien-lung emperor on the painting proper are: *Ch'ien-lung yü-lan chih-pao*^{dj} (upper right, large oval relief); *San-hsi-t'ang ching chien hsi*^{dk} (upper right near inscription, large rectangular relief); *I tzu sun*^{dl} (upper right near inscription, square intaglio); *Ch'ien-lung chien-shang*^{dm} (upper right below inscription, round intaglio); and *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*^{dn} (upper left, rectangular relief). Below Ch'ien-lung's inscription of the title label are two more seals of Ch'ien-lung: *Yü shang*^{do} (rectangular relief); and *Ch'ien-lung ch'en* (?) *han* (?).^{dp} See Contag and Wang, *Seals*, pp. 581-99, 683-87. The entry for *Pien Mountains* in the imperial painting catalogue edited by Chang Chao et al., *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* (1745; reprint ed., Taipei, 1971), indicated by the Ch'ien-lung seals and by the account of Chu Sing-chai ("Ti P'ing-tzu ti pi-chi—Ch'ing Pien yin-chü t'u," in *Hua-jen hua shih* [Hong Kong, 1962], pp. 2-7), has not been located by this writer. See Lawton, "Notes on Five Paintings," p. 196, for some parallel cases of omissions from the catalogue. The *Pien Mountains* painting might have entered the imperial collection after 1745 (the year when *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* was completed) and left the collection before the continuation of the catalogue was written in 1793; see n. 23 below for the next documented owner.
23. See Contag and Wang, *Seals*, p. 547, no. 2, where Li's rectangular relief seal *Ching-yü-shih shu-hua chi*^{dq} is reproduced; it is impressed on the lower right edge of the *Pien Mountains* painting. The *Li Tsung-han yin*^{dt} seal impressed on the lower left side of the painting is not reproduced in Contag and Wang.
24. See Ti P'ing-tzu, *P'ing-teng-ko pi-chi* (n.p., n.d.), 1.11b-12b, 13b-14a, 20a; this account is largely transcribed in Chu Sing-chai, "Ti P'ing-tzu," pp. 2-4.
25. These modern colophons are transcribed in Chu Sing-chai, "Ti P'ing-tzu," pp. 6-7.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 6. See also *Shang-hai Po-wu-kuan ts'ang-hua*, no. 22; the long rectangular relief seal of the museum is impressed on the lower left-hand side of the painting. Wei T'ing-jung's seal, reading *T'ing-yün-ko so-ts'ang yin*,^{ds} is set in the lower right corner of the painting; my thanks to Mr. Mao Hsin-lung of the Shanghai Museum conservation department for his help in identifying this seal.
28. See n. 10 above; it seems likely that Wang K'o-yü's account was borrowed in full from the mid-sixteenth-century owner Hua Hsia.
29. Chao Yung's use of the seal is documented in P'ang Yüan-chi, *Hsü-chai ming-hua lu* (1909; supplement, 1924; addendum, 1925), ISSCHC, *hsü-chi* ed., 11.2b-5a (pp. 1370-75); see also K'ung Kuang-t'ao, *Yüeh-hsüeh-lou shu hua lu* (1861; reprint ed., 1889), ISSCHC, *hsü-chi* ed., 1.18-20. Chao I's use of the same seal is recorded in *Signatures and Seals on Painting and Calligraphy*, 1:324. Chao Lin's use of the same seal is noted in Louise Wallace Hackney and Yau Chang-too, *A Study of Chinese Paintings in the Collection of Ada Small Moore* (London, 1940), p. 99; compare, however, what appears to be an earlier and better version of the same painting in the Crawford Collection, where Chao Lin does not use this seal (discussed in Sickman, *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting*, pp. 101-4).
30. The former translation is from Hackney and Yau, *Study of Chinese Paintings*, p. 99. See Hsia Wen-yen, *T'u-hui pao-chien* (preface dated 1365), ISTP ed., vol. 11, no. 83, 5.82, for biographies of Chao family members.
31. See Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta-chia: Huang Kung-wang, Wu Chen, Ni Tsan, Wang Meng* (Taipei, 1975), p. 174.
32. See Wen Chao-t'ung, *Yüan-chi ssu ta-hua-chia* (Hong Kong, 1970), "Wang Shu-ming," p. 6.
33. See *Signatures and Seals on Painting and Calligraphy*, 1:332, for this square intaglio seal, which, within the limits of a photographic comparison, seems identical to the lower left corner seal on the *Pien Mountains* painting.
34. See Chu-ting Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines: Chinese Paintings in the Charles A. Drenowatz Collection*, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 30, 2 vols. (Ascona, 1974), 1:18-19, for a biographical study of Chao Lin.
35. *Ibid.*; see also Hsia Wen-yen, *T'u-hui pao-chien* 5.82.
36. Chu-ting Li, *A Thousand Peaks*, 1:18-19; Hsia Wen-yen, *T'u-hui pao-chien* 5.82.
37. Chu-ting Li, *A Thousand Peaks*, 1:18-19.
38. See Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 7 vols. (London, 1956-58), 4:26.
39. Chu-ting Li, *A Thousand Peaks*, 1:18-19.
40. See Chu Ts'un-li [*sic.*, Chao Ch'i-mei], *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* (postscript dated 1600), ISSCHC ed., *hua*, 2.55a-59a (pp. 1015-20); see also Pien Yung-yü, *Shih-ku-t'ang shu-hua hui-k'ao* (1682; facsimile reprint ed. in 4 vols., Taipei, 1958), vol. 4, 16.155-57.
41. Pien Yung-yü, *Shih-ku-t'ang*, vol. 4, 16.155-56.
42. *Ibid.*, 16.155.
43. *Ibid.*, 16.155-57.
44. *Ibid.*, 16.156.
45. *Ibid.*, 16.156-57.
46. *Ibid.*, 16.157-58; see also Yu Feng-ch'ing, *Yü-shih shu-hua*

- t'i-pa chi* (postscript dated 1633), ISSCHC ed., 1.19a-20a (pp. 67-70); Hackney and Yau, *Study of Chinese Paintings*, pp. 95-112; and Sickman, *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting*, pp. 101-4.
47. See Hackney and Yau, *Study of Chinese Paintings*, pp. 95-112; and Sickman, *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting*, pp. 101-4.
 48. See the translation of Wang Meng's colophon in Hackney and Yau, *Study of Chinese Paintings*, p. 100.
 49. See Chu Ts'un-li, *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* 2.50b (p. 1009).
 50. Ibid.
 51. Ibid. Because Chao I used the *Wei-kuo shih chia* seal (see n. 29 above) and was with Chao Lin just months after the completion of the *Pien Mountains* picture, there is the possibility that the painting was dedicated jointly to Chao Lin and Chao I; in that event, the familial associations of the subject would only have been increased.
 52. For an account of the major protagonists and events in this conflict, see Frederick W. Mote, *The Poet Kao Ch'i*, 1336-1374 (Princeton, 1962), pp. 9-37.
 53. Ibid., p. 10.
 54. Cf. Frederick W. Mote, "Confucian Eremitism in the Yüan Period," in *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*, ed. Arthur F. Wright (New York, 1964), pp. 252-90.
 55. Mote, *Kao Ch'i*, pp. 9-25, 30-37.
 56. John Dardess, "Chang Shih-ch'eng," in *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, ed. Goodrich and Fang, 1:99-103.
 57. Ibid., p. 102.
 58. Cf. the characterization of the region in a colophon for Wang Meng's *Cloudy Forest*, to be discussed below, recorded in Lu Hsin-yüan, *Jang-li-kuan kuo-yen lu* (1892; facsimile reprint ed., Taipei, 1975), *hsü*, 3.16b-17a (pp. 1872-73).
 59. Dardess, "Chang Shih-ch'eng," pp. 101-2.
 60. Ch'ien Ch'ien-i, *Kuo-ch'ao ch'ün-hsiung shih-lüeh* (1913; reprint ed., Taipei, 1968), 7.62.
 61. Ibid., 7.63; also Dardess, "Chang Shih-ch'eng," pp. 101-2.
 62. Excellent accounts of Wang Meng's life and activities, including full bibliographical references to major biographical sources and studies of specialized problems, are found in Chu-ting Li, "Wang Meng," in *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, ed. Goodrich and Fang, 2:1392-95; also in Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta chia*, pp. 27-32 (English text, pp. 33-38).
 63. See Hsieh Hsiao-ssu, ed., *Su-chou Po-wu-kuan ts'ang-hua chi* (n.p., 1963), no. 3.
 64. See Chuang Shen, *Yüan-chi ssu-hua chia shih chiao-chi* (Hong Kong, 1973), pp. 220-21; and Eugene Eoyang, "The Solitary Boat: Images of Self in Chinese Nature Poetry," *Journal of Asian Studies* 32, no. 4 (August 1973): 621.
 65. Cf. Wang's poems on "Old Suchou," recorded in Ch'en T'ien, ed., *Ming shih chi-shih*, 7 vols. (Taipei, 1968), 18.355. For the theme of Hsi Shih, see Edward H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley, 1967), p. 82.
 66. Ni Tsan, *Ch'ing-pi-ko ch'üan-chi* (1713; reprint ed., Taipei, 1970), 3.9b, 19a-b (pp. 110, 129-30).
 67. On documentation and dating questions, see Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta chia*, cat. no. 406, pp. 66-67 (English text, pp. 80-81); however, this writer believes the Suchou Museum *Bamboo and Rocks* to be more reliably authentic than the Taipei National Palace Museum version of the same subject.
 68. Ibid., pp. 28, 66-67; compare with the parallel case of Kao Ch'i, discussed in Mote, *Kao Ch'i*, pp. 109-11.
 69. Mote, *Kao Ch'i*, pp. 95-106, 192-93; Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta chia*, p. 67; and Eugen Feifel and Hok-lam Chan, "Yao Kuang-hsiao," in *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, ed. Goodrich and Fang, 2:1561-65.
 70. See Ch'en Chi, *I-pai-chai kao* (preface dated 1364), *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed., 3d series (Shanghai, 1935-36), 9.5b. Cf. Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta chia*, pp. 28-29 (English text, p. 35).
 71. Yang Chi, *Yang Meng-tsai Mei-an chi* (1485; reprint ed., Taipei, 1971), 2.3b (p. 132).
 72. Ibid., 4.5a-6b (pp. 203-6). Chang Kuang-pin has suggested that Yang's poem was written in 1369; see *Yüan ssu-ta chia*, p. 187.
 73. Cf. Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta chia*, p. 28.
 74. Mote, *Kao Ch'i*, p. 24.
 75. Hsia Wen-yen, *T'u-hui pao-chien* 5.82. See also Chang T'ing-yü et al., eds., *Ming shih* (completed 1739), reprinted in *Erh-shih-wu shih*, 10 vols. (Hong Kong, 1959), vol. 9, 285.25a (p. 7792/4); cf. Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta chia*, p. 29 (English text, p. 35).
 76. See Yüan K'ai, *Hai-sou chi* (1722), *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu chen-pen*, *liu-chi* ed. (Taipei, 1976), vol. 285, 2.24a-b; 3.19a-b, 25a.
 77. Li Tso-hsien, *Shu-hua chien ying* (1871), ISSCHC ed., 20.13.
 78. Pien Yung-yü, *Shih-ku-t'ang*, vol. 4, 21.283-88.
 79. Ibid., 21.283-84.
 80. Wang K'o-yü, *Shan-hu-wang shu-lu* (preface dated 1643; reprint ed., Shanghai, 1936), 19.444-51; Wang Meng was in Suchou when he acquired this work.
 81. Ibid.
 82. Pien Yung-yü, *Shih-ku-t'ang*, vol. 4, 21.272.
 83. Wang K'o-yü, *Shan-hu-wang hua-lu* 11.1003-7. For another version of this subject, ascribed to Wang Li-chung^{dt} and with identical artist's poem and date but partly differing colophons, see Pien Yung-yü, *Shih-ku-t'ang*, vol. 4, 19.236-42.
 84. Wang K'o-yü, *Shan-hu-wang hua-lu* 11.1003-5.
 85. See Tsung Yüan-han et al., eds., *Che-chiang sheng Hu-chou fu-chih* (1874), reprinted in *Chung-kuo fang-chih ts'ung-shu* (CKFCTS), *Hua-chung ti-fang*, no. 54 (Taipei, 1970), *chüan* 19, *shang*, pp. 1-2 (p. 376).
 86. Ibid.
 87. Ibid., p. 24 (p. 387); see also Wen Chao-t'ung, "Wang Shu-

- ming *Ch'ing Pien yin-chü t'u*," pp. 259–60.
88. Tsung Yüan-han, *Hu-chou fu-chih, chüan* 19, shang, p. 1 (p. 376).
 89. See *Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien*, 10 vols. (Taipei, 1973), 2:1692, no. 2778/14.
 90. Cf. Frederick W. Mote, "A Millenium of Chinese Urban History: Form, Time and Space Concepts in Soochow," in *Four Views of China*, ed. Robert A. Kapp, Rice University Studies, vol. 59, no. 4 (Houston, 1973), p. 51.
 91. Quoted in Tsung Yüan-han, *Hu-chou fu-chih, chüan* 19, shang, p. 1 (p. 376).
 92. Yang Wei-chen, *T'ieh-yai yüeh-fu chu* (preface dated 1346), in *T'ieh-yai san-chung* (Shanghai, 1921), 4.9. Chang Yü is quoted in Tsung Yüan-han, *Hu-chou fu-chih, chüan* 19, shang, p. 1 (p. 376).
 93. See Chu-ting Li, *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains: A Landscape by Chao Meng-fu*, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 21 (Ascona, 1965), pp. 18–21.
 94. See Wu Sheng, *Ta-kuan lu* 15.49; and Pien Yung-yü, *Shih-ku-t'ang*, vol. 4, 17.170.
 95. See Chu-ting Li, *Autumn Colors*, pp. 21–22; there is a misprint in the transliteration of Chou Mi's sobriquet. See also Pien Yung-yü, *Shih-ku-t'ang*, vol. 4, 17.179, for Chou's identification with the Pien Mountains.
 96. Chao Meng-fu, *Sung-hsüeh-chai wen chi* (preface dated 1298), facsimile reprint of 1339 ed. in *Li-tai hua-chia shih wen chi* (Taipei, 1970), 4.148.
 97. *Ibid.*, 2.79–80.
 98. Quoted in Wen Chao-t'ung, "Wang Shu-ming *Ch'ing Pien yin-chü t'u*," p. 259.
 99. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua chih*, in *Jung-t'ai chi*, 4 vols., facsimile reprint in *Ming-tai i-shu-chia chi hui-k'an* (Taipei, 1968), vol. 4, 6.21b (p. 2132).
 100. *Ibid.*
 101. See Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-ch'an-shih sui-pi* (1720 ed.), ISTP ed., vol. 28, no. 252, p. 41; and Ch'en Chi-ju, *Ni ku lu*, ISTP ed., vol. 29, no. 253, 3.270; cf. Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, p. 121, on general borrowings from the style of Chao Meng-fu.
 102. See Lu Hsin-yüan, *Jang-li-kuan, hsü*, 3.13a–29a (pp. 1865–97).
 103. The painting is reproduced in Hsieh Chih-liu, comp., *T'ang Wu-tai Sung Yüan ming-chi* (Shanghai, 1957), pls. 105, 106.
 104. See Lu Hsin-yüan, *Jang-li-kuan, hsü*, 3.28a (p. 1895), for Wang Shih-chen's^{du} observation of the pronounced similarity of *Cloudy Forest* to the style of Huang Kung-wang. See also Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, pp. 89–90.
 105. Lu Hsin-yüan, *Jang-li-kuan, hsü*, 3.13a–14b (pp. 1865–68).
 106. *Ibid.*, 3.14b–15a (pp. 1868–69), in a colophon by Hsü I-k'uei; for the character *hui*,^{dv} Hsü wrote a different radical (*jih*)^{dw} than that used by Wang Meng (*kuang*).^{dx}
 107. Ko Chin-lang, *Ai-jih-yin-lou shu hua lu* (preface dated 1881; n.p., 1910), 1.13.
 108. *Ibid.*; also transcribed in Chuang Shen, *Yüan-chi ssu hua-chia shih chiao-chi*, pp. 224–25.
 109. Lu Hsin-yüan, *Jang-li-kuan, hsü*, 3.13a–14b (pp. 1865–68); cf. David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 4–11.
 110. For standard biographical accounts of Ts'ui Yen-hui, see Shen Ch'ao-hsüan, ed., *Jen-ho hsien chih* (1549; rev. ed., 1893), facsimile reprint in CKFCTS, *Hua-chung ti-fang*, no. 179 (Taipei, 1975), 9.32b; see also Kung Chia-chüan and Li K'o, eds., *Che-chiang sheng Hang-chou fu-chih* (1922), facsimile reprint in CKFCTS, *Hua-chung ti-fang*, no. 199, 148.7b. See also Vinograd, "Wang Meng's *Pien Mountains*," app. 1.
 111. Lu Hsin-yüan, *Jang-li-kuan, hsü*, 3.14b–15b (pp. 1868–70).
 112. *Ibid.*, 3.16a–17a (pp. 1871–73).
 113. *Ibid.*
 114. See Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, pp. 123–24.
 115. *Ibid.*
 116. See Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636)*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, no. 27 (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 127, 134–39; and Wai-kam Ho, "Chinese Under the Mongols," in *Chinese Art Under the Mongols: The Yüan Dynasty (1279–1368)*, ed. Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho (Cleveland, 1968), pp. 96–104.
 117. Cf. W. K. Wimsatt, Jr., and Monroe C. Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy," in *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry*, ed. W. K. Wimsatt, Jr. (Lexington, Ky., 1954), pp. 3–18.
 118. See Mote, "Confucian Eremitism in the Yüan Period," pp. 252–90.
 119. See Lu Hsin-yüan, *Jang-li-kuan, hsü*, 3.15b–16a (pp. 1870–71), for Hsü I-k'uei's evaluation of Ts'ui Yen-hui's reclusive status. Hsü's division of recluses into three classes may have been based on the discussion in the *Hsin T'ang-shu*; cf. Li Chi, "The Changing Concept of the Recluse in Chinese Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 24 (1962–63): 245.
 120. For a sampling of Wang's poems on eremitic themes, see Lu Hsin-yüan, *Jang-li-kuan, hsü*, 4.1a; Pien Yung-yü, *Shih-ku-t'ang*, vol. 4, 21.273; Wu Sheng, *Ta-kuan lu* 17.15; Chuang Shen, *Yüan-chi ssu-hua-chia shih chiao chi*, p. 227; and Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta-chia*, p. 67 (English text, p. 81). For a remarkably direct expression of Wang's sense of social responsibility, see his poem entitled "Done while Lodging for an Evening with a Farmer," in Shen Te-ch'ien and Chou Chuen, eds., *Ming-shih pieh ts'ai chi* (1739; reprint ed., Peking, 1975), 2.3 (p. 15).
 121. The phrase is Kao Ch'i's; translation by Mote, *Kao Ch'i*, p. 127.
 122. See An Ch'i, *Mo-yüan hui-kuan lu* 3.160; also Wen Chao-t'ung, "Wang Shu-ming *Ch'ing Pien yin-chü t'u*," pp. 259–61; also Max Loehr, "Studie über Wang Mong," pp. 287–88; and Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, pp. 122–24.
 123. For early recorded examples of such themes, see *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* (preface dated 1120), ISTP ed., vol. 9, no. 65, 11.280, 290, 293, 306–7; 12.343–45. Examples by Wang Meng

include the 1354 Freer picture reproduced here (fig. 3) and in Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, pl. 51; a 1368 painting in the Peking Palace Museum, reproduced in Francois Fourcade, *Art Treasures of the Peking Museum* (New York, 1965), pl. 7; and an unpublished work dated 1365, also in the Peking Palace Museum.

124. See Siren, *Chinese Painting*, vol. 3, pls. 144, 262, 263, 345-49, for some surviving examples of such specific themes from before the Yüan period. Garden scenes and figure-dominated themes with landscape backgrounds are excluded from this discussion.
125. For the convenience of the reader, and to indicate the importance of these subjects within a representative selection of Yüan-period landscape paintings, all of these examples are drawn from works illustrated in Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, pls. 12, 7, 41, 28, 40, 50, 52, 58, 56; pls. 17, 27, and 60 provide still other examples.
126. Cf. Max Loehr, "Chinese Landscape Painting and Its Real Content," in *Four Views of China*, ed. Kapp, pp. 82-86; see also Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, pp. 36-37, 40-46.
127. For two especially poignant and well-documented cases of family ties to landscape, see Chu-tsing Li, *Autumn Colors*, pp. 17-23, and Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta-chia*, pp. 61-62 (English text, pp. 72-73). For some related formulations, see A. Richard Turner, *The Vision of Landscape in Renaissance Italy* (Princeton, 1966), pp. 198-200; John Berger et al., eds., *Ways of Seeing* (London, 1972), pp. 106-7; and A. John Hay, "Huang Kung-wang's *Dwelling in the Fu-ch'un Mountains*, The Dimensions of a Landscape" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1978), p. 224.
128. Kuo Hsi, *Lin-ch'uan kao-chih* (compiled, edited and with a preface by his son, Kuo Ssu,^{4b} ca. 1100), ISTP ed., vol. 10, no. 67, pp. 5-15. Cf. Siren, *Chinese Painting*, 1:222-25.
129. See Hironobu Kohara et al., eds., *Ö I* (1975), vol. 1 of *Bunjinga suhen*, ed. Hironobu Kohara; Chuang Shen, "T'ang Lu Hung Ts'ao-t'ang shih-chih t'uchüan k'ao," in *Chung-kuo hua-shih yen-chiu hsü-chi* (Taipei, 1972), pp. 111-212; Richard Barnhart, "Li Kung-lin's Use of Past Styles," in *Artists and Traditions: Uses of the Past in Chinese Culture*, ed. Christian F. Murck (Princeton, 1976), pp. 58-61; and Siren, *Chinese Painting*, 1:129-30; 2:45-46.
130. See Siren, *Chinese Painting*, 1:129-30; 2:45-46.
131. See Chu-tsing Li, *Autumn Colors*, pp. 41-42; and Barnhart, "Li Kung-lin's Use of Past Styles," pp. 60-61.
132. See Chu-tsing Li, *Autumn Colors*, pp. 36-44; Barnhart, "Li Kung-lin's Use of Past Styles," p. 70; and Richard Barnhart, "Li Kung-lin's *Hsiao Ching t'u*, Illustrations of the Classic of Filial Piety," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1967), 1:206-10.
133. See Barnhart, "Li Kung-lin's *Hsiao Ching t'u*," 1:206-10.
134. See Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, pp. 4-46, 163-76; also Wai-kam Ho, "Chinese Under the Mongols," pp. 73-112.
135. See Siren, *Chinese Painting*, 1:222-25.
136. See Richard Vinograd, "New Light on Tenth-Century Sources for Landscape Painting Styles of the Late Yüan Period," in *Chügoku kaigashi ronshü*, ed. Suzuki Kei Sensei Kanreki-kinen-kai (Tokyo, 1981), pp. 1-30.

Glossary

a. 王蒙	al. 管道昇
b. 青卞隱居圖	am. 朱元璋
c. 董其昌	an. 張士誠
d. 趙姓	ao. 徐達
e. 魏國世家	ap. 常遇春
f. 貞白齋	aq. 潘元紹
g. 華夏	ar. 王國器
h. 中甫	as. 張德機
i. 眞賞齋	at. 絕句
j. 文徵明	au. 西施
k. 汪珂玉	av. 范蠡
l. 王愛荆	aw. 倪瓚
m. 項元汴	ax. 席應珍
n. 詩堂	ay. 王行
o. 金粟山	az. 道衍
p. 耿昭忠	ba. 姚廣孝
q. 梁清標	bb. 陳基
r. 吳升	bc. 長史
s. 安岐	bd. 錄事
t. 乾隆	be. 袁凱
u. 李宗瀚	bf. 雲山圖
v. 狄曼農	bg. 夏山高隱圖
w. 狄平子	bh. 彥明
x. 羅振玉	bi. 聽雨樓圖
y. 吳湖帆	bj. 盧士恒
z. 魏廷榮	bk. 長雨
aa. 趙孟頫	bl. 天真大士像
ab. 趙雍	bm. 破窗風雨圖
ac. 趙奕	bn. 劉易
ad. 趙麟	bo. 卞
ae. 國子學	bp. 卞和
af. 檢校	bq. 弁
ag. 鷗波亭	br. 黃巢
ah. 楊基	bs. 葉夢得
ai. 張羽	bt. 楊維禎
aj. 苔溪山水圖	bu. 錢選
ak. 錢惟善	bv. 弁山雪望圖

- | | |
|-----------|--------------|
| bw. 周密 | cy. 項子京家珍藏 |
| bx. 神照 | cz. 項墨林鑑賞章 |
| by. 雲林小隱圖 | da. 墨林山人 |
| bz. 崔彥暉 | db. 子京所藏 |
| ca. 夏山隱居圖 | dc. 墨林祕玩 |
| cb. 黃公望 | dd. 蒼巖 |
| cc. 溪山雨意圖 | de. 安 |
| cd. 雲林辭 | df. 儀周鑑賞 |
| ce. 茅屋諷經圖 | dg. 安氏儀周書畫之章 |
| cf. 楚辭 | dh. 子孫保之 |
| cg. 屈原 | di. 珍祕 |
| ch. 徐一夔 | dj. 乾隆御覽之寶 |
| ci. 籀 | dk. 三希堂精鑑璽 |
| cj. 巨然 | dl. 宜子孫 |
| ck. 郭熙 | dm. 乾隆鑑賞 |
| cl. 山水 | dn. 石渠寶笈 |
| cm. 王維 | do. 御賞 |
| cn. 盧鴻 | dp. 乾隆宸翰 |
| co. 李公麟 | dq. 靜娛室書畫記 |
| cp. 輞川圖 | dr. 李宗瀚印 |
| cq. 草堂十志圖 | ds. 停雲閣所藏印 |
| cr. 龍眠山莊圖 | dt. 王立中 |
| cs. 鵲華秋色圖 | du. 王世貞 |
| ct. 浮玉山居圖 | dv. 暉 |
| cu. 春山讀書圖 | dw. 日 |
| cv. 憂 | dx. 光 |
| cw. 淨因庵主 | dy. 郭思 |
| cx. 項元卣印 | |

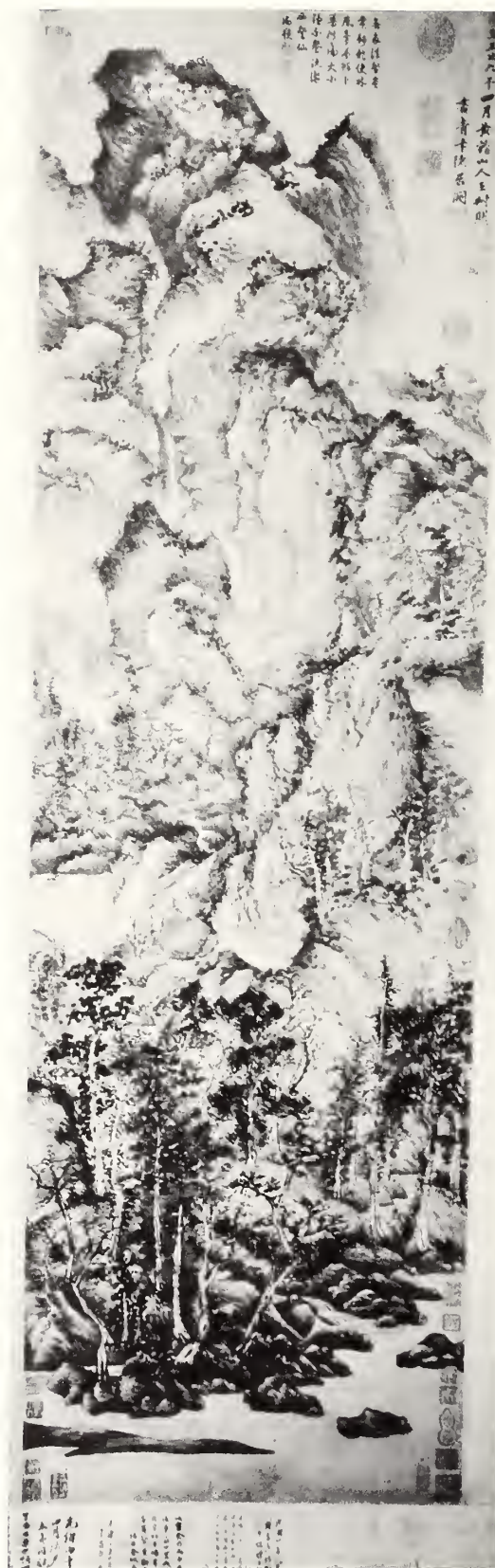


FIG. 1. *Dwelling in Retreat in the Blue Pien Mountains*. By Wang Meng. Dated in accordance with May-June 1366. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 141 × 42.2 cm. Shanghai Museum.

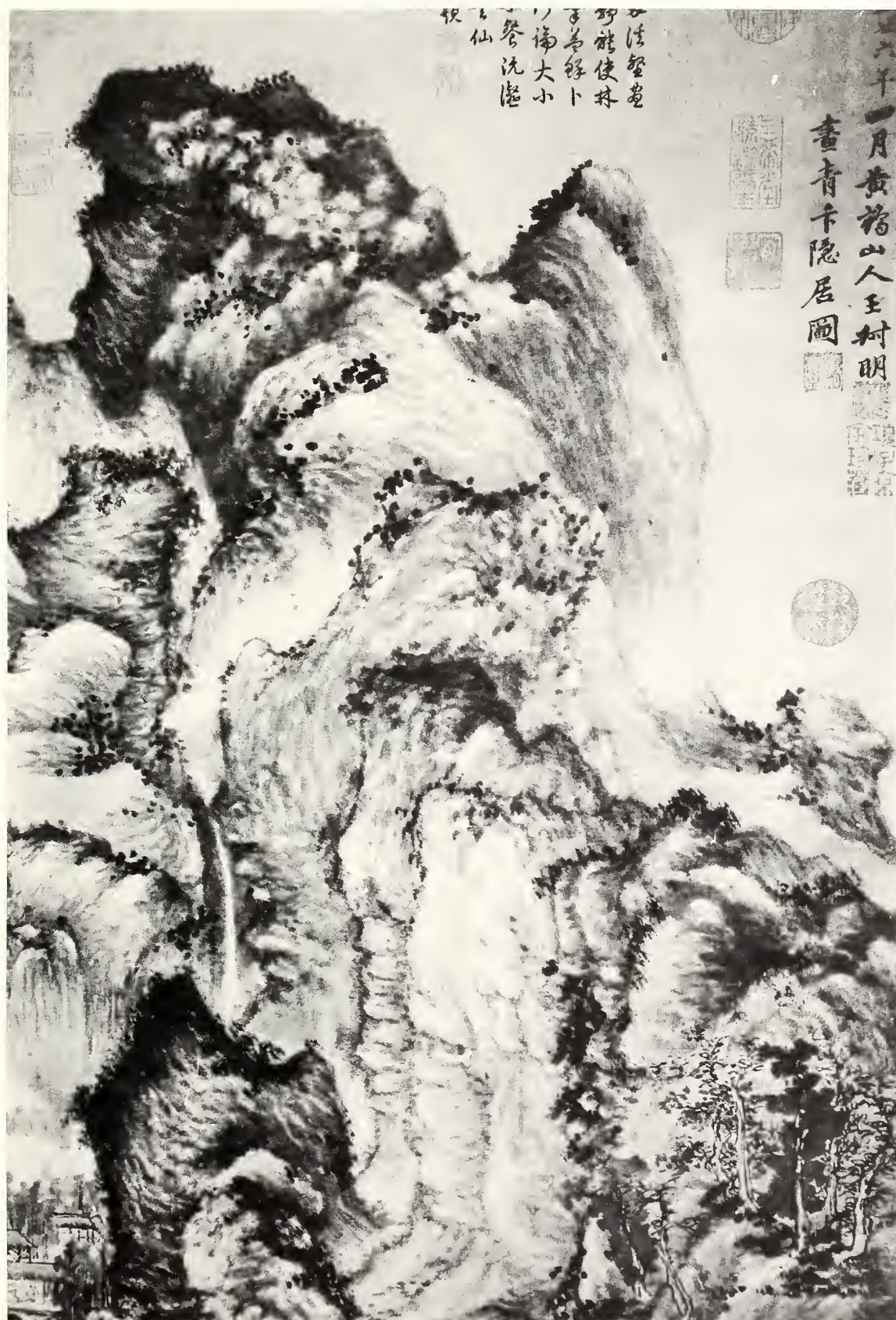


FIG. 1a. Detail of fig. 1.



FIG. 1b. Detail of fig. 1.



FIG. 1c. Detail of fig. 1.



FIG. 2. *The Small Retreat of Master Cloudy Forest*. By Wang Meng. Handsroll.



FIG. 3. *Secluded Dwellings in the Summer Mountains*. By Wang Meng. Dated in accordance with 1354. Hanging scroll mounted as a panel, ink on silk, 56.8 × 34.2 cm. Courtesy, [Freer Gallery of Art](#), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 4. Map of Hu-chou Region. (After Tsung Yüan-han et al., eds., *Che-chiang sheng Hu-chou fu-chih* (1874), reprinted in *Chung-kuo fang-chih ts'ung-shu, Hua-chung ti-fang*, no. 54 [Taipei, 1970], 1.2.)



FIG. 5. Map of the Pien Mountains. (After Tsung Yüan-han, *Hu-chou fu-chih* 1.13.)

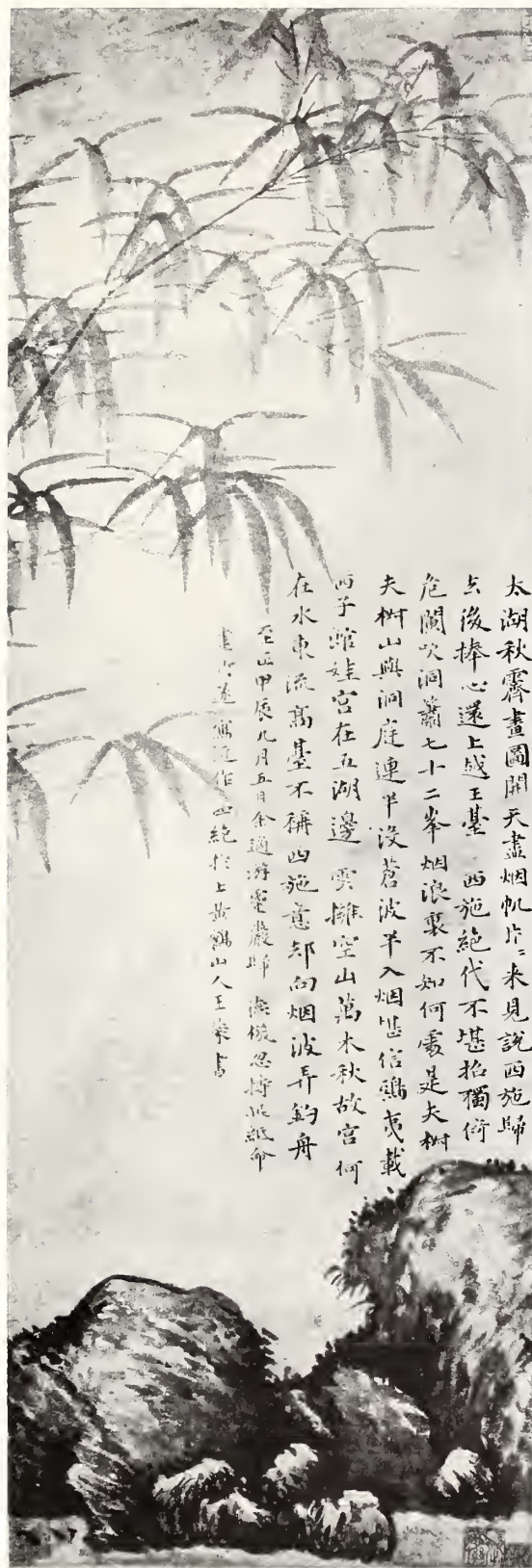


FIG. 6. *Bamboo and Rocks*. By Wang Meng. Dated in accordance with 1364. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 77.2 × 27 cm. Suchou Museum.



FIG. 7. *Dwelling in the Lung-mien Mountains*. Attributed to Li Kung-lin. Section of a handscroll, ink on paper.
Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.



FIG. 8. *Reading in Spring Mountains*. By Wang Meng. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 132.4 × 55.4 cm. Shanghai Museum.

LU CHIH AND THE LITERATI TRADITION: PAINTINGS IN THE STYLE OF NI TSAN

BY LOUISE YUHAS

LU CHIH^a (1496–1576) WAS ONE OF A NUMBER OF PAINTERS active in Suchou during the decades preceding and following the death of Wen Cheng-ming^b in 1559. This period has long been seen as one in which the ideals and practices of literati painting declined, to be revived by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang^c and his contemporaries in neighboring Hua-t'ing only around the turn of the seventeenth century. In some respects this stereotype seems justified: although most of the scholar-artists active during the latter half of the sixteenth century learned their art directly from Wen Cheng-ming, much of the "scholarly" content associated with the *wen-jen*^d tradition disappeared from their work.¹ Among the indications of this change are the relative scarcity of paintings "in the style of" early masters and the lack of interest in the history of painting implied by the infrequency with which these artists comment on historical or stylistic matters in their writings. Their painting styles derive primarily from Wen himself rather than from fresh interpretations of early sources. The absence of an artistic personality capable of filling the vacuum left at Wen Cheng-ming's death, as well as the apparent decline in the intellectuality of painters active in the latter half of the sixteenth century, creates the impression of a lack of direction which perhaps contributed to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's assessment that no artists of distinction had appeared in Suchou since Shen Chou^e and Wen Cheng-ming.²

At the same time, however, many aspects of the traditional literati approach to painting survived during these decades. They appear even in the art of Lu Chih, a painter who in many ways was at odds with the literati mainstream of his time. Lu was one of a very few *wen-jen* artists active in sixteenth-century Suchou who seems not to have studied painting directly from Wen Cheng-ming.³ Although born into the gentry class and the holder of a *kung-sheng*^f degree in his old age, Lu remained outside the "inner circle" of Wen's coterie, perhaps by virtue of his poverty as well as his eccentric personality.⁴ He was present at only a few of the many recorded gatherings of Wen's literary and artistic friends, and his name seldom appears on their paintings or in their collected writings.

This social and physical distance from Wen Cheng-ming is paralleled by a degree of stylistic independence unusual in Lu's time. Whereas the art

of Wen and his pupils can be understood within the "orthodox" line of literati painting (with special debts to Chao Meng-fu^g and Wang Meng^h),⁵ Lu Chih drew extensively on nonliterati traditions as well, including those of the Southern Sung Academy (transmitted through T'ang Yinⁱ) and the professional blue-and-green manner as transmitted by Ch'iu Ying.^j His most distinctive paintings, executed in the late 1540s and 1550s (before Wen Cheng-ming's death), display an almost bewildering multiplicity of references to past and contemporary sources, resulting in a uniquely personal manner immediately recognizable as "Lu Chih."⁶

What, then, is the nature of Lu Chih's relationship to the literati tradition? This question can best be answered by examining a group of paintings not associated with Lu's most familiar and distinctive manner: his works "in the styles of" early masters. This type of painting, although a hallmark of literati painting from the Yüan onward, was in decline among Wen Cheng-ming's pupils; in fact, Lu Chih painted such "modal studies" with greater frequency than any of his contemporaries. In them, Lu carried on the complex process of transmission and transformation of early styles, integrating into his interpretations elements introduced by his immediate predecessors Shen Chou and Wen Cheng-ming. Further, in proper *wen-jen* fashion, Lu integrated elements from these stylistic modes into his "personal" manner; Wang Shih-chen^k (1526–1590) records in *I-yüan chih-yen* (*Discourse on the Arts*) that at the age of eighty Lu anticipated achieving his "great synthesis" (*ta-ch'eng*)^l in two more years.⁷ Unfortunately, he died at eighty-one.

Although Lu worked occasionally in the modes of Mi Fu^m (fig. 10), Huang Kung-wang,ⁿ and Wang Meng (figs. 16, 19), that of Ni Tsan^o held the most continuing interest for him.⁸ His surviving paintings in this mode span his career from the 1530s through the 1560s and parallel his broader evolution as an artist. Examination of them reveals that in his early work Lu was influenced more by the style of Shen Chou than by that of Wen Cheng-ming, a balance which was reversed in his later paintings as the artistic vision of Wen Cheng-ming gradually came to dominate painting in Suchou. At the same time, however, all of Lu Chih's paintings in the Ni Tsan mode reflect his broader interests and can be

related to contemporary works not painted in Ni's style.

Lu Chih's earliest paintings in this manner, both known simply as *Landscape*, are a short handscroll dated 1535, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 2), and an undated fan in the Rietberg Museum, Zurich (fig. 1). Neither is inscribed as following Ni Tsan, but the visual references are clear. Both paintings employ Ni's typical slanted brushstrokes (*ts'e-pi*),^p and the trees belong to the well-defined Ni Tsan type as seen in *The Jung-hsi Studio* (*Jung-hsi chai t'u*)^q of 1372 (fig. 3): a few bare or sparsely foliated trees carefully placed in the foreground, the bare branches depicted with shallow, U-shaped lines and the foliage with horizontal dots. The fan also includes Ni's characteristic horizontal *tien*^t (ink dots) in the distant mountains and the familiar deserted pavilion. At the same time, several features of these paintings distinguish them from the usual Ni Tsan stereotype: both paintings employ color; both stress the full roundness of mountain forms rather than pristine sparseness; and the National Palace Museum handscroll is painted on silk rather than the usual paper.

The style of Lu's handscroll and fan suggests that he derived his early image of Ni Tsan, not from original Ni Tsan paintings, but from such Shen Chou interpretations as *Walking with a Staff* (*Ts'e-chang t'u*)^r in the National Palace Museum (fig. 4). The distinctiveness of Shen's version of the mode was recognized at least by the 1570s, when Wang Shih-chen commented that Ni's was the only ancient mode which Shen could not master because of his natural forcefulness of brush.⁹ Tung Ch'i-ch'ang went further, attributing criticism of Shen's treatment of Ni Tsan to his teacher: "Each time Shen [Chou] did a painting after Yü-weng^t [Ni Tsan], as soon as his teacher Chao T'ung-lu^u saw it he would shout, 'Too much! Too much!'"¹⁰ In comparison with *The Jung-hsi Studio*, Shen's swelling forms seem tightly compressed in a composition which builds more obviously along the central axis; moreover, he rounds out Ni's angular mountain forms and adds rounded rocks highlighted by horizontal *tien* along the ridges of the mountains, and his texture strokes are long and almost straight as opposed to Ni's *ts'e-pi*. These modifications suggest that Shen Chou is not only adapting Ni's style to fit his own artistic personality but is also making an art-historical statement linking Ni Tsan to the tenth-century painters Tung Yüan^v and Chü-jan.^{w11}

Shen's treatment of the mode, however, is not completely without precedent. His older contempo-

rary Liu Chüeh^x (1410-1472) displayed a similar tendency to fill the surface in *Landscape in the Manner of Ni Tsan* (fig. 5), now in the Musée Guimet, a painting which bears a poetic inscription by Shen himself. Liu's scroll further introduces the motif of a waterfall emerging from the distant mountains. Although this device does not appear in any surviving Ni Tsan paintings of unquestioned authenticity, it is present in *Mansions of Immortals among Streams and Mountains* (*Hsi-shan hsien-kuan t'u*)^y (fig. 14), dated 1371, formerly in the collection of Chiang Erh-shih, a painting which will be discussed presently in relation to Lu Chih's *Taoist Retreat among Streams and Mountains* (*Hsi-shan hsien-kuan t'u*)^z of 1567.

Shen Chou's full-bodied interpretation of Ni Tsan, controversial though it was in later times, was accepted as part of the Ni Tsan tradition in the early sixteenth century and served as a prototype for at least one painting by Shen's pupil Wen Cheng-ming. His *Autumn Mountains* (*Ch'iu-shan t'u*)^{aa} in the Chicago Art Institute, probably painted in the 1510s, is closely related to Shen Chou's vision of Ni Tsan in the fullness of its composition, the soft roundness of its forms, and the richness of its brushwork (fig. 6).¹² These same features anticipate Lu Chih's scroll of 1535, as do the motifs of the ink-wash distant mountains and the cluster of huts; in fact, Lu's composition is almost a mirror image of Wen's. Comparison of the paintings, however, reveals that Lu Chih's treatment is actually closer to that of Shen Chou than it is to Wen Cheng-ming's; whereas Wen minimizes the three-dimensionality of the forms in order to concentrate on the surface of the paper, Lu emphasizes volume and spatial relationships.

The treatment of the cluster of huts in the two paintings illustrates this important difference. The motif itself is virtually identical in both scrolls: a foreground rise topped by a few trees (Wen has four, Lu only three) which partially screen three cottages; additional trees (Wen has one, Lu two) grow behind the structures. Wen Cheng-ming, however, flattens the effect by concealing the bases of the huts behind the rise and placing two of the huts parallel to each other. Moreover, the top of the tree behind the cottages is placed among those growing in front with no indication of intervening space. Lu Chih, on the other hand, treats the motif with a precision of placement and structure which recalls the archaic "space cell" of pre-Sung paintings: the foreground rise is clearly separated from the base of the huts; each hut is placed at an angle to the others, emphasizing the space occupied by the cluster; the

trees behind the huts are disproportionately smaller than those in front and are placed to the right so that there is no possibility of confusing the two groups.

Such contrasts are found throughout the two scrolls. Wen Cheng-ming keeps his mountains close to the surface by cropping the tops in the first half of the painting, while Lu's do not approach the upper border until the very end of his composition, and then only after the effect of recession has been clearly established. Neither painting relies heavily on atmospheric perspective, but whereas the mountain path near the center of Wen's painting angles sharply upward so as to deny the appearance of recession, Lu's stream penetrates into depth through overlapping and zigzag lines. Finally, while Lu Chih avoids the use of horizontal *tien* in his painting, thereby enhancing the volumetric quality of the mountains, Wen Cheng-ming scatters them almost randomly across the surface, where they mingle with the truly random gold flecks in the paper itself to create textural effects essentially independent of the represented forms.

These paintings by Wen Cheng-ming and Lu Chih establish the importance of Shen Chou's revision of the Ni Tsan tradition to sixteenth-century literati painters. The differences between them relate to the individuality of the two artists; yet it is clear that both belong to a single stylistic tradition. Further, although the similarity between the two compositions suggests that Wen Cheng-ming served as a stylistic intermediary between Lu Chih and Shen Chou, Lu's concern with volume and roundness of form is in fact closer to the style of Shen Chou than to that of Wen Cheng-ming.

One element which distinguishes Lu Chih's handscroll and fan from the works of both Shen Chou and Wen Cheng-ming is the presence of color. In fact, Lu relies less on the expected texture strokes to create a sense of volume than on faint washes of umber and blue, which produce subtle alternations of advancing and receding warm and cool tones. The use of color, while at variance with the usual Ni Tsan stereotype, is found on rare occasions in the work of Ni Tsan himself, and such paintings were highly prized as early as the late sixteenth century, when Wang Shih-chen stated that only two survived in Chiang-nan collections.¹³ Tung Ch'i-ch'ang went even further, stating that Ni only did two colored landscapes. Of these, one had been in the collection of Wang Shih-mou^{ab} (Wang Shih-chen's brother), and the second had belonged to the Huang^{ac} family in Sung-chiang. The latter painting, on which Tung's comments appear, is *Empty Grove after Rain* (*Yü-hou k'ung-lin t'u*),^{ad} now in the National

Palace Museum (fig. 8).¹⁴

Empty Grove after Rain was considered one of Ni Tsan's finest paintings as early as 1608, when it was seen and recorded by Chang Ch'ou.^{ac15} In recent years, however, doubt has been cast on Ni's authorship on the basis of chronological inconsistencies in its inscriptions.¹⁶ Moreover, the painting survives in rather damaged condition, making its date of execution difficult to determine. Thus, it is impossible to say with certainty that *Empty Grove* exerted an influence on Lu Chih. It should be noted, however, that the hills in the painting are more rounded and volumetric than those usually associated with Ni Tsan and that there are few texture strokes to compete with the pale blue and umber washes which give substance to the mountain forms. Both features, as we have seen, characterize Lu Chih's handscroll of 1535. It should also be noted that Wen Cheng-ming associated color with the Ni Tsan tradition on at least one occasion, in *Spring in Chiang-nan* (*Chiang-nan ch'un t'u*)^{af} of 1547, a painting of which more will be said below (fig. 12).

Lu Chih's early paintings in the style of Ni Tsan seem to differ distinctly from his most characteristic mature style of the 1540s and 1550s, and yet they have much in common with the painter's other works datable to the 1530s, before his interest in volume and spatial compression gave way to essays in angularity and surface texture. The short handscroll *Thatched Hut at Lien-ch'uan* (*Lien-ch'uan ts'ao-t'ang t'u*)^{ag} of 1537 (fig. 7), which makes no reference to the style of Ni Tsan, is quite similar to the 1535 scroll in the way its densely packed forms fill a shallow, stagelike depth. Even when working in a manner as visually distinct from Ni Tsan as that of Mi Fu, the similarities outweigh the differences. For example, a landscape fan in the Mi style (fig. 9) strongly resembles the Rietberg fan in the bulging rock forms and the division of the composition into parallel foreground and background bands. The deliberate arrangement of buildings and trees in the Mi-style fan also recalls the landscape handscroll of 1535.

Thus, while the early works of Lu Chih often suggest familiarity with paintings by Wen Cheng-ming (a suggestion that is very strong in such scrolls as *Song of the Great Land of Wu* [*Ta Wu ko*]^{ah} of 1534 in the Drenowatz Collection),¹⁷ the dominant influence on his art before 1540 was the legacy of Shen Chou. Shen had died in 1509, when Lu was a boy of thirteen, and there is no indication that they ever met. However, Lu also began to paint before Wen Cheng-ming came to dominate Suchou artistic circles after his return from Peking in 1527: Lu's earliest known paintings date from 1522 and 1523,

when Lu was living, not in Suchou, but in neighboring Ch'en-hu;¹⁸ by the time he returned to Suchou (probably in 1524), Wen had departed for the capital. The earliest recorded connection between the two painters was in 1527, when both contributed to a collective album celebrating the sixtieth birthday of Yüan Tzu^{ai} (1466–1530).¹⁹ Wang Shih-chen reports that Wen composed a eulogy for Lu's father, who died in 1532; the text has not survived.²⁰ Finally, Lu Chih's handscroll of 1535 was "added to" (*pu*)^{ai} calligraphy written by Wen Cheng-ming two years earlier, although it is not clear who owned the scroll at the time.²¹ Given the sporadic nature of these contacts, none of which necessarily involved face-to-face meetings between them, and the fact that during the 1530s Wen Cheng-ming was just entering his period of greatest productivity and influence, Lu Chih's reliance on the more established style of Shen Chou is not surprising.

The Ni Tsan mode seems to have played a minor role during the middle years of Lu Chih's creative life, and no dated version of it survives or is recorded until 1560. This gap of some twenty-five years can be partially filled by a hanging scroll in the Chicago Art Institute known simply as *Landscape* (fig. 10). The painting is undated, but on the basis of brushwork and the handling of line it can be placed in the early 1540s.²² Though it postdates the handscroll of 1535 by less than a decade, the Chicago scroll presents a strikingly different interpretation of the mode which announces the direction of Lu's artistic evolution both within and beyond the boundaries of the Ni Tsan tradition.

Perhaps the most significant difference between the Chicago *Landscape* and Lu's earlier works in the Ni Tsan mode is the composition itself. In contrast to Lu's earlier renderings, which were dominated by volumetric forms and packed spaces, the lower half of the Chicago scroll conforms to the conceptual portrayal of distance by means of a broad expanse of blank paper and high horizon, a technique which was popular in the Yüan dynasty and which belongs to the stereotypical Ni Tsan manner. Within this lower area, forms are displayed against the flat surface, overlapping planes are avoided, and the eye travels upward with no temptation to read the blank paper as receding into the distance.

When we reach the distant mountains, moreover, the spatial orientation changes completely, and our eye follows the river as it diminishes into the distance, its recession clearly marked by its zigzag course along the base of overlapping planes of mountain ranges. This technique for creating the illusion of recession was discovered early in the

history of Chinese landscape painting but was largely superseded by the development of atmospheric perspective in the Sung dynasty.²³ Lu's use of outlined clouds reinforces the archaic connotations of the device, but there is nothing awkward or naive in his depiction, and the contrast between the flat lower half and the deep distance of the upper half is clearly a calculated effect.

The juxtaposition of contrasting spatial systems becomes a major feature of Lu Chih's style from the 1540s onward and, as we shall see, transcends modal boundaries. The fact that it makes an early appearance in a painting associated with Ni Tsan is appropriate, for such combinations are present in germinal form in certain Ni Tsan paintings, such as *Riverside Pavilion and Mountain Scenery* (*Chiang-t'ing shan-se t'u*),^{ak} in which the distant mountains at the upper right tend to recede along the diagonal of the riverbank (fig. 11). This effect, understated in Ni Tsan and altogether absent from Shen Chou's *Walking with a Staff* as well as from Lu's early Ni Tsan-style paintings, dominates the Chicago scroll.

In fact, the presence of Shen Chou is hardly felt in the Chicago *Landscape*: gone are the soft modeling, the swelling forms, the compressed space, and the pastel shadings. Instead, we find angular lines, multifaceted and rocky mountain forms, a spacious composition, and monochrome ink. The intimacy of the ground-level views in the handscroll and fan is replaced by the remoteness of the hanging scroll, in which the display of forms on the vertical axis of the paper tends to prevent the eye from penetrating into deep space.

These qualities of Lu Chih's painting, particularly the heightened exploitation of the surface and the less volumetric character of the rock forms, in fact suggest a displacement of the influence of Shen Chou by that of Wen Cheng-ming. When one looks for specific works to compare, however, one finds that the Ni Tsan mode played only a minor role in Wen's art of the 1520s and 1530s. In fact, by the time Lu painted the Chicago scroll, Wen had already begun the series of "mountainscapes" based on the style of Wang Meng which dominated his oeuvre of the late 1530s and 1540s. A similar chronological discrepancy had existed between the two artists' Shen Chou-esque versions of the mode discussed above: Wen's *Autumn Mountains* is datable to the late 1510s, while Lu's landscape handscroll was not painted until 1535. Moreover, 1535 was the year in which Wen painted *Landscape in the Style of Wang Meng* (*Fang Wang Meng shan-shui t'u*),^{al} which represents the very antithesis of the sparse austerity of Ni Tsan (fig. 18). Lu Chih did not attempt to

assimilate this mountainscape formula until the late 1540s and after.

The lack of evidence for direct artistic transfer from Wen Cheng-ming to Lu Chih supports the conclusion that no teacher-pupil relationship existed between them. It should not, however, imply that Lu Chih was unaware of Wen's work or untouched by it. The presence of Wen Cheng-ming is felt throughout Lu Chih's art and gives testimony to the pervasiveness of his influence in Suchou during (and after) his lifetime. And yet, it was Lu's relative independence from Wen which allowed him to explore areas of only marginal interest to the older artist. The Ni Tsan mode itself was of greater importance to Lu Chih's artistic development than to Wen Cheng-ming's; conversely, the style of Wang Meng occupied a more central position in Wen Cheng-ming's art than in that of Lu Chih. This difference in stylistic preference can be related to differences in the characteristic brushwork of the two artists, differences which transcend distinctions of stylistic mode: whereas Wen Cheng-ming relies on rounded strokes and dotted textures in paintings modeled after both Ni Tsan (fig. 12) and Wang Meng (fig. 18), Lu employs angular strokes and straight-line textures in the context of the same two modes (figs. 13, 16).

The painting by Wen Cheng-ming which most closely approximates Lu Chih's *Landscape* of ca. 1540 was actually done several years later, in 1547, but it nonetheless provides evidence for the relative similarity between Wen and Lu as Shen Chou's image of Ni Tsan receded from their work. It is *Spring in Chiang-nan* (fig. 12), a painting already noted for its use of color. The stylistic references to Ni Tsan are muted, but the subject itself is Ni's famous *tz'u*^{am} poem of the same title which often served as the basis for paintings and poems by Suchou literati.²⁴ Moreover, the split composition, with the foreground dominated by tall trees silhouetted against the blank paper, makes a clear allusion to Ni. The combination of this area with an atmospheric recession at the top of the scroll recalls Lu's Chicago scroll as well as Ni's *Riverside Pavilion*. In contrast to Lu's treatment, however, Wen does not emphasize the juxtaposition of spatial schemes but uses soft recession to heighten the atmospheric effect of a warm, misty spring day. As we shall see in examining Lu Chih's later treatment of the Ni Tsan and other modes, the conscious, forceful juxtaposition of contrasting elements is central to his style, even when working within the context of a historical mode.

The painting which most effectively develops the

ideas stated in the Chicago *Landscape* is Lu Chih's finest painting in the Ni Tsan manner, the *Taoist Retreat among Streams and Mountains* of 1567 in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 13). The years intervening between the Chicago and Cleveland scrolls had witnessed Lu's maturation as an artist and the execution of many of his most famous paintings. In 1567 he was seventy-two and entering his final creative period; his works from these years often suggest a reflective mood which perhaps explains his return to the "modal studies" of his youth, largely abandoned during his middle years.

In his lengthy inscription on the Cleveland scroll, Lu provides a rare written account of his feelings about Ni Tsan and his own artistic development. The content, familiar from Wai-kam Ho's translation, can be paraphrased here.²⁵ Lu says that he often imitated Ni in his youth and had been complimented by Wen Cheng-ming on his efforts; in later years, he felt that he might even have surpassed the old master, the practice he received while constantly filling requests for paintings having improved his brushwork. Now, however, viewing a Ni Tsan painting which had been brought to him by a friend, Lu realized that he was actually inferior to Ni. Nevertheless, he made a copy of it, which was praised by his friend for its close resemblance to the original.

The painting which purports to be the Ni Tsan original copied by Lu Chih is *Mansions of Immortals among Streams and Mountains* (fig. 14). A painting of this title (*Hsi-shan hsien-kuan*) has been known since the early seventeenth century, when it was recorded by Chang Ch'ou and Wang K'o-yü.^{an26} Although clearly belonging to the Ni Tsan tradition by virtue of the tree forms, the compositional sparseness, and motifs such as the deserted pavilion, it is not a "typical" Ni Tsan painting. The composition, particularly the arrangement of the distant mountains, does recall Ni's *Mountains Seen from a Riverbank* (*Chiang-an wang-shan t'u*)^{ao} of 1363,²⁷ but the lack of a stable base for the composition and the prominence of the "distant" mountains over the less substantial foreground create an inversion of the expected formal relationships that is more characteristic of Ming than of Yüan painting. This suggests that *Mansions of Immortals* may have been painted after Lu Chih's *Taoist Retreat*.

Even if one accepts *Mansions of Immortals* as an authentic Ni Tsan painting and the model for Lu Chih's *Taoist Retreat*,²⁸ it does not affect our assessment of the quality of the painting, nor of its place in Lu's artistic evolution. The angular lines, faceted surfaces, and juxtaposed spatial conventions

follow naturally from the Chicago scroll. Moreover, the crisp, clean brushstrokes which define the forms owe little to *Mansions of Immortals*, which is far softer in form and brushwork than *Taoist Retreat* and is painted on silk rather than the usual paper (Lu Chih, on the other hand, had used silk for his handscroll of 1535 but painted *Taoist Retreat* on paper).

Specific verbal references to Wen Cheng-ming by Lu Chih are rare, and the fact that he mentions Wen in his inscription on the Cleveland painting is significant. Wen had already been dead for eight years in 1567, and yet his influence is felt in this scroll more strongly than in any of Lu's other works in the Ni Tsan mode. Once again, however, we must look to Wen's early experiments with the mode for the closest parallel. *Summer Retreat in the Eastern Grove* (*Tung-lin pi-shu t'u*),²⁹ a short handscroll in the Crawford Collection, is datable by its inscriptions to ca. 1512 (fig. 15).²⁹ Its composition, although horizontal in format, is very similar to the lower half of *Taoist Retreat*: a series of discrete islets spreads across the surface to culminate in a cliff down which a waterfall cascades.

The islets and cliff which comprise Wen Cheng-ming's entire composition, however, occupy only the lower half of Lu's. After creating a flat display of isolated forms in the lower half of the painting, Lu then constructs two very convincing recessions around the distant mountains: one along the top of the cliff from which the waterfall descends and one at the base of the cliff, behind which we see a low riverbank on which are situated a cottage and a grove of trees. The result is a deeper and more daring exploration of the concept of spatial juxtaposition first stated in the Chicago scroll of a quarter-century before.

The contrast between surface and depth in *Taoist Retreat* is heightened by the relative weight assigned to the lower and upper portions of the scroll. The traditional hanging-scroll composition is firmly anchored at the bottom; even in Ni Tsan's sparse arrangements, the foreground motifs stretch across the width of the scroll and provide a stable foundation which supports the entire composition. In Lu Chih's painting, by contrast, the very bottom of the scroll is blank paper, and the major foreground motifs are concentrated on the right side, emphasized by the strong pull of the causeway straight up the surface. The horizontal "anchor" of the composition occurs only in the distant mountains, which further dominate the foreground forms through their greater volume and more naturalistic appearance. The result is a dramatic inversion

of traditional compositional principles and expectations.

The upper half of *Taoist Retreat* could, in fact, stand as an independent composition. The concentration of mountain forms to the left restores the balance of the composition as a whole, but their solid base and three-dimensional firmness further serve to hold the attention of the viewer in this "distant" area. As our eye is led along the causeway and around the mountains into the cluster of deserted huts at the upper right, we are confronted with an unusually original statement of one of the dominant themes of Suchou painting: the scholar's retreat, far from the "dusty world" and surrounded by the purity of nature. The mode of Ni Tsan is an appropriate vehicle for expressing this ideal (as well as the austere clarity of mind which is a part of it), an ideal which Lu himself realized in his later life to a much greater degree than most of his contemporaries.³⁰

The degree to which Lu Chih's personal artistic vision imbues all his paintings of this period, regardless of stylistic mode, can be seen by comparing *Taoist Retreat* with a painting done the following year (1568) in the style of Wang Meng, a mode at the opposite extreme from the sparseness and angularity of Ni Tsan. *Hermit Fisherman at Hua-ch'i* (*Hua-ch'i yü-yin t'u*)³¹ is related to Wang Meng through both subject and style (fig. 16). Wang's famous composition of the same title survives in three versions; that considered to be the original (fig. 17) was in the collection of Hsiang Yüan-pien³² in the sixteenth century and was known to Suchou artists. Lu Chih's contemporary (and Wen Cheng-ming's nephew) Wen Po-chen³³ used the same title for a hanging scroll painted in 1569, now in the Shanghai Museum.³¹

Whether Lu Chih had actually seen Wang Meng's painting is uncertain. His composition seems to be based less on Wang's *Hermit Fisherman* than on Wen Cheng-ming's "mountainscape" formula developed in the 1530s and 1540s, represented here by the *Landscape in the Style of Wang Meng* of 1535 (fig. 18). The impact of Wen's interpretation of Wang Meng, characterized by extremely tall, narrow proportions and intricate tracteries of brushwork covering the surface in complex patterns, was even greater than Shen Chou's transformation of Ni Tsan discussed above, and it became a popular genre among Wen's pupils and followers.³² Its appearance in Lu Chih's oeuvre, however, is relatively rare, and although Lu stated on at least two occasions that he had often imitated Wang's style in his youth, only one surviving and one recorded example are known.³³

Although the visual references to Wang Meng and Wen Cheng-ming dominate ones first impression of Lu Chih's *Hermit Fisherman*, there are also significant differences which relate it to his *Taoist Retreat among Streams and Mountains* in the style of Ni Tsan. One such difference is found in the brushwork. Despite the spring season specified by the mention of peach blossoms in Wang's poem, both Wang Meng and Wen Cheng-ming painted summer landscapes, in which the rich ink textures of dense foliage flow naturally into the ropy *ts'un*^{at} (lit., "wrinkles," or texture strokes) of earthen mountains. Lu Chih, by contrast, employs concave, angular brushstrokes, very similar to those used in *Taoist Retreat*, to depict rocky mountains complemented by staccato rhythms of bare tree branches and outlined leaves. This type of brushstroke, which appeared in Lu's paintings in the Ni Tsan mode with the *Chicago Landscape* of ca. 1540 (fig. 10) and prevailed in most of his later paintings, effectively suggests the spring season at the same time that it tends to fragment the surface of the painting.

Lu Chih's compositional scheme is similarly characterized by fragmentation. The paintings by both Wang and Wen depend for their effectiveness on the creation of flowing, surging rhythms which lead the eye through the composition from bottom to top and lend a sense of order to the complexity of brushwork and formal relationship. Lu Chih, by contrast, breaks the composition down into three distinct areas rather than unifying the surface into a single organic whole: the fisherman in his boat at the bottom of the scroll is contained between parenthesis-shaped cliffs which almost converge above him; from this area rises a range of "distant" hills which itself contains a juxtaposition of a vertical waterfall on the right against a receding shoreline on the left; the upper third of the painting consists of a "deep distance" recession fading into a mist-shrouded horizon at the top right.

This approach to the composition, particularly the treatment of the foreground, which is set between two cliffs converging toward the center of the scroll, had been anticipated two decades earlier in Lu's *Landscape in the Style of Wang Meng* (*Fang Huang-hao Shan-ch'iao shan-shui t'u*),^{au} a hanging scroll painted in 1548, formerly in the collection of Li Moch'ao^{av} (fig. 19).³⁴ In this, his only other surviving work based directly on Wang's style, Lu attempted to imitate the conventions of brushwork associated with Wang Meng, employing rounded contours and dotted *tien*, but the composition still tends to fragment into three distinct areas. That he was dissatisfied with the result is suggested in his

inscription on the scroll:

When I was young I studied Huang-hao Shan-ch'iao [Wang Meng] and to some degree discovered his path. Later I was taken up with other obligations and for a long time did not do his [style]. Shan-ch'iao's brush conceptions are archaic and refined and capture the essence of leisurely solitude among wooded valleys. Few who take up the brush without a pure and quiet heart will equal his wonders. In the fall of *wu-shen* of Chia-ching [1548], I had been living in the mountains for many months. [As though] from a great distance the thought of Shan-ch'iao came to me, so I did this scroll. Although my brushwork has matured, I have only slightly improved upon my earlier [attempts]. As for Shan-ch'iao's conception, I have missed it by even more! Still, if the viewer looks beyond [mere] resemblance, there is not necessarily nothing [of Wang Meng] there. Written the following year, on an autumn day of *chi-yu* [1549].^{aw}

By the time Lu Chih painted *Hermit Fisherman at Hua-ch'i* in 1568, he had ceased imitating brush conventions associated with stylistic modes; the clues to the identity of a particular mode are provided by subject matter or composition rather than brushwork. In the case of *Hermit Fisherman*, Lu's predilection for fragmentation and juxtaposition contributes in a positive manner to conveying the meaning of the painting in visual terms. The lower third of the scroll is self-contained, the fisherman and his attendants bounded by parenthesis-shaped rock walls on either side and by the strong descending accent of the stalactites above. The visual movement is circular, producing a grottolike atmosphere. Combined with the seasonal evocation of early spring through the patterns of bare branches, these qualities add to Lu's painting a layer of visual meaning which is absent from Wang Meng's original: the spring scene, the fisherman in his boat under barely flowering trees, and the treatment of the foreground as a grotto cut off from, but leading to, the landscape above call to mind the iconography of T'ao Yüan-ming's *Peach Blossom Spring* (*T'ao-hua yüan*),^{ax} a subject to which Lu Chih often alluded in other paintings and which was a popular metaphor in the sixteenth century for the life of the retired scholar.³⁵

The theme of Lu's painting, expressed through its style as well as its title, thus emerges as essentially similar to the theme of *Taoist Retreat among Streams and Mountains*. Both stress the ideal of the scholar-recluse, absorbed in nature and aloof from the cares of the mundane world. Although superficially very different in composition and density, they employ similar devices of juxtaposition as well as similar vocabularies of brushstrokes, with the result that the sparse purity of Ni Tsan and the full complexity of Wang Meng are equally transformed

by the artistic imagination of Lu Chih to convey a uniquely personal meaning.

A final note will serve to underscore the convergence of these two distinct modes in Lu Chih's work. The upper third of *Hermit Fisherman at Hua-ch'i* bears a striking similarity to an album leaf painted by Lu Chih in 1564, the *Searching for Plum Blossoms after Snow* (*Hsüeh-hou fang mei t'u*)^{ay} in the National Palace Museum (fig. 20). This painting is not inscribed as following Ni Tsan but is related to Lu's other works in the mode, particularly the Chicago *Landscape* of ca. 1540 (fig. 10) and *Taoist Retreat* of 1567.

Lu Chih's paintings in the style of Ni Tsan span his creative life from the 1530s through the 1560s. His

early experiments with the mode drew heavily on the precedents established by Liu Chüeh and Shen Chou. In his later works Lu was increasingly influenced by the artistic vision of Wen Cheng-ming as it came to dominate sixteenth-century interpretations of the literati tradition. At the same time, however, Lu developed a distinctly personal version of the mode which is closely related to his paintings in other styles, including that of Wang Meng, as well as to his works in which no historical mode is followed. Examination of these paintings provides a glimpse into the process of transmission and transformation of the literati tradition in Wu School painting of the sixteenth century, a period in which these traditions are often characterized as in decline.

Notes

1. Among the students of Wen Cheng-ming, Wen Chia^{at} and Wen Po-*jen* belonged to Wen Cheng-ming's family; Chou T'ien-ch'iu,^{ba} Ch'en Shun,^{bb} Lu Shih-tao,^{bc} Wang Ku-hsiang,^{bd} Chu Lang,^{be} Ch'ien Ku,^{bf} and Chü Chieh^{bg} were some of his other pupils.
2. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-yen*, reprinted in *I-shu ts'ung-pien*, comp. Yang Chia-lo, 30 vols. (Taipei, 1962-68), vol. 12, no. 97, p. 18.
3. The assumption that Lu studied with Wen Cheng-ming is traceable to a comment by Wang Shih-chen, written after Lu's death, that Lu had "traveled to the gates" of Wen Cheng-ming and Chu Yün-ming^{bh} (see *Yen-chou shan-jen hsü-kao* [Wan-li era, 1628-43; reprint ed. in 18 vols., Taipei, 1970], 150.7b [14:6866]). However, Wang makes no reference to Lu's teachers in his biography of Lu, written in 1571 while Lu was still living (*Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu-kao* [preface dated 1577; reprint ed. in 15 vols., Taipei, 1976], 83.18a-21a [8:3947-53]).
4. Wang Shih-chen's biography of Lu Chih contains several anecdotes detailing Lu's poverty, high moral standards, and eremitic behavior (see n. 3 above).
5. The sources of Wen Cheng-ming's style have been explored by Anne De Coursey Clapp, *Wen Cheng-ming: The Ming Artist and Antiquity*, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 34 (Ascona, 1975).
6. For a detailed discussion of these characteristics, see Louise R. Yuhas, *The Landscape Art of Lu Chih (1496-1576)* (Ann Arbor, 1979), chap. 6 *passim*.
7. Wang Shih-chen, *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu-kao* 155.18b (13:7088).
8. See Yuhas, *Landscape Art of Lu Chih*, pls. 10, 21c, for further examples of the style of Mi Fu; for the style of Huang Kung-wang, see pl. 149.
9. Wang Shih-chen, *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu-kao* 155.16a (13:7083).
10. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-yen*, p. 45.
11. The similarity between *Walking with a Staff* and the developing image of Chü-jan is apparent if it is compared with such Chü-jan attributions as *Seeking the Tao in Autumn Mountains* (*Ch'iu-shan wen tao t'u*)^{bi} and *Hsiao I Stealing the Lan-t'ing Calligraphy* (*Hsiao I chuan Lan-t'ing t'u*),^{bj} both in the National Palace Museum, Taipei; see *Ku-kung Sung hua chung-hua*, comp. Chiang Chao-shen, 3 vols. (Taipei, 1975), vol. 1, pls. 1-3.
12. The dating is taken from Richard Edwards, *The Art of Wen Cheng-ming* (Ann Arbor, 1976), p. 73.
13. Wang Shih-chen, *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu-kao* 137.17b-18a (12:6332-33).
14. Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta-chia: Huang Kung-wang, Wu Chen, Ni T'san, Wang Meng* (Taipei, 1975), no. 306.
15. Chang Ch'ou, *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang* (preface dated 1616; reprint ed. in 3 vols., Taipei, 1975), vol. 3, *hsü*, p. 49b.
16. Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta-chia*, pp. 53-55 (Chinese text). More recently, an attempt to reconcile the inconsistencies has been made by Kao Mu-sen in "The Problem of *Empty Grove after Rain* and the Style of Ni T'san's Middle Age," *National Palace Museum Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (Fall 1978): 67-78.
17. See Chu-ting Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines: Chinese Paintings in the Charles A. Drenowatz Collection*, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 30, 2 vols. (Ascona, 1974), 2:10.
18. Lu Chih's residence in Ch'en-hu is deduced from his inscriptions on two paintings: *Bulbul and Flowering Apricot* (*Hsing-hua pai-t'ou-weng t'u*),^{bk} dated 1522 and recorded in Wang K'o-yü, *Shan-hu-wang shu-hua lu* (preface dated 1643; reprint ed. in 12 vols., Taipei, 1968), vol. 10, 17.1152; and *Lofty Traces of T'ao Yüan-ming* (*P'eng-ts'e Kao-tsung t'u*),^{bl} an album leaf dated 1523, now in the National Palace Museum (see *Ku-kung shu-hua lu* [Taipei, 1965], 6.244-45; reproduced in James Cahill, *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty, 1368-1580* [New York, 1978], pl. 119).
19. Lu Shih-hua, *Wu-Yüeh so-chien shu-hua lu* (preface dated 1776; reprint ed., Taipei, 1972), 4.35-43.
20. Wang Shih-chen, *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu-kao* 83.18a (8:3947).
21. *Ku-kung shu-hua lu* 4.298.
22. It compares well with *Landscape in Blue and Green* (*Ch'ing-lü shan-shui t'u*)^{bm} of 1540 and *Clearing Skies over Mountains and Valleys* (*Hsi-shan yü-ai t'u*)^{bn} of 1541 (Yuhas, *Landscape Art of Lu Chih*, pls. 8, 9).
23. For T'ang examples, see Terukazu Akiyama and Sahuo Matsubara, *Arts of China*, trans. Alexander Soper, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1969), vol. 2, pls. 45, 46, 57.
24. Surviving examples include hanging scrolls by Chü Chieh (dated 1531, in the National Palace Museum) and Wen Chia (dated 1575, in the Hsüan-hui T'ang Collection, Hong Kong), as well as a fan painting in color by Wen Cheng-ming dated 1537, which bears rhyming poems by Wen Po-*jen*, P'eng Nien,^{bo} and Chou T'ien-ch'iu (recently acquired by the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco). Recorded examples are listed in Yuhas, *Landscape Art of Lu Chih*, pp. 224-25.
25. Sherman E. Lee, *The Colors of Ink* (New York, 1974), p. 115, no. 31.
26. Chang Ch'ou, *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang*, vol. 3, *hsü*, p. 44b; Wang K'o-yü, *Shan-hu-wang hua-lu*, vol. 8, 10.912-53.
27. Chang Kuang-pin, *Yüan ssu-ta-chia*, pl. 304.
28. James Cahill characterizes it as "odd; possibly genuine" in *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings: T'ang, Sung, Yüan* (Berkeley, 1980), p. 313.
29. See Edwards, *Art of Wen Cheng-ming*, p. 69.
30. Lu's reclusive behavior is described by Wang Shih-chen in *Yen-chou shan-jen ssu-pu-kao* 83.19a-b (8:3949-50).
31. *Shang-hai Po-wu-kuan ts'ang-hua* (Shanghai, 1959), pl. 58. Another version by Wen Po-*jen* is recorded in Wang K'o-yü, *Shan-hu-wang hua-lu*, vol. 9, 11.981.
32. A sampling of the type (in works by Wen Po-*jen*, Wen Chia, Ch'ien Ku, and Chü Chieh) can be found in Yuhas, *Landscape Art of Lu Chih*, pls. 49-52.
33. For the surviving example, see n. 34 below; the other, dated 1557, is recorded in An Ch'i, *Mo-yüan hui-kuan lu* (preface

- dated 1742), reprinted in *I-shu ts'ung-pien*, vol. 17, no. 161, 3.179.
34. Li Mo-ch'ao, *Mo-ch'ao pi-chi*, 2 vols. (Shanghai, 1935), vol. 1. Three additional versions of the same composition survive (see Yuhas, *Landscape Art of Lu Chih*, pp. 227-28).
35. The motif of the cave entrance amid flowering trees, a visual allusion to the *Peach Blossom Spring*, occurs in such Lu Chih paintings as *Gathering Herbs* (*Ts'ai hua t'u*)^{bp} of 1547 in the Vannotti Collection (Yuhas, *Landscape Art of Lu Chih*, pl. 13); *The Jade Field* (*Yü-t'ien t'u*)^{bq} handscroll of 1549 in the Nelson Gallery (*Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art* [Bloomington, Ind., 1980], no. 181); and *Cloudy Peaks and Wooded Ravines* (*Yün-feng lin-ku t'u*)^{br} of 1552 in the Shanghai Museum (*Shang-hai Po-wu-kuan ts'ang-hua*, pl. 57).

Glossary

a. 陸治	w. 巨然
b. 文徵明	x. 劉珏
c. 董其昌	y. 溪山仙館圖
d. 文人	z. 溪山仙館圖
e. 沈周	aa. 秋山圖
f. 貢生	ab. 王世懋
g. 趙孟頫	ac. 黃
h. 王蒙	ad. 雨後空林圖
i. 唐寅	ae. 張丑
j. 仇英	af. 江南春圖
k. 王世貞	ag. 練川草堂圖
l. 大成	ah. 大吳歌
m. 米芾	ai. 袁鼎
n. 黃公望	aj. 補
o. 倪瓚	ak. 江亭山色圖
p. 側筆	al. 仿王蒙山水圖
q. 容膝齋圖	am. 詞
r. 點	an. 汪珂玉
s. 策杖圖	ao. 江岸望山圖
t. 迂翁	ap. 東林避暑圖
u. 趙同魯	aq. 花谿漁隱圖
v. 董源	ar. 項元汴

as. 文伯仁
at. 皴
au. 仿黃鶴山樵山水圖
av. 李墨巢
aw. 余少師黃鶴山樵頗亦窺其蹊徑·後以草草漫應久不爲之·蓋山樵筆意古雅多蕭閒林壑之趣·非澄懷弄筆罕臻其妙·嘉靖戊申之秋·山居累月悠然有山樵之思·遂作此幅·雖筆墨蒼老·差勝於前而山樵之意·失已多矣使觀者求之驪黃之外·未必無所取也·后一年己酉秋日·
ax. 桃花源
ay. 雪後訪梅圖
az. 文嘉
ba. 周天球
bb. 陳淳
bc. 陸師道
bd. 王穀祥
be. 朱朗
bf. 錢穀
bg. 居節
bh. 祝允明
bi. 秋山問道圖
bj. 蕭翼賺蘭亭圖
bk. 杏花白頭翁圖
bl. 彭澤高蹤圖
bm. 青綠山水圖
bn. 谿山餘霽圖
bo. 彭年
bp. 采華圖
bq. 玉田圖
br. 雲峯林谷圖



FIG. 1. *Stream at Sunset*. By Lu Chih. Folding fan, ink and light colors on gold paper. Rietberg Museum, Zurich.



FIG. 2. *Landscape*. By Lu Chih. Dated 1535. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk, 35.4 × 108.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.





FIG. 2. *Landscape*. By Lu Chih. Dated 1535. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk, 35.4 × 108.3 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 3. *The Jung-hsi Studio*. By Ni Tsan. Dated 1372.
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 74.7 × 35.5 cm.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 4. *Walking with a Staff*. By Shen Chou. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 159.1 × 72.2 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 5. *Landscape in the Manner of Ni Tsan.*
By Liu Chüeh. Hanging scroll, ink on paper,
148.9 × 54.9 cm. Musée Guimet, Paris.



FIG. 6. *Autumn Mountains*. By Wen Cheng-ming. Handscroll, ink on gold-flecked paper, 31.8 × 120.8 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago.





FIG. 6. *Autumn Mountains*. By Wen Cheng-ming. Handscroll, ink on gold-flecked paper, 31.8 × 120.8 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago



FIG. 7. *Thatched Hut at Lien-ch'uan*. By Lu Chih. Dated 1537. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk, 31 × 76 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.





FIG. 7. *Thatched Hut at Lien-ch'uan*. By Lu Chih. Dated 1537. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk, 31 x 76 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 8. *Empty Grove after Rain*. By Ni Tsan. Dated 1368. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 63.5 × 37.6 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 9. *Landscape*. By Lu Chih. Folding fan, ink and colors on paper. Whereabouts unknown. (After *Kohansha Shina meiga senshu*, 3 vols. [Kyoto, 1926-29], vol. 3, pl. 14.)



FIG. 10. *Landscape*. By Lu Chih. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 115 × 31 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago.



FIG. 11. *Riverside Pavilion and Mountain Scenery*. By Ni Tsan. Dated 1372. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 94.7 × 43.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 12. *Spring in Chiang-nan*. By Wen Cheng-ming. Dated 1547. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 106 × 30 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 13. *Taoist Retreat among Streams and Mountains*. By Lu Chih. Dated 1567. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 107.8 × 45.8 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art.



FIG. 14. *Mansions of Immortals among Streams and Mountains*. By Ni Tsan. Dated 1371. Hanging scroll, ink on silk. Whereabouts unknown; formerly in the Chiang Erh-shih Collection. (After *Chinese Paintings from the Chiang Erh-shih Collection* [New York, 1971], pl. 12.)



FIG. 15. *Summer Retreat in the Eastern Grove*. By Wen Cheng-ming. Handscroll, ink on paper, 31.8 × 107.8 cm. John M. Crawford, Jr., New York.

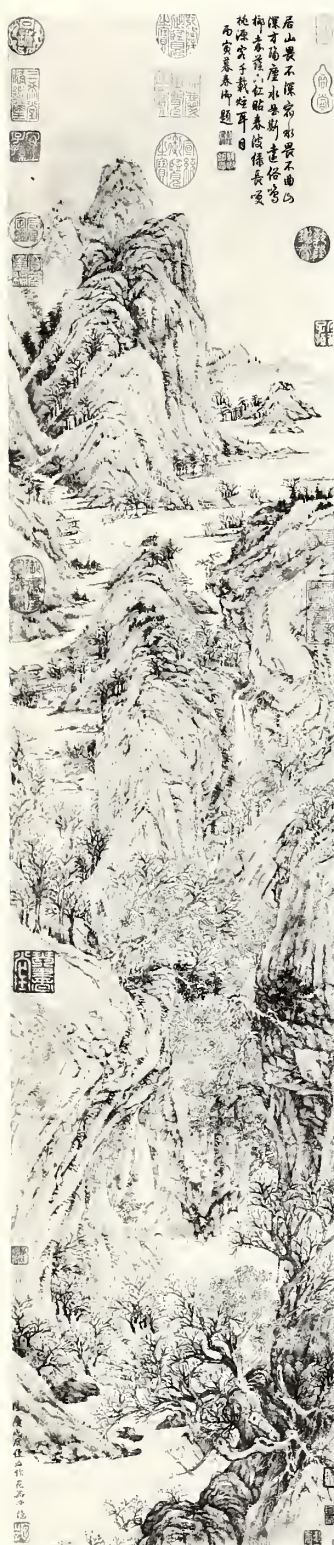


FIG. 16. *Hermit Fisherman at Hua-ch'i*. By Lu Chih. Dated 1568. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 119.2 × 26.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

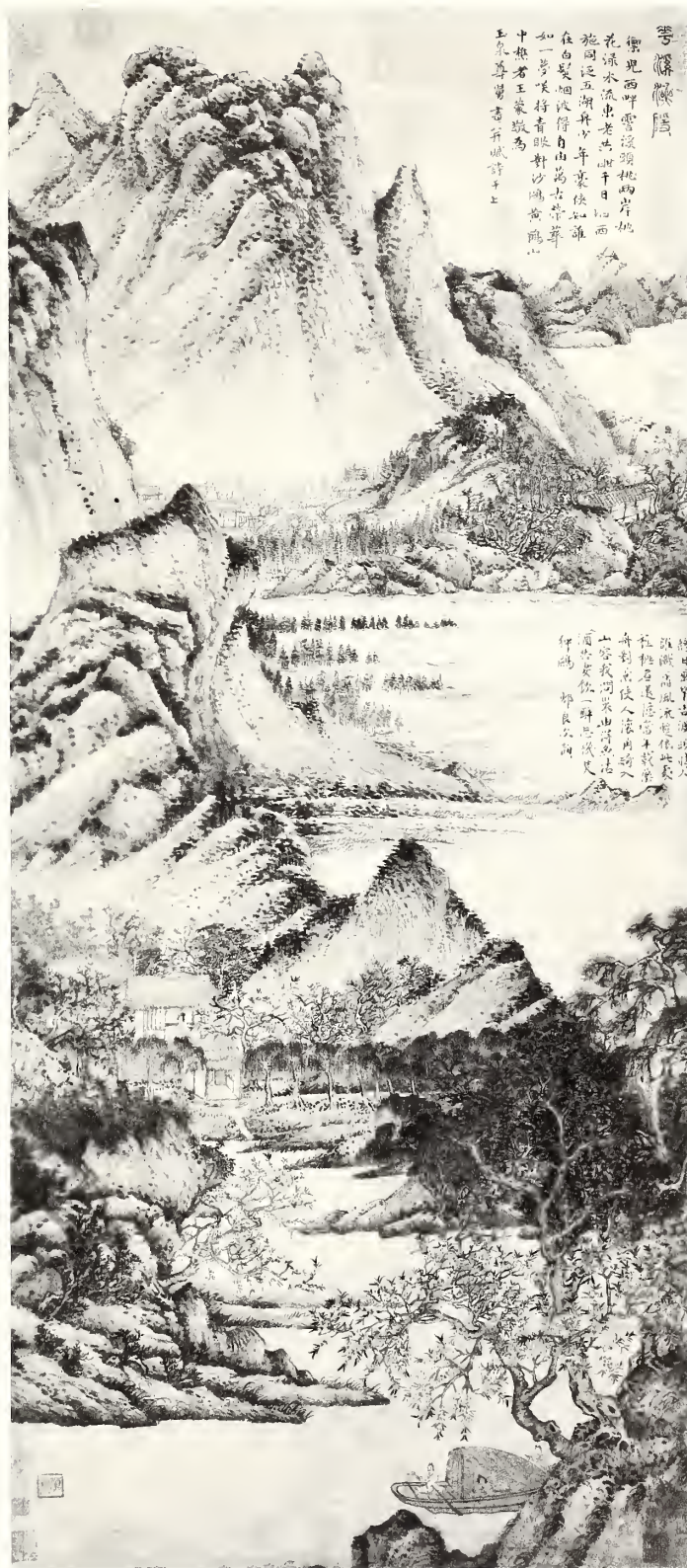


FIG. 17. *Hermit Fisherman at Hua-ch'i*. By Wang Meng. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 129 × 58.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 18. *Landscape in the Style of Wang Meng*. By Wen Cheng-ming. Dated 1535. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 133.9 × 35.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

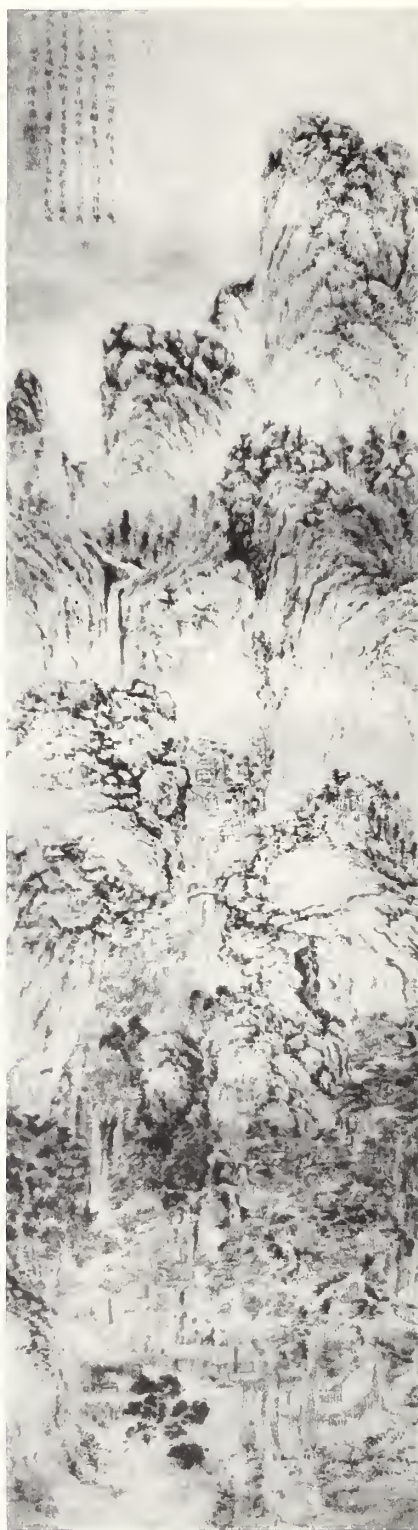


FIG. 19. *Landscape in the Style of Wang Meng*. By Lu Chih. Dated 1548. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Whereabouts unknown; formerly in the Li Mo-ch'ao Collection. (Alter *Mo-ch'ao pi-chi*, 2 vols. [Shanghai, 1935], vol. 1.)



FIG. 20. *Searching for Plum Blossoms after Snow*. By Lu Chih. Dated 1561. Album leaf, ink on paper, 63.9 × 32.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

TECHNICAL EXAMINATION OF TWO OWL-SHAPED *TSUN*

By LYNDA A. ZYCHERMAN

TWO OWL-SHAPED *TSUN*^a ATTRIBUTED TO EITHER THE Shang or Chou dynasty were examined in the Freer Technical Laboratory to determine their materials, method of manufacture, and age. The study was requested by the Cleveland Museum of Art after suspicions arose about an owl-shaped *tsun* in their collection (figs. 20–22), a vessel whose decor apparently dissolved during a trial cleaning. The cleaning had been prompted by a report of silver inlay in the decor of a very similar owl-shaped *tsun* preserved in the Yale University Art Gallery¹ (figs. 1–5). Our laboratory agreed to pursue the investigation of the Cleveland *tsun*; generously, Yale agreed to loan their vessel for comparative study.

Each laboratory examination of a ceremonial bronze vessel can reveal new information about fabrication, dating, and metal corrosion. Yale's *tsun*, which proved to be ancient, corroborates and modifies what is known about ancient Chinese bronze casting and also provides an unusual type of malachite for corrosion studies. The results of the investigation on the Cleveland vessel do not support an early date, but its materials and method of manufacture are sufficiently unusual to have warranted complete study.

Shape and Decoration

In overall appearance, the two *tsun* are remarkably similar. Both are cast in the shape of a bird whose head forms a removable lid that is held in place by a stepped-in flange. The curved beak and double ears are generally considered owl-like. Simple scales or feathers cover the head and encircle the eyes.

Complex body decoration enhances the form of each vessel. Each wing is boldly outlined by a scaled snake with a tiger's head in high relief. The chest fronts display an intricate pattern of interrelated motifs composed of a cicada-animal head combination whose horns seem to be formed of small dragons.² "Tulip" scales encircling the necks³ and fine *lei-wen*,^b or "thunder pattern," designs provide background for the zoomorphic composites on the chest and wings. The spiral-ornamented haunches taper into sharply pointed, upturned hooks which rest on ovoid hooves decorated with claws. The broad tails rest on the ground forming a third support.

Besides the similarities in shape and decoration,

the physical dimensions of the two *tsun* are comparable, as shown in table 1.

Differences between the two *tsun* begin with minor details of the decoration (see table 2) and become more apparent with surface color—Cleveland's *tsun* is brown; Yale's, gray green. Most pronounced are the differences in materials and method of manufacture. For that reason, each *tsun* will be treated separately in the technical discussion below.

Two similar bird-shaped bronzes exist in collections outside China: one in the Sumitomo Collection and the other in the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁴ The latter has a damaged tail and feet which appear to be later replacements, but the Sumitomo owl is almost identical to the Yale vessel.

Provenance

Yale's *tsun* was part of the Pleytel Collection, Paris; it was first published and illustrated in 1923. In 1926 it passed through the hands of C. T. Loo to Mrs. William H. Moore, who donated it to the Yale University Art Gallery in 1954.⁵

The provenance of Cleveland's *tsun* is reported by Sueji Umehara, who wrote: "It is said that this vessel, along with two cylindrical *yu*^c vessels, was given to Duke Sanjo some forty years ago [ca. 1919] by a high Chinese official and was treasured by the Duke's family thereafter. However, at the end of the Second World War it was relinquished by a descendant and is reported to be in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art."⁶

TABLE 1. Comparison of Dimensions of Two Owl-Shaped *Tsun*

	Yale	Cleveland
Overall height	20.7 cm	21.0 cm
Height of body	16.6–17.2 cm	16.6 cm
Height of head	4.9 cm	6.0 cm
Height of flange, base of head	0.6 cm	1.5 cm
Maximum width across wings	9.8 cm	8.0 cm
Neck opening, body, outside diameter	6.1 cm	5.9 cm
Neck opening, body, inside diameter	5.4 cm	5.2 cm
Metal thickness, body	0.3 cm	0.3 cm
Metal thickness, head	0.2 cm	0.2 cm
Weight	1087.8 gr	1124.2 gr

TABLE 2. Design Differences in Two Owl-Shaped *Tsun*

<i>Yale</i>	<i>Cleveland</i>
Three simple scales below proper right eye, four below proper left eye	Three "tulip" scales below each eye
Single row of "tulip" scales rings neck	Double row of "tulip" scales rings neck
Proper left and proper right wings decorated with a long-tailed motif (tiger body?), plus a plumed and clawed bird	Proper left and proper right wings decorated with a single long-tailed, clawed creature
Decoration on proper left and proper right wings is similar, but not identical, in size, placement, and detail	Decoration on proper left and proper right wings is identical
Asymmetrical arrangement of <i>lei-wen</i> on chest and wings	Symmetrical arrangement of <i>lei-wen</i> on chest and wings
Two rows of scales down back	Four rows of scales down back
Hoof decorated with claw lines	T-shaped talon decoration on hooves
Two spirals on haunches, one below	Three spirals on haunches
V-shaped tail	U-shaped tail

No exact bronze counterpart of this stylistic group of owl-shaped *tsun* has yet been unearthed in a controlled excavation. Therefore, the confirmation of the authenticity of Yale's vessel provides broad date parameters for a small but cohesive group of heretofore problematic objects.

RESULTS OF LABORATORY EXAMINATION OWL-SHAPED *TSUN*

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY 1954.48.7
(FREER V71.78)

HOBART AND EDWARD SMALL MOORE
MEMORIAL COLLECTION
(GIFT OF MRS. WILLIAM H. MOORE)

I. CONDITION

The condition and preservation of the *tsun* are excellent, except for a few tiny holes which go right through the metal on the body and the head. There is a larger hole at the back of the neck and another on the underside of the beak. The double band of snake scales and upturned curl are missing from the proper left side of the tail.

II. PATINA AND CORROSION

The surface of the vessel is thinly but uniformly colored a pleasing gray green. This patina was

analyzed by X-ray diffraction; cerussite, PbCO_3 , was the only corrosion product identified. The sample, which had been gently scraped from the surface, also contained metal.

Bright green mounds are scattered inside and outside the vessel. Every mound on the bronze's exterior has a flat top. On the shiny smooth plateaus, some mounds exhibit light and dark concentric rings. The intense color and unusual shape of the green spots at first gave the impression that they were pools of enamel paint. The spots are well attached to the metal, but with a chisel-pointed needle and pressure they can be picked off whole.

The green mounds were sampled for analysis by X-ray diffraction; malachite, $\text{CuCO}_3 \cdot \text{Cu(OH)}_2$, was identified as the sole constituent. The analysis was confirmed by microchemistry.⁷ Besides its occurrence as a common copper corrosion product, malachite is also found as a pigment in paint. However, since solvent tests failed to budge the green spots and a microscopic search for organic binder was negative, the malachite was determined to be an actual bronze corrosion product. The unusual morphology of the malachite is discussed in more detail in the section on metallography below.

At the back of the head, azurite, $2\text{CuCO}_3 \cdot \text{Cu(OH)}_2$ (also identified by X-ray diffraction), lies beneath the malachite.

Malachite, azurite, and cerussite are normal corrosion products for an ancient leaded bronze. The absence of an overall crust of corrosion on the surface, coupled with the shaved tops of the malachite mounds, suggests that the *tsun* has been extensively cleaned. Subsequent metallographic study confirmed this (see section IVc below).

III. COMPOSITION

The metal appears dull gold in areas where the patina is worn, for example, on the tips of the ears and beak, the outside edges of the tiger heads on the wings, the nose of the cicada-animal face on the chest, the bottoms of the hooves, and the neck opening. Though the grooves of the decor were carefully examined, no silver inlay, either wire or sheet, was discovered. Rather, the shiny silvery color in some parts of the decor seems to be an inadvertent burnishing or polishing of the patina which occurred when the tan, earthy accretion (which remains in some decor lines) was scraped out. Evidently, the tool employed was a needle, because fine parallel scratches are visible in the remaining accretion at the bottom of each decor line. In some places the scratches through the earthy accretion are deep enough to expose the yellow metal.

TABLE 3. Metal Alloy Composition, Owl-Shaped *Tsun*
(Yale University Art Gallery 1954.48.7)

Run Element	Electron microbeam probe on metallographic sections						Wet chemistry on drilled samples			
	I Head Spot 1	II Head Spot 2	Head Avg.	III Body Spot 1	IV Body Spot 2	Body Avg.	V Head	Head Avg.	VI Body	Body Avg.
%Cu	a) 78.72 b) 78.74	a) 80.01 b) 78.94	79.10	a) 78.22 b) 78.77	a) 77.33 b) 77.3	77.91	a) 73.75 b) 74.18	74.0	a) 68.05 b) 68.36	68.2
%Sn	a) 13.47 b) 12.95	a) 13.59 b) 13.82	13.46	a) 16.39 b) 16.43	a) 17.63 b) 17.19	16.91	a) 9.12 b) 9.25	9.2	a) 9.91 b) 10.21	10.1
%Pb	a) 2.76 b) 2.99	a) 2.65 b) 2.43	2.71	a) 2.12 b) 2.23	a) 2.34 b) 1.96	2.16	a) 17.50 b) 16.73	17.1	a) 21.92 b) 21.60	21.8
%Fe	a) 0.07 b) 0.07	a) 0.07 b) 0.07	0.07	a) 0.11 b) 0.12	a) 0.12 b) 0.1	0.11	a) 0.29 b) 0.08	0.2	a) 0.07 b) 0.07	0.1
%Zn	No search	—	—	—	—	—	Not detected	—	Not detected	—
Total	a) 95.02 b) 94.75	a) 96.32 b) 95.26	95.34	a) 96.84 b) 97.55	a) 97.42 b) 96.55	97.09	a) 100.66 b) 100.24	100.5	a) 99.95 b) 100.24	100.2

Accuracy: Z > 80% $\pm$ 1.6%
 Z > 10% $\pm$ 3–4%
 Z > 1% $\pm$ 0.1%

Alloy composition is always a significant aspect in the investigation of an ancient bronze vessel. The major element composition of the alloy was initially determined with an electron microbeam probe on metallographic thin sections from the beak and the tail.⁸ Duplicate readings were taken at two spots on each section. The instrument was restricted to determinations of copper, tin, lead, and iron. The results are shown in table 3, runs I–IV.

The figures for each pair of runs are in excellent agreement. The alloy appears to be a moderately high-tin bronze with a small amount of lead. The percentages of copper, tin, lead, and iron fall within the ranges already reported for Shang and early Chou ceremonial bronze vessels.⁹ The tin content of the head appears to be lower than that of the body and the copper and lead percentages slightly higher. Both parts of the vessel are similar enough in composition to have come from the same shop, perhaps even from the same melt.

The results were checked by wet chemical analysis on drilled samples from the flange beneath the proper right ear and the proper right hoof.¹⁰ The metal of both samples was nearly white, easily drilled, and uncorroded. The analyses were done in duplicate to check the precision and accuracy of the figures. The results are shown in table 3, runs V–VI.

Though the results of wet chemical analysis agree within themselves, they are disturbingly inconsistent with the electron microbeam probe results. Wet chemistry showed somewhat lower percentages of copper and tin than appeared with the microprobe, but much higher lead percentages—17.1 percent and 21.8 percent, respectively, as compared to 2.71 percent and 2.16 percent with the microprobe.

Table 4 shows the minor and trace elements in the alloy which were determined by emission spectroscopy on reserved portions of the drilled samples.¹¹ Copper, tin, and lead are confirmed as the major elements. The zinc content is slightly higher than normal, but within the limits generally accepted for vessels of Shang through Han times.¹² The remaining trace elements are similar to other reported analyses.

The discrepancies between the results of microprobe and wet chemical analyses are probably caused by the high lead content of the sample. In a molten mixture of copper, tin, and lead, the lead is taken into solution only up to about 3 percent in the copper of the bronze; above this concentration, the molten lead and molten copper-plus-tin exist as separate liquids in an emulsion rather like milk. As the temperature of the melt drops and copper-plus-tin begins to freeze, the lead remains as liquid and the

TABLE 4. Minor and Trace Element Composition as Determined by Emission Spectroscopy, Owl-Shaped *Tsun* (Yale University Art Gallery 1954.48.7)

Sample	%Ag	As	Au	Bi	Co	Cu	Fe	Ni	Pb	Sb	Si	Sn	Zn
Head	0.2	0.05	0.003	0.01	0.005	M	0.2	0.03	M	0.03	0.03	M	0.2
Body	0.2	0.05	0.003	0.01	0.005	M	0.3	0.05	M	0.05	0.05	M	0.3

M = Major

Accuracy: $\pm 50\%$

lead droplets become segregated within the main mass of the bronze. The lead freezes last and contracts, leaving voids containing globules of nearly pure lead.¹³

Examination of the metallographic sections used for microprobe analysis (figs. 15–19) reveals the typical dendritic structure of a cast bronze. Contracted lead globules nestle in the many voids. Immediately, the low percentages of lead found with the microprobe seem wrong—if only 2 percent lead is present, it should be dissolved in the solid bronze and not segregated. The reason the microprobe failed to detect more lead may be that, in spite of our widening the electron beam, only the large, coarse, copper-plus-tin dendrites were analyzed, and the lead-containing pores were skipped. Thus, the wet chemical analyses performed on bulk drilled samples may be more correctly representative. From the two sets of analyses, the metal alloy composition can be only roughly estimated as: Cu, 70–80 percent; Sn, 10–15 percent; and Pb, 10–15 percent.

IV. METHOD OF MANUFACTURE

Visual and radiographic observations clarified the method of manufacture. Metallographic observations support the conclusions and, even more significantly, reveal an unusual type of corrosion.

(a) *Visual*. The *tsun* bears all the signs of a piece-mold cast vessel. Mold flash remains on the perimeter of the triangular area between the feet and the tail (fig. 5). Between the proper right leg and the tail, chisel marks show where excess metal was knocked off the flash line.

Chaplets, odd shaped, rough textured, and slightly recessed from the surface, are visible at the top of the head, the center back (fig. 4), the center front between the cicada horns (fig. 3), near the front edge of the proper right wing, and on the belly. The prongs of an M-shaped wire that is approximately 2 mm thick and triangular in cross-section pass from the inside to the outside of the belly. The wire is invisible on the outside surface. It is best seen in a radiograph (fig. 11). A thin wire can be seen and felt

inside the head at the proper left small ear and at the neck flange just below. Underneath each small ear the metal is deformed, possibly from casting sprues or vents. Tan ceramic core remains inside the hooves.

The interior of the vessel is smooth, but there are depressions corresponding to areas of high relief on the outside, for example, parallel to the tiger-headed snake outlining the wings, inside the larger ears and beak of the head, and inside the tail. These depressions served to even out the thickness of the cast metal and to prevent excessive shrinkage and hot tearing of the metal during casting. The inside bottom of the vessel is solid over most of the legs, except for a small, rectangular depression over each thigh through which the leg cores can be seen. The depressions can best be seen in the radiograph of the area (figs. 11, 13, 14).

The decor was cast integrally with the vessel. The only visual evidence of post-cast working is the chiseling on the mold flash and scratches or rubbing marks on the front and inside of the legs where mold marks were removed. There is no other applied decoration.

The tiger head on the proper right wing apparently failed to cast successfully the first time and appears to have been mended at the foundry (fig. 7). Inside the *tsun* the repair patches are obvious. On the outside, the patches were beautifully finished, but they can be seen on the proper left side of the tiger's head, below its proper left ear. The repair metal, which has run into the snake-scales decor below the head, can be seen on a radiograph of the area (fig. 8). An indication of the antiquity of the repair is the overlying malachite corrosion which is comparable in every way to the corrosion on the rest of the vessel.

(b) *Radiography*. X-radiography confirms that casting is the method of manufacture.¹⁴ The usual evidence of casting is revealed by: even thickness of the metal, gas porosity, and lead segregation. Subtle variations in wall thickness, the sure evidence of mold joins, are observed running vertically on the body from the top of the neck down the center of the back (fig. 12) and on the neck above either side of the

cicada motif (figs. 9, 10). A horizontal mold join can be detected between the legs, under the bottom row of *lei-wen* (fig. 13).

Two additional chaplets were discovered: one at the proper left center of the back (fig. 12), adjacent to the visually obvious one, and another in the very center of the cicada (fig. 13), hidden under the decor. Over the latter, the metal of the decor froze in the mold before reaching the chaplet; the result is an openwork effect on that part of the chest. A third chaplet is tentatively identified on the front of the proper left wing (fig. 9). A local increase in porosity in that area may be the evidence of a chaplet which completely melted into the hot metal of the casting.

There is no visual or radiographic evidence to suggest that the legs were cast separately either before or after the body. Continuous mold joins with the chest and mold flash at the backs of the legs demonstrate that they were cast in one with the body.

The evidence proves that the method of manufacture involved a four-piece mold for the body (fig. 6). Sections 1 and 2 began at the neck opening and formed the right and left wings plus the outside third of each leg and the outside halves of the tail. These two sections were joined all the way down the back from the neck opening down over the tail. Section 3 formed the chest front, from the neck opening over the cicada down to the last row of *lei-wen* between the legs and down the inside third of the legs. Section 4, the interleg core piece, was the bottom belly of the body, the back third of the legs, and the inside face of the tail.

The decor was part of the outside mold. The asymmetry of the motifs indicates that the elements of the design were hand-carved into the mold, or on the model, rather than stamped with precarved figures.

A slightly molded body core was held in place by the chaplets, or core pins, already noted and by the wire at the bottom of the belly. Individual cores for the legs were probably held from the bottom by the interleg core piece and secured to the body at the top by extensions of the body core. These extensions of the body core are inferred from the dark spots at the tops of the legs on the radiograph of the area (figs. 11, 13, 14).

It is difficult to determine the direction of casting of the body because porosity in the vessel is minimal. However, there seems to be a concentration of gas porosity at the rim and increased lead segregation in the tail and the bottom of the vessel (fig. 11). The upper part of the tiger head on the proper right wing failed to cast successfully, possibly because an air bubble was trapped in the area. These three

observations make it likely that the body was cast with the neck up.

The head was cast over a partially formed core which was held in place by the single chaplet, with additional support from the fine wires in the proper left small ear. The use of a piece mold cannot be confirmed by visual or radiographic examination. Gas porosity in the flange indicates that the head was cast rim up.

(c) *Metallography*. Metallographic samples were removed from the incomplete (proper left) side of the tail and from the beak below an already existing hole (figs. 1, 2).¹⁵

The section from the tail (figs. 15–17) includes the incomplete edge, the sunken decor, the outside surface, and the interior surface. At $\times 400$, the unetched metal is seen to be light yellow with irregular islands of gray. These islands are delta or delta plus eutectoid (higher in tin); the yellow areas are alpha (higher in copper). The general dendritic structure, indicative of cast metal, is delineated by the overall fine porosity and the corrosion. The large cavities once contained lead globules which segregated during cooling. Lead remains trapped in the narrow channels of the fine shrinkage porosity, and some of the larger holes are now completely filled with corrosion products.

The surface corrosion layer is extremely thin. Below that is a zone where corrosion penetrates into sound metal, with a gradual interface between the two. In a manner similar to other high-tin bronzes, especially mirrors, corrosion has proceeded through the alpha phase, leaving behind islands of delta or delta plus eutectoid.¹⁶

The corrosion zone is thinnest on the outermost surface of the vessel, thicker on the incomplete face, and thickest on the interior face of the tail. The variation in thickness could be the result of a well-known phenomenon: the increased corrosion resistance of a polished surface, in this case, the outside of the vessel. However, the large pores at the surface, which are filled with corrosion products, have a definite cut-off appearance (fig. 16). This may indicate a recent cleaning or polishing, which evened out and thinned the exposed corrosion. The same cut-off contour on the incomplete edge of the tail (fig. 17) indicates that it had similar treatment, but the protected inside face of the tail did not. The smoothed malachite mounds, previously discussed, are further evidence of recent surface treatment.

Directional solidification of the dendrites in the recessed decor confirms that the decor was integrally cast with the vessel (fig. 16).

The incomplete edge of the section (fig. 17) shows that, as on the other edges, corrosion has proceeded through alpha attack of the bronze and, significantly, reached a depth comparable to the rest of the section. This is evidence that the incomplete edge has not been recently broken but is an ancient exposed surface which corroded along with the rest of the vessel. Is this the result of a faulty casting due to the mold's not being completely filled or of an early damage to the tail? The latter supposition seems more probable; the high technical quality of the vessel makes it unlikely that the foundry would have left so glaring an imperfection unrepaired.

The metallographic section from the beak includes the outside surface with its associated corrosion and the interior surface (figs. 18, 19). The metal is light yellow without the islands of gray observed in the tail sample. The dendritic structure of casting is pronounced, the porosity is extremely fine, and there are fewer large round cavities than in the tail section. The absence of the gray islands of delta metal and the reduced number of lead-containing cavities are the physical manifestations of the lower tin and lead content of the head in comparison with the body.

The thin corrosion layer on the surface and the penetration zone are similar to those on the tail sample, with the outstanding exception of the banded botryoidal malachite. Malachite of this morphology is rare but known on Chinese bronzes.¹⁷ Unfortunately, there are no published photomicrographs or corrosion studies on this material for comparison.

Besides its spectacular morphology, the malachite on this *tsun* differs in surprising ways from the usual malachite corrosion on ancient bronzes. For example, directly beneath the bleb the metal is far less corroded than elsewhere along the surface. There is no cuprite below the malachite. The kernel of the bleb is above the surface of the bronze (fig. 19). From these features, the malachite seems to be superficial, yet because it is rooted in the bronze without a clean line of demarcation, it must certainly have grown there.

A tentative explanation for this dichotomy assumes that the malachite was formed by the *in situ* deposition, dehydration, and carbonation of a copper salt from a copper-rich solution circulating in and around the *tsun*. The vessel itself need not be the source of copper; this could come from other copper and bronze objects buried nearby.¹⁸

Since the source of copper for the corrosion products could be outside the object, there is also the possibility that the malachite is an artificially

produced corrosion product—an attempt at false patination.

No synthesis of macroscopic botryoidal malachite is reported in the literature, though recipes for artificial malachite are known.¹⁹ Currently, the formation of natural banded botryoidal malachite is thought to depend on the composition of the copper-containing liquid, the temperature, concentration, and pH of the solution, and, possibly, alternating wet and dry cycles.²⁰ It is thus tempting to state that macroscopic botryoidal malachite such as that observed on this *tsun* can only be of natural origin and, further, that it required centuries, rather than days, for its formation.

V. THERMOLUMINESCENT DATING

A ceramic core sample for thermoluminescent dating was drilled from inside the proper right hoof and tested.²¹ The material of the sample was last fired between 2,200 and 3,250 years ago. The period of manufacture of the vessel would be 1271 B.C. to 221 B.C., falling during either the Shang or Chou dynasty.

VI. CONCLUSION

Yale's owl-shaped *tsun* is a bronze vessel whose composition is consistent with that of other early ceremonial vessels. The use of a four-piece mold for casting the body is typical of contemporary vessels. Thermoluminescent dating of the core provides confirming evidence for an ancient date. The botryoidal malachite grown on the surface is unusual and supports an ancient date for the *tsun*.

RESULTS OF LABORATORY EXAMINATION OWL-SHAPED *TSUN*

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART 51.119

(FREER V45.77)

(JOHN L. SEVERANCE FUND)

I. METHOD OF MANUFACTURE

The weight of the *tsun* immediately suggests that it is metal, though the brown surface is atypical and there is no bright metal exposed through wear on the feet, tail, or neck. The radiograph confirms that the vessel form is made from cast metal, but, surprisingly, the decor is radiotransparent (figs. 23–25).²² Unlike most ancient ceremonial vessels, the decor on this one was not cast in with the overall shape but was added as a nonmetallic substance in a second stage of manufacture.

TABLE 5. Metal Alloy Composition, Owl-Shaped *Tsun*
(Cleveland Museum of Art 51.119)

Run	Electron microbeam probe on metallographic sections							Wet chemistry on drilled sample		
	I Head Run 1	II Head Run 2	III Head Run 3	Head Avg.	IV Body Run 1	V Body Run 2	Body Avg.	VI Leg Run 1	VII Leg Run 2	Avg.
%Cu	a) 81.93 b) 81.97	a) 76.54 b) 75.35	a) 86.49 b) 87.45 c) 87.05	82.40	a) 85.98 b) 84.65 c) 84.98	a) 85.25 b) 83.44 c) 84.09	84.73	72.85	77.94	75.4
%Sn	a) 7.13 b) 7.08	a) 7.06 b) 6.7	a) 6.92 b) 6.78 c) 6.89	6.94	a) 7.84 b) 7.69 c) 8.06	a) 7.17 b) 6.55 c) 6.24	7.26	3.53	3.74	3.6
%Pb	a) 1.79 b) 1.34	a) 1.59 b) 1.5	a) 1.1 b) 0.76 c) 0.68	1.25	a) 1.41 b) 1.43 c) 1.52	a) 1.48 b) 1.92 c) 2.21	1.66	14.24	14.79	14.5
%Fe	a) 0.12 b) 0.12	a) 0.12 b) 0.11	a) 0.14 b) 0.12 c) 0.15	0.13	a) 0.15 b) 0.13 c) 0.12	a) 0.1 b) 0.15 c) 0.13	0.13	0.15	0.16	0.2
%Zn	No search	—	—		—	—		0.47	0.44	0.5
Total	a) 90.97 b) 90.51	a) 85.31 b) 83.66	a) 94.65 b) 95.11 c) 94.77	90.72	a) 95.39 b) 93.9 c) 94.68	a) 94.0 b) 92.06 c) 92.67	93.78	91.24	97.07	94.2

Accuracy: $Z > 80\% \pm 1.6\%$
 $Z > 10\% \pm 3\text{--}4\%$
 $Z > 1\% \pm 0.1\%$

The radiographs also show that the metal was cleanly cast, with fairly uniform composition and wall thickness. There is a very slight difference in metal density along a line bisecting the head and body, which might have come from the use of a bivalve mold (fig. 25). No line of demarcation shows at the tops of the solid legs, indicating that the legs were certainly cast in one operation with the body. Some porosity and lead segregation is in evidence on the bottom of the vessel between the legs and on the tail. Curiously, the bottom of each hoof is covered with a separate metal plate (fig. 23). From these features we can deduce that the body of the *tsun* was cast feet up, possibly with the legs acting as sprues. As the metal in the legs cooled, normal shrinkage depressions formed which are now camouflaged by the additional metal plates.

Perfectly circular pins, 1.5 mm in diameter and positioned in the center of the head, the center of the chest, and the bottom, may have served to hold a central core in place during casting. A somewhat larger circular pin in the wings is 4 mm in diameter. Core pins, or chaplets, in ancient Chinese bronzes are most often square or nearly square and 3 to 10 mm or more in diameter. With the possible exception of the thin metal pins in the capped posts of the Freer Gallery's *chia*^d (accession no. 23.1), there is no

evidence that chaplets in the form of the pins or nails used today in lost wax casting were known to the ancient Chinese.²³

II. COMPOSITION

Our first attempt at determining the metal alloy composition of the Cleveland *tsun* was by electron microbeam probe analysis of the metallographic sections from the body and the head (metal parts only).²⁴ We began with this method because we could use the sections which had already been taken for metallographic study from the proper right center back and the plain flange under the proper right ear (figs. 21, 22).²⁵ If the results of the analysis were satisfactory, no further sampling would be necessary. The results are shown in table 5, runs I–V. Our instrument was restricted to determinations of copper, tin, lead, and iron. The low totals we obtained, 90.72 percent (head) and 93.78 percent (body), suggested to us that 6 to 10 percent of another element was unreported. We assumed on the basis of these results that the metal was brass and that zinc was the missing element. This assumption was later proven false.

Further testing was necessary. The solid legs of the *tsun* provided a suitable site for sampling the metal

TABLE 6. Minor and Trace Element Composition as Determined by Emission Spectroscopy, Owl-Shaped *Tsun* (Cleveland Museum of Art 51.119)

%Ag	Al	As	Au	Bi	Co	Cu	Fe	Ni	Pb	Sb	Si	Sn	Zn
0.1	0.007	0.3	0.007	0.04	0.007	M	0.3	0.07	M	0.6	0.03	M	>1.0

M = Major

Accuracy: $\pm 50\%$

alloy, to be analyzed by wet chemistry for majors and emission spectroscopy for minor and trace elements.²⁶ When drilled, the hard metal yielded long, clean chips which were microscopically examined for corrosion before testing; none was observed.

The wet chemical analyses were done in duplicate to verify the precision and accuracy of the figures. The results, shown in table 5, runs VI–VII, were disappointing. Though the tin (3.5–3.7 percent), lead (14.2–14.8 percent), iron (0.2 percent), and zinc (0.4–0.5 percent) proportions from each run match well, the copper percentages (73–78 percent) do not. The low zinc content, 0.5 percent, eliminated brass as the alloy. The totals, 91.24 percent and 97.07 percent, not only seem low for what appeared to be an uncorroded sample, but they are too disparate for confidence.

As in the analyses of Yale's *tsun*, the inconsistency of the wet chemical analysis with the electron microbeam probe results was most disturbing. Wet chemistry showed somewhat lower percentages of copper and tin than the microprobe had indicated. The lead was analyzed at 14.5 percent, as compared to only 1.25 percent with the microprobe—a vast difference.

Emission spectroscopy results, shown in table 6, confirmed copper, lead, and tin as the major elements and zinc as the most significant minor element, at $> 1\% \pm 50\%$. The remaining trace elements are similar to other reported analyses, except for a slightly higher percentage of antimony.²⁷ The small amounts of silicon (0.03 percent) and aluminum (0.007 percent) eliminate modern commercial aluminum or silicon bronze as the alloy.²⁸

In a search for other possible elements which might bring the totals up, we examined thin sections of metal with the scanning electron microscope, or SEM (figs. 26, 28).²⁹ The instrument we used gave qualitative results only—that is, which elements are present but not how much there is of each. The thin sections were made from the wafers sawn off the face of the main metallographic sample prior to polishing.³⁰

Aluminum, copper, tin, lead, zinc, and (oddly) arsenic were identified in the section from the body.

The metal from the head showed the same elements and possibly mercury and iron. In both cases, comparison with blank areas of the preparation allows us to discount the aluminum as a background impurity. Again our qualitative results from previous analyses were confirmed; no elements other than those we already knew to be present were detected.

The low totals obtained in both wet chemistry and microprobe analyses need explanation. In wet chemistry, experimental errors undoubtedly contribute to the problem. With the microprobe, low totals are sometimes attributed to porosity in the sample, and these metallographic sections do indeed show some.

As in the analyses of the Yale *tsun*, discrepancies between the element percentages shown by the microprobe and by wet chemistry are probably due to the high lead content of the sample.

The metallographic section from the *tsun* shows the typical dendritic structure of a cast bronze (figs. 29, 30). The copper-plus-tin phase formed as large, coarse alpha dendrites. Contracted lead globules nestle in the plentiful voids. (SEM analysis of the globules showed them to be nearly pure lead.) Again, in spite of our widening the electron beam, it seems that only the large, coarse, copper-plus-tin dendrites were analyzed and the voids containing lead were skipped. The wet chemical analyses performed on bulk drilled samples may be more correctly representative.

In addition, the lower percentage of copper determined by wet chemistry can be reconciled with the higher microprobe figures if the original location of the analyzed samples is considered. On the radiographs we have already seen how lead was concentrated and segregated on the bottom and in the tail. The same concentration of segregated lead should prevail in the legs and hooves. Since the drilled sample for wet chemistry was taken from the hoof, it is likely that the metal is lead-enriched in comparison to the rest of the vessel, including the center back, source of the sample for microprobe work. Therefore, in the legs we can expect slightly higher lead percentages and slightly lower copper and tin values.

More work is needed to determine accurately the alloy composition of the *tsun*. However, from the analyses we have, we estimate the composition to be 80 to 85 percent copper, 10 to 13 percent lead, 3 to 5 percent tin, and perhaps 0.5 to 1 percent zinc. While the copper, lead, and tin percentages fall within the general ranges known from Chinese ceremonial vessels, the amount of tin is lower and that of lead higher than is normal for Shang and early Chou vessels. Also, zinc in this amount rarely, if ever, occurs in Chinese bronzes before the Han dynasty.³¹

III. METHOD OF MANUFACTURE: SURFACE COATING

The material of the surface coating, certainly nonmetallic, was still unidentified. Viewed in infrared light, the surface is highly reflective. In long- and short-wave ultraviolet light the surface fluoresces to an overall brown yellow. No repairs or inconsistencies in the surface were noted.

Examined under a low-power microscope, the tool marks in the coating indicate that the design was not created by moulding but rather was chiseled into the surface layer (fig. 31). Zigzag lines in the side walls of the decor and scraping marks at the bottom of each decor line are common. In some places there are chamfered corners. The surface is riddled with defects. Small air bubbles made their way up to the surface of the coating, then burst, leaving minute craters. The surface is pocked by deep pits, some of which have green corrosion products at the bottom. On the edges of many decor motifs, the coating has spalled, revealing a matte brown layer below. Where the coating has been chipped off or scraped too deeply, shiny black granules are exposed between the brown surface layer and the metal substrate.

Hardness measurements were taken on the surface coating. It was unaffected by scratching with a wooden toothpick, a fingernail, or a #5 Mohs point. It was slightly dented by a #6 Mohs point and definitely scratched with a steel needle and a #7 Mohs point.

To characterize the surface further, we tested its solubility. In an inconspicuous area, swabs moistened with varying solvents were rolled over the surface. Saliva and cold and warm distilled water picked up some brown color. Acetone affected the surface slightly and MI_2 (formula in cc: toluene 350, ethanol 50, ethylene dichloride 50, cellosolve 25, cellosolve acetate 25) was aggressive. Ligroin, BP 90–120°C, had no effect. Wherever the solvents attacked, the brown surface was altered from glossy to matte. The ineffectiveness of ligroin eliminated the

possibility that wax was a major component of the surface coat.

Several samples of the surface layer were examined by X-ray diffraction to identify any crystalline compounds in the coating. Each pattern run contained faint quartz lines. One sample from the bottom of the proper right hoof may contain another compound, possibly muscovite. However, all the patterns were weak, indicating either that the particle size is very small indeed or that the crystalline compounds are only a minor part of what appears to be an organic surface coating. On the basis of this evidence, clay was eliminated as a possible coating. The black grains between the surface coating and the metal were also identified by X-ray diffraction as quartz (figs. 26, 30, 32).

To confirm the presence of organic materials, a flame test was performed on a fragment of the coating chipped off the flange at the base of the head. After the brown fragment had been held over a Bunsen burner in a platinum spoon for a short while, there was a flash, followed by a continuous glow from the sample. The fragment was reexamined under the microscope, and though the shape was exactly the same, the brown color had burned away, leaving the filler, now chalky white. This confirms the presence of organic matter in the coating; it is likely to have been the binder for the quartz.

The usual organic coatings which are hard enough to be cleanly chiseled include oriental lacquer as well as an entire range of modern synthetics. (Admittedly, sensitivity to water is uncharacteristic of all of these.) Infrared spectrophotometry is one technique for distinguishing or identifying these polymers. For analysis by this method, a sample of the coating was scraped from the flange at the base of the head. Initially, the pulverized coating produced a spectrum which matched that of quartz. We attempted to dissolve the medium away from the quartz with water, ethanol, toluene, acetone, and diacetone alcohol, without success. Only after sedimentation of the pulverized sample in an aqueous solution of potassium bromide, followed by evaporation and mechanical separation of the nonquartz particles, was an infrared spectrum obtained: that of a natural gum.³² The exact type of gum is undetermined; it is similar, though not identical, to gum acacia and cutch, both obtained from *Acacia*. Oriental lacquer and Bakelite were thus eliminated.

In spite of the information we had already gathered about the composition and manufacture of the surface coating, the metallographic section from

the body provided a stunning surprise (figs. 29, 30). Over the uncorroded cast bronze, the coating is not one but several layers thick; the decor was carved down to various levels within it. The gum binder is filled with minute particles from a palette of red, orange, yellow, green, olive, blue, and black pigments and colorless filler. The layers are differentiated from each other not only by their overall color, which varies from brown to olive to tan, but also by fine yellow or black lines between them. It is probable that these lines acted as depth gauges, halting the carver at the appropriate depths.

The black quartz grains already observed microscopically between the surface coating and the metal are visible as a layer of jagged fragments (figs. 26, 27, 30). Logically, they must have been affixed to the smooth metal to provide a toothed ground for the surface layers.

The maximum thickness of the surface coating is less than 1 mm, made up of five layers varying from 0.1 to 0.3 mm. The tiny colored particles range from less than 0.01 mm across to as large as 2 mm. The jagged quartz interlayer occupies an average depth of 0.1 mm.

The metallographic section from the plain flange at the base of the head under the proper right ear is similar but has only three layers over the jagged quartz and, naturally, lacks the carving (fig. 28).

It was not possible to identify the tiny pigment particles in the coating by examining the metallographic sections in reflected light. For transmitted light observations, polished thin sections were prepared from wafers shaved from the metallographic sample. The same wafers were used in metal analysis by SEM (fig. 32). Unfortunately, pigment identification by microscopy was still impossible; the particles were too small and too crowded.

Scanning electron microscopy of the same polished thin section added a little to pigment identification. In one layer of the coating, the following elements were detected in substantial quantities: arsenic, copper, iron, potassium, silicon, sulfur, titanium. From these elements, any number of pigments can be conjectured—red, black, and yellow iron oxides, malachite, azurite, orpiment, realgar, emerald green, prussian blue.

Arsenic is the one element detected which holds out the tantalizing possibility of setting a *terminus a quo* for the vessel, because there are only three pigments which contain it: orpiment, realgar, and emerald green. Orpiment and realgar were known in China by the second century B.C., or perhaps even by the fourth century B.C., but their importance lay in medicine and metallurgy, not in use as pigments.

Neither has ever been reported as a pigment on any paintings or objects from China.³³ Emerald green was invented in Germany in 1814, and in China it has been frequently used to simulate ancient patinas on bronzes, probably starting in the late nineteenth century and certainly by 1909.³⁴ To our frustration, we were unable to separate even one tiny green particle for microscopic observation or identification.

IV. CORROSION

The usual bronze corrosion studies on archaeological vessels are inappropriate for Cleveland's *tsun*. The design surface, as we have seen, is not metal but an organic layered substance. The metal shell beneath has been well protected from aggressive atmospheres. At the metal-organic interface, no corrosion was observed in metallographic observation. The metal itself, as seen with reflected and transmitted light, is also clean (fig. 30).

The interior of the vessel does have patches of bright blue green corrosion, which were tested by X-ray diffraction and remain unidentified. The usual corrosion products, malachite, azurite, cuprite, etc., have been definitely eliminated. The metal behind the corroded patches appears sound, so attack by materials in the surface coat is unlikely.

Cuprite, malachite, azurite, and hematite were identified on the lip of the tiger head, proper right wing, but as applied pigments on the surface, not corrosion products. The green material in the proper left eye of the tiger head, proper left wing, was identified as a mixture of SiO_2 , CaCO_3 , and ZnO , also applied pigments.

V. CONCLUSION

The bronze alloy composition, though not yet firmly established, falls into the general ranges already reported for some Chinese ceremonial vessels, except for the relatively high zinc content. However, the breadth of those ranges is great enough to encompass many bronze compositions. The method of manufacture and materials of both the metal body and the coating are unparalleled among Shang- or Chou-dynasty vessels, at least to our knowledge. The minimal wear and corrosion are also inconsistent with an ancient date of manufacture. These observations, coupled with Umehara's statement of provenance, suggest a date for the *tsun* in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Possibly, this painstaking reproduction of an owl-shaped *tsun*, so close in shape and decoration to authentic vessels, was made as a state presentation gift, not as an intentional forgery.

Notes

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1. Cleveland's owl-shaped *tsun* is the subject of Alfred Salmony's article "The Third Early Chinese Owl with Snake Legs," *Artibus Asiae* 14 (1951): 276–82, and William M. Milliken's "A Chinese Bronze Owl," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 3 (1952): 47–49. In these and other publications Cleveland's *tsun* is usually dated to the Chou dynasty. However, the latest handbook of the Cleveland Museum of Art (1978) does not illustrate the *tsun*. Yale University Art Gallery's *tsun* has been dated to the Sung dynasty by George G. Lee, *Selected Far Eastern Art in the Yale University Art Gallery* (New Haven and London, 1970), cat. no. 15. The vessel has now been reattributed to the late Shang, based partially on the information in this report. Mary Gardner Neill, ed., *The Communion of Scholars: Chinese Art at Yale* (New York, 1982), cat. no. 4.
2. J. Leroy Davidson, "Three Bronzes in the Hobart and Edward Small Moore Memorial Collection," *Bulletin of the Associates in Fine Arts at Yale University* 21 (1955): 3.
3. Types of scales are discussed in Bernhard Karlgren, "Some New Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 24 (1952): 21; and in his "Miscellaneous Notes on Some Bronzes," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 33 (1961): 91–101.
4. The Sumitomo and Victoria and Albert owl-shaped *tsun* are illustrated in Jung Keng, *Shang-Chou i-ch'i tung-k'ao*, 2 vols. (Peking, 1941), 2:364–65, nos. 688, 690. Twelve other bird-shaped bronzes are published, but they differ markedly from the group of four; they are: (1) Pillsbury Collection; Bernhard Karlgren, *Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred L. Pillsbury Collection* (Minneapolis, 1952), pl. 59. (2) Dumbarton Oaks; Ch'en Meng-chia, *In Shū seidōki bunrui zuroku* (Tokyo, 1977), no. A666. (3) Ex-collection, Kankarō; current whereabouts unknown; Sueji Umehara, *Kankarō hikim-zu* (Kyoto, 1947), supp. no. 3. (4) and (5) Pair of vessels from Anyang tomb no. 5, excavated in 1976; *China Pictorial* 1 (1978): 24, and Wen Fong, ed., *The Great Bronze Age of China* (New York, 1980), no. 29. (6) Sackler Collection; Sueji Umehara, *Shina-kodō seikwa* (Osaka, 1933), pl. 41. (7) Ex-collection, Mrs. Suydam Cutting; current whereabouts unknown; Ch'en Meng-chia, *In Shū*, no. A667. (8) Vessel excavated from HPKM 1885 at Anyang; Li Chi and Wan Chia-pao, *Studies of Fifty-Three Ritual Bronzes* (Nankang, Taiwan, 1972), pl. 49. (9) Art Institute of Chicago; C. F. Kelley and Ch'en Meng-chia, *Chinese Bronzes from the Buckingham Collection* (Chicago, 1946), pls. 13–15. (10) Bird-shaped *yu* or *tsun*; current whereabouts unknown; Seiichi Mizuno, *In Shū seidōki to gyoku* (Tokyo, 1959), pl. 57. (11) Ex-collection, Otto Burchard; current whereabouts unknown; Sueji Umehara, *Yin Hsi: Ancient Capital of the Shang Dynasty at An Yang* (Tokyo, 1969), pl. 118. (12) Freer Gallery of Art; J. A. Pope, R. J. Gettens, J. Cahill, and N. Barnard, *The Freer Chinese Bronzes, Volume I: Catalogue* (Washington, D.C., 1967), no. 112.
5. Lee, *Selected Far Eastern Art*, p. 11.
6. Sueji Umehara, *Nihon suchō shina kodō seikwa* (Osaka, 1959), pl. 270. The translation of the text accompanying the illustration was kindly provided by Julia K. Murray of the Freer Gallery of Art.
7. X-ray powder diffraction patterns were obtained by the Debye-Scherrer technique using 114.3-mm Gandolfi-pattern cameras. Exposures were usually 16–20 hours using CuK α radiation ($\lambda = 1.542 \text{ \AA}$) at 40 KV and with a tube current of 20 microamps. For microchemistry, dilute HCl confirmed CO $_3^{2-}$. Potassium ferrocyanate gave a positive result for Cu.
8. The sections analyzed are not identical to those used for metallographic observations. The main metal samples were sawn out with a 4.0 fretsaw blade and mounted in a methacrylate plastic (Buehler Transoptic) pellet. A Buehler Isomet low-speed diamond saw was used to face off the mounted sample before polishing. The sawn-off wafer was itself mounted in Transoptic, polished, and used for electron microbeam probe analysis. The analysis was done with an ARL SEMQ instrument located in the Mineralogy Division, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Operating parameters: 15 KV, 1.5 microamps, beam diameter of 1–2 microns. Take-off angle 52.5°, automatic background corrections. Corrections for absorbance and fluorescence omitted, as we felt they would not alter the findings significantly. In an attempt to minimize compositional variance due to segregation in a bronze, the probe was deformed to a large spot, approximately 20 μ in diameter. NBS Bronze Standard 124C was used to compare copper, tin, lead, and iron because of the supposed closeness of the composition. For elements with greater than 80% concentration, accuracy is $\pm 1.6\%$; greater than 10%, $\pm 3\text{--}4\%$; less than 1%, $\pm 0.1\%$. W. T. Chase (Freer Gallery of Art) operated the instrument, assisted by Charles Obermeyer, Joseph Nelen (Natural History), and the author.
9. Rutherford J. Gettens, *The Freer Chinese Bronzes, Volume II: Technical Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1969), chap. 3, tables Ia, Ib; and W. T. Chase and Thomas Ziebold, "Ternary Representations of Ancient Chinese Bronze Compositions," in *Archaeological Chemistry-II*, ed. Giles F. Carter (Washington, D.C., 1978), fig. 1, p. 297; fig. 2, p. 299.
10. A #60 bright-finish bit in a motor-driven drill was used for sampling the proper right hoof and the neck flange. First drillings were discarded. 120 mg from the hoof and 57 mg from the head were used for classical gravimetric and electrolytic analyses. I. V. Bene (Freer Gallery of Art) and the author performed the analyses.
11. 30 mg from the hoof and 23 mg from the head were analyzed

- by emission spectroscopy using standard methods and techniques on a Hilger-Watts Large Glass and Quartz Prism Spectrograph, operated by Harold Westly, Conservation Analytical Laboratory, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The figures represent a single determination and are valid within a range of 50% of the reported value.
12. Compare the following vessels from the Freer Gallery of Art (cat. nos. refer to Pope et al., *Freer Chinese Bronzes: Catalogue*). No. 37, *fang-i*^c (15.136), Shang dynasty, Zn 0.07%; no. 42, *kuang*¹ (39.53), Shang dynasty, Zn 0.02%; no. 72, *chih*^s (19.6), early Chou dynasty, Zn 0.03%; no. 76, *hu*^h (13.21), early-middle Chou dynasty, Zn 0.03%. Noel Barnard and Satō Tamotsu, *Metallurgical Remains of Ancient China* (Tokyo, 1975), p. 18, table 4, list analyses of bronzes found in controlled excavations in China. Shang bronzes have 0.0% or trace amounts of zinc. In material dating from the Western Chou the zinc content can be as high as 0.93%.
 13. W. T. Chase, *Bronze Disease and Its Treatment* (Bangkok, 1975), p. 24.
 14. X-radiographic parameters were: 300 KV, 2 microamps, tube-to-film distance 123 cm, 30-second exposures, M-Lead Pak film cut to small rectangles, 0.010-inch lead screen behind film pak, normal development. Extensive radiography was done after sampling for thermoluminescence.
 15. See n. 8 above. Metallographic samples were sawn out with a 4/0 fretsaw blade. They were mounted in methacrylate plastic (Transoptic), faced off with a low-speed Isomet diamond saw, and polished with 6-micron and 3-micron diamond pastes and gamma alumina.
 16. W. T. Chase and Ursula M. Franklin, "Early Chinese Black Mirrors and Pattern Etched Weapons," *Ars Orientalis* 11 (1979): 223; fig. 5, p. 224.
 17. Gettens, *Freer Chinese Bronzes: Technical Studies*, figs. 228, 235, 236, and p. 178; Ben B. Johnson and Jonathan E. Ericson, "Technical Comments on the Lidow Ting," *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 22 (1976): 27, fig. 17. The authors describe the malachite as predominantly pea-sized botryoidal nubs, but in certain areas it is spread over the surface like smooth enamel.
 18. Private communication from Dr. Brian Mason, curator, Department of Mineral Science, National Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C.
 19. C. Palache, C. Frondel, and H. Berman, *Dana's System of Mineralogy*, 7th ed., rev. (New York, 1951), 2:255. R. J. Gettens and E. W. FitzHugh, "Malachite and Green Verditer," *Studies in Conservation* 19 (1974): 16. J. S. Schmuckler and C. J. Snyder, "Malachite," *Chemistry* 48 (1975): 19–20.
 20. Private communication from Dr. Clifford Frondel, professor emeritus, Department of Geological Sciences, Harvard University. Johnson and Ericson, in "Lidow Ting," record the frustrating lack of information in the mineralogical literature on the genesis of the botryoidal habit of malachite. The situation had not changed in late 1981.
 21. Thermoluminescent dating using standard methods and techniques was done by The Research Lab for Archeology and The History of Art, Oxford, England, on a 35-mg sample.
 22. Radiographic parameters were: 260 KV, 2 microamps, TFD 49 inches, 8-minute exposure, Type SR film; or 300 KV, 2 microamps, TFD 26 inches, 5 × 8/1000-inch lead filters at beam, 8-minute exposure, Type SR film, normal development.
 23. Gettens, *Freer Chinese Bronzes: Technical Studies*, pp. 69–102.
 24. The analyses were done in the same session as those on Yale's *tsun*. Operating parameters were identical. See n. 8 above.
 25. Procedures for sampling and preparation of metallographic sections were identical to those described for Yale's *tsun*. See n. 15 above.
 26. A #60 bright-finish bit in a motor-driven drill was used for sampling the proper left leg. The drill first penetrated the plate over the foot, then a void, and then solid metal, which confirms the idea of shrinkage depression in the legs covered by metal plates. First drillings from the plate metal were not analyzed. 100 mg of metal were reserved for classical gravimetric and electrolytic analyses. 93 mg were analyzed by emission spectroscopy. The analyses were done concurrently with those of the Yale *tsun*. The analysts and equipment were identical. See nn. 10 and 11 above.
 27. Gettens, *Freer Chinese Bronzes: Technical Studies*, tables Ia, Ib.
 28. Allison Butts, *Copper: The Science and Technology of the Metal, Its Alloys and Compounds* (New York, 1954), p. 514 and table 24–1. Aluminum bronze must have 5–15% Al, up to 10% Fe (with or without Mn or Ni), and less than 0.5% Si. Silicon bronze contains more than 0.5% Si, not more than 3% Zn, and not more than 98% Cu.
 29. Qualitative scanning electron microscopy was done with an energy dispersive X-ray apparatus, Tracor Northern TN 2000; the operating parameter was an accelerating voltage of 20 KEV. Walter Brown of the SEM Laboratory, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, assisted.
 30. See n. 8 above.
 31. Gettens, *Freer Chinese Bronzes: Technical Studies*, table II; and Chase and Ziebold, "Ternary Representations," fig. 1, p. 297; fig. 16, p. 316; fig. 17, p. 317.
 32. The analyses were done at the Conservation Analytical Laboratory, Smithsonian Institution, by Walter Hopwood, using a Perkin Elmer 427 Infrared Spectrophotometer on the sample dispersed in potassium bromide.
 33. Elisabeth W. FitzHugh, Freer Gallery of Art, private communication.
 34. A *p'ou*¹ in the Freer Gallery (09.334), acquired in 1909, had a repair on the shoulder composed of plaster colored with Paris green pigment.

Glossary

- | | |
|-------|------|
| a. 尊 | f. 觥 |
| b. 雷文 | g. 解 |
| c. 卣 | h. 壺 |
| d. 罍 | i. 斚 |
| e. 方彝 | |



FIG. 1. Owl-shaped *tsun*, proper right side. Arrow indicates location of metallographic sample. Yale University Art Gallery 1954.48.7, Hobart and Edward Small Moore Memorial Collection (Gift of Mrs. William H. Moore).



FIG. 2. Yale *tsun*, proper left side. Arrow indicates location of metallographic sample.



FIG. 3. Yale *tsun*, front view.

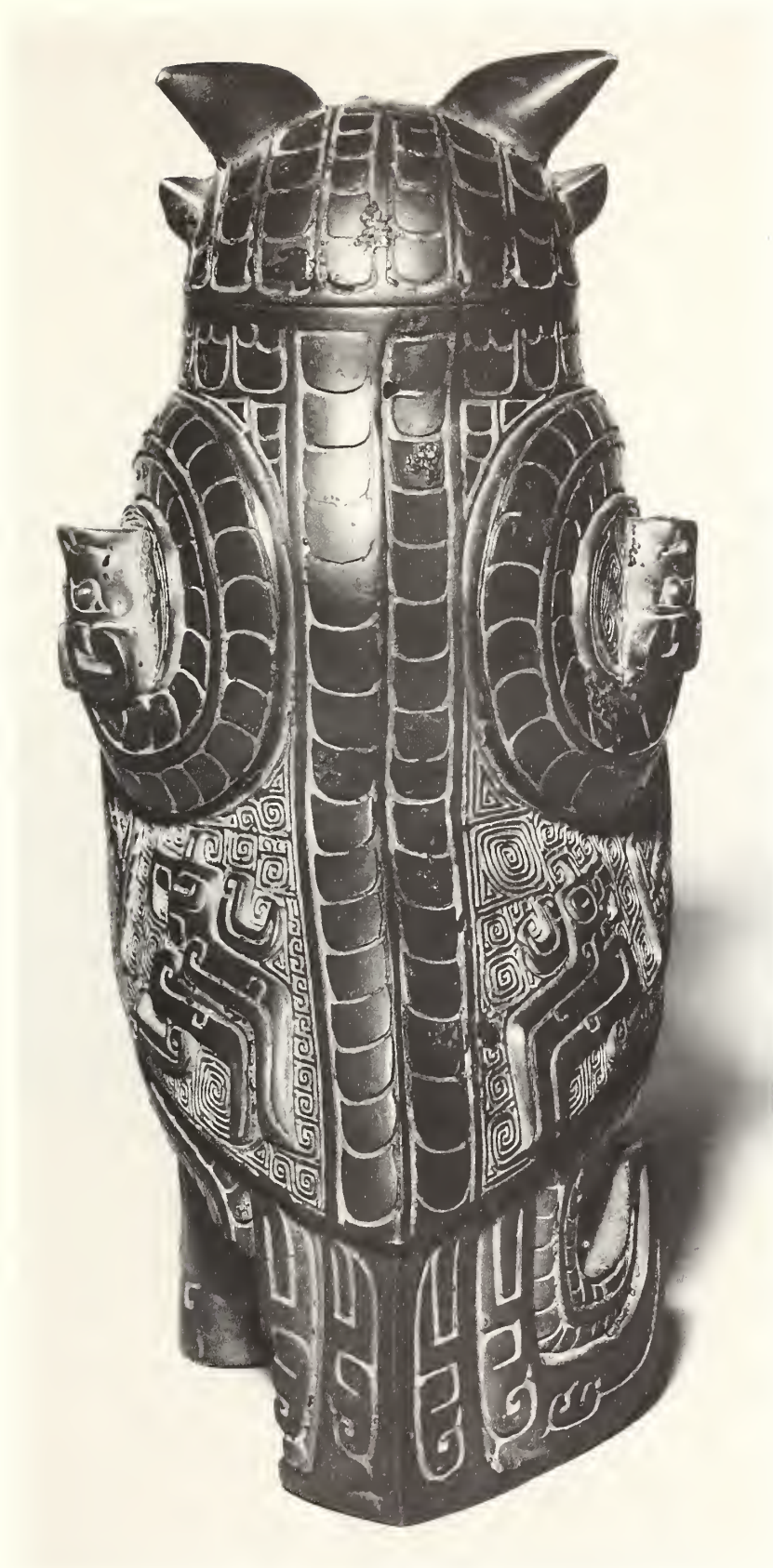


FIG. 4. Yale *tsun*, rear view.



FIG. 5. Yale *tsun*, bottom view of body and head.

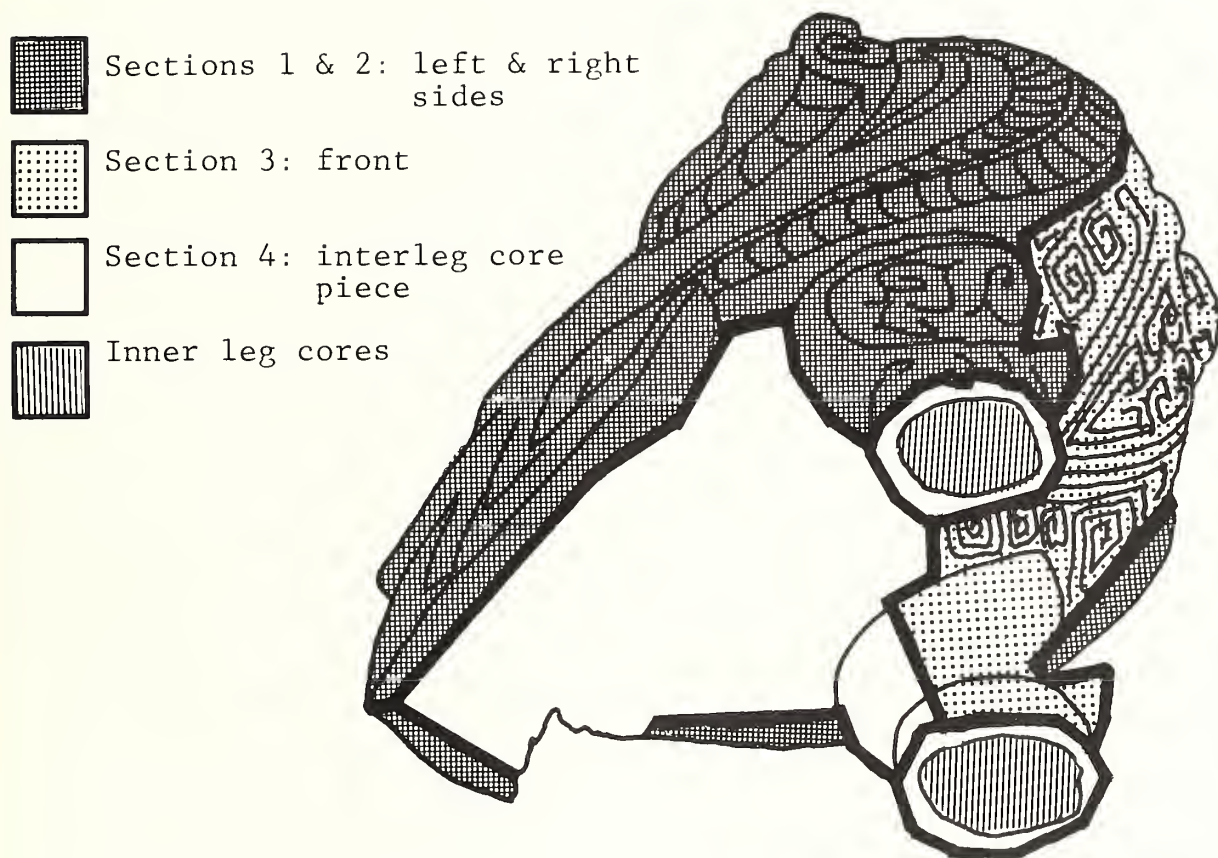


FIG. 6. Yale *tsun*. Four-piece mold construction for casting the body (see p. 63).



FIG. 7. Yale *tsun*. Detail, proper right wing, $\times 2$, showing original foundry repair to the imperfectly cast tiger's head. The repair extends from the nostril to the ear (top arrow). Excess metal ran into the scale decor and was rubbed down (bottom arrow). The shiny bumps over the repair metal are botryoidal malachite.



FIG. 8. Yale *tsun*. X-radiograph of proper right wing. The repair metal shows as an irregular mass behind the scale decor.

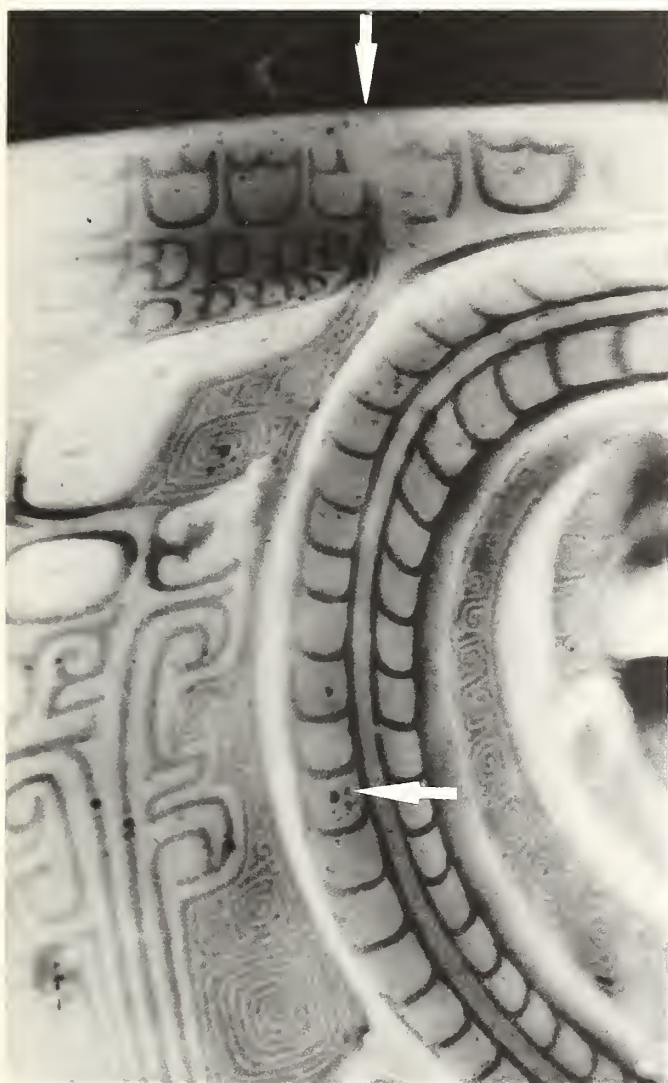


FIG. 9. Yale *tsun*. X-radiograph of the proper left wing and chest join. The difference in density at the neck (top arrow) shows the location of a mold joint. The local increase in porosity in the wing (bottom arrow) may indicate the location of a melted chaplet.

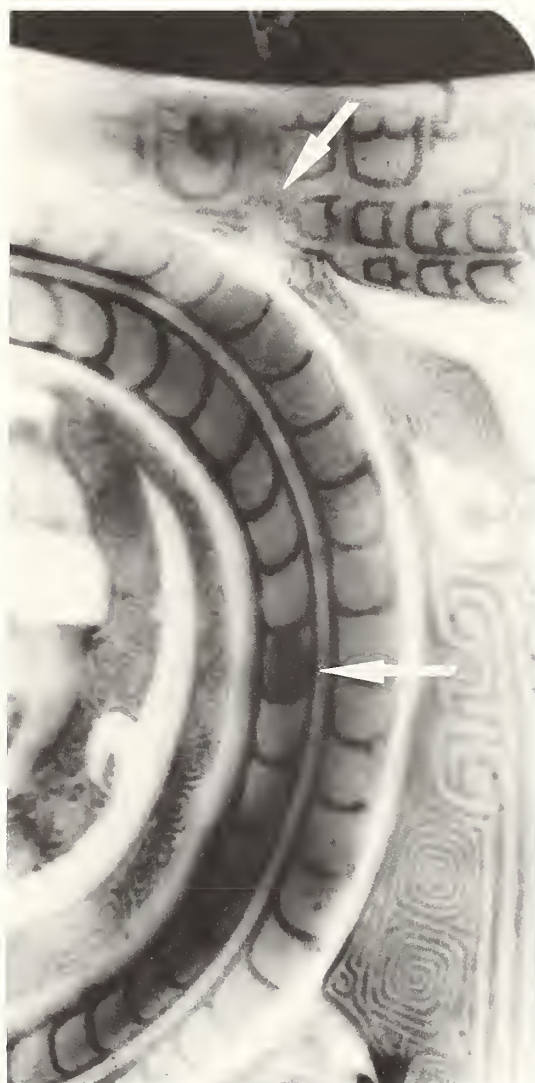


FIG. 10. Yale *tsun*. X-radiograph of the proper right wing and chest join. The disruption in the decor and the increased metal thickness (top arrow) show a mold joint. A chaplet is observed in the wing scales (bottom arrow).



FIG. 11. Yale *tsun*. X-radiograph of the legs, tail, and bottom. The 2-mm wire is the light area in the center. Lead segregation and lack of porosity are observed in the tail.



FIG. 12. Yale *tsun*. X-radiograph of center back. The difference in density between the left and right sides shows the location of a mold join. Two chaplets are observed (arrows); the one on the right is easily visible on the vessel.



FIG. 13. Yale *tsun*, X-radiograph of center front. A chaplet is visible in the center of the cicada (arrow). Below the *lei-wen*, the variation in density proves a mold join. The fine white dots in the undecorated belly area are lead segregation. The dark rectangles over the legs show where the ceramic spaces belonging to the individual leg cores were attached to the body core.



FIG. 14. Yale *tsun*, X-radiograph of center front. Porosity increases towards the top. A chaplet is observed between the horns (arrow).

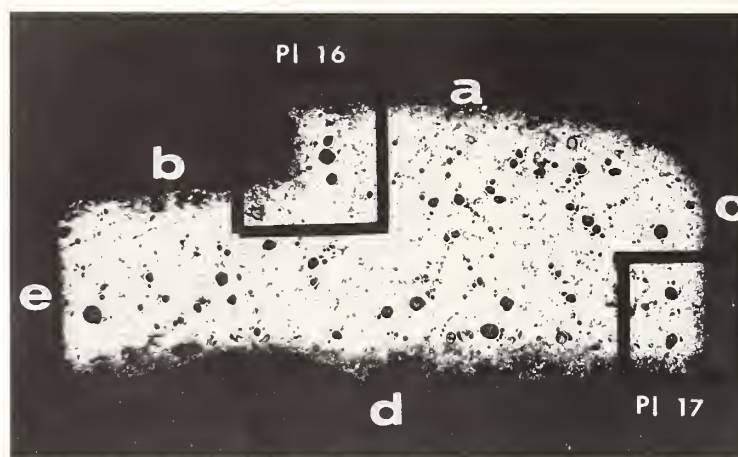


FIG. 15. Yale *tsun*. Overall view of the metallographic section from the tail (for location of sample site, see fig. 1), bright field reflected, unetched, $\times 50$.

(a) The outside surface of the vessel. (b) The recessed decor. (c) The incomplete edge of the tail. (d) The interior face of the tail. (e) Sawn edge.

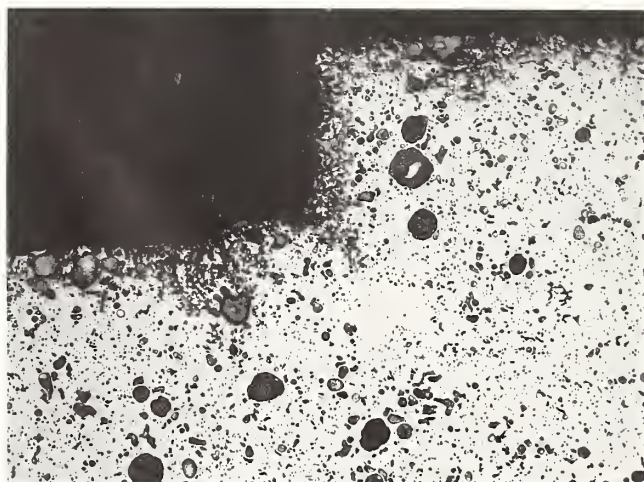


FIG. 16. Yale *tsun*. Detail of the metallographic section from the tail, bright field reflected, crossed polars, $\times 58$. The directional solidification of the metal in the recessed decor is roughly perpendicular to the surface, indicating that the decor was cast in. The smooth, cut-off plane of the outside surface (fig. 15a) is especially noticeable on the corrosion pits.

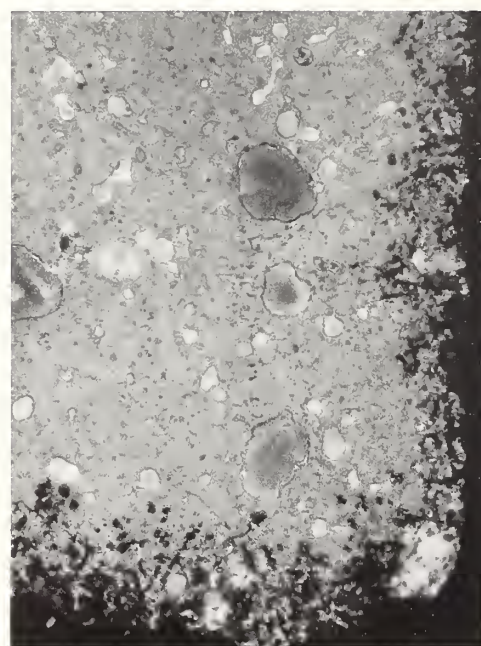


FIG. 17. Yale *tsun*. Detail of the metallographic section from the tail, bright field reflected, crossed polars, light potassium dichromate etch, $\times 123$. On the incomplete edge (fig. 15c), the depth of the corrosion is similar to that on the other faces. The corrosion has the same cut-off appearance as that on the outside surface.



FIG. 18. Yale *tsun*. Overall view of the metallographic section from the beak (for location of sample site, see fig. 2), bright field reflected, unetched, $\times 50$. The curved area is part of the decor; the edge with the bleb is the exterior of the vessel; the bottom edge is the interior of the beak; the side edges are sawn. Note the fine overall porosity, the alpha dendrites, and the absence of large lead globules.



FIG. 19. Yale *tsun*. Detail of the metallographic section from the beak, bright field reflected, crossed polars, unetched, $\times 70$. The botryoidal malachite shows a banded, radial habit around a kernel. The bronze immediately below the bleb is less corroded than elsewhere along the surface. Note the alpha attack in the corrosion interface layer and islands of delta remaining.



FIG. 20. Owl-shaped *tsun*. Cleveland Museum of Art 51.119; proper left side.



FIG. 21. Cleveland *tsun*, back. The metallographic sample shown in figs. 26 and 29 was taken from the proper right center back, as indicated.



FIG. 22. Cleveland *tsun*, view of bottom and detached head. The drilled sample for alloy composition was taken from the proper left foot. The metallographic section from the head was taken from under the proper right ear, as indicated.



FIG. 23. Cleveland *tsun*. X-radiograph, three-quarter profile. Note the separate metal plates under the hooves, the porosity and lead segregation in the tail, and the absence of decor. The arrow points to a 4-mm circular pin.

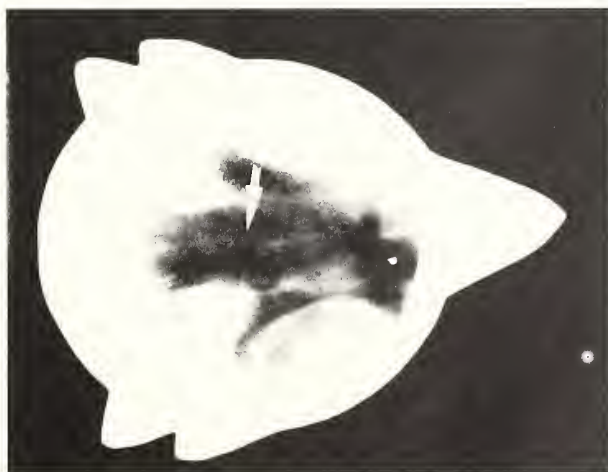


FIG. 24. Cleveland *tsun*. X-radiograph of head. There is a 1.5-mm, perfectly circular pin in the center of the head.



FIG. 25. Cleveland *tsun*. X-radiograph, front-to-back. Note the 1.5-mm core pins in the bottom and the center of the chest, the porosity and lead segregation in the tail, and the way the solid legs merge into the body without a line of demarcation.

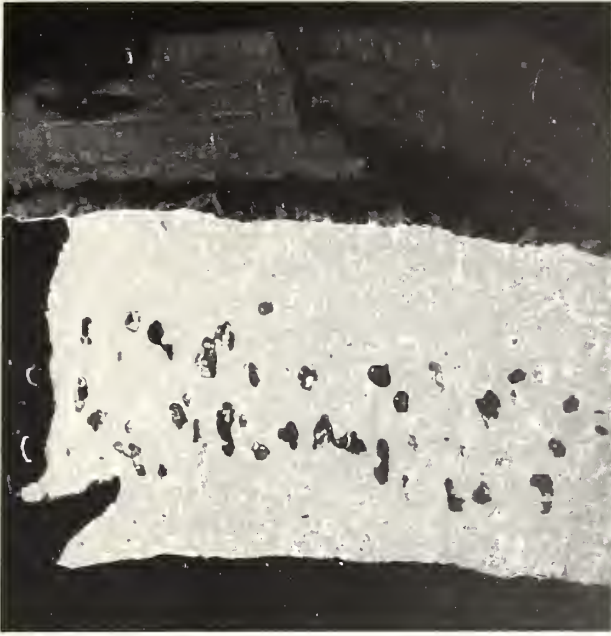


FIG. 26. Cleveland *tsun*. Scanning electron microprobe photograph of the thin section from the body, $\times 22$. In the metal portion (bottom), the medium gray areas are the copper-plus-tin dendrites. The lighter gray areas are segregated lead, and the black spots are pores containing shrunken lead globules. The stratified layers at the top are the surface coating on the vessel. The jagged grains between the organic material and the metal are quartz.



FIG. 27. Cleveland *tsun*. Scanning electron microscope photograph of the thin section from the body, $\times 72$. The layered structure of the organic coating is clearly visible. The jagged crystals at the bottom are quartz.

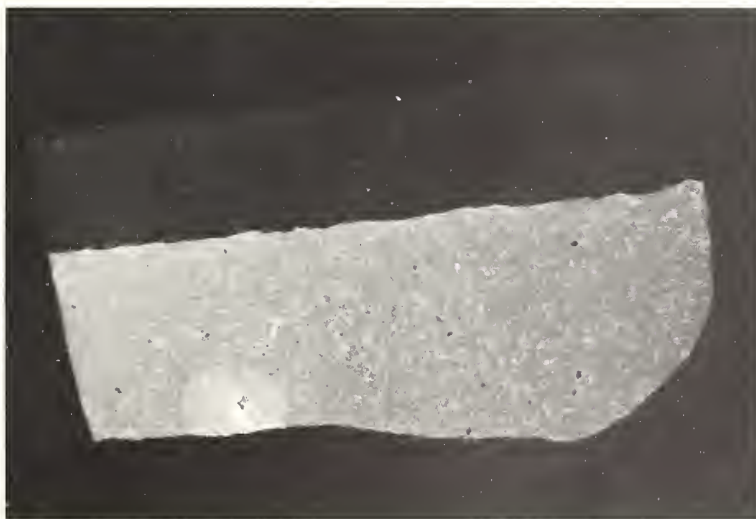


FIG. 28. Cleveland *tsun*. Scanning electron microscope photograph of the thin section from the flange at the base of the head, $\times 24$.

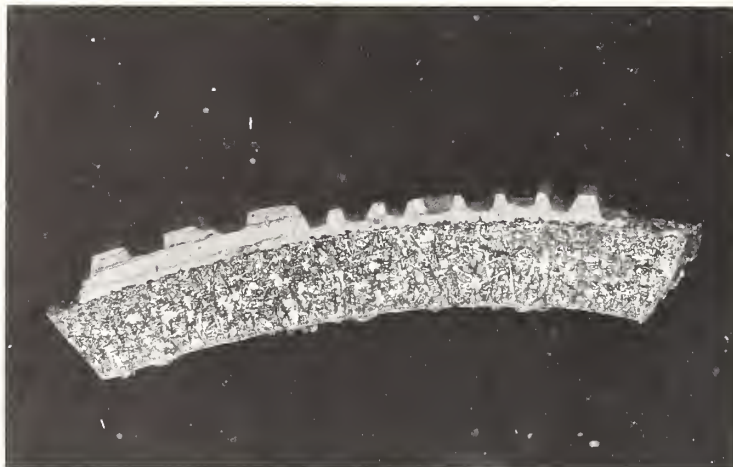


FIG. 29. Cleveland *tsun*. Metallographic section from the body, $\times 5.5$. Dark field, reflected light. The bottom portion is metal. The stratified layers are organic material. The three large sections on the left are part of the clawed creature. The smaller sections on the right are *lei-wen* and a scale.



FIG. 30. Cleveland *tsun*. Metallographic section from the body, detail of fig. 31, third large section from the left, $\times 60$. Dark field, reflected light. The organic surface is composed of five thick layers loaded with pigment particles and four thin interlayers. The design is carved down to varying levels within the layered structure. Jagged quartz crystals form a toothed layer between the metal (bottom) and the organic layers.



FIG. 31. Cleveland *tsun*. Proper left eye, $\times 35$. The surface coating shows pitting, spalling, and broken air bubbles. Marks of manufacture by chiseling or carving include zigzag contours around the scales, chamfered corners, and scraping marks on the bottom of each groove.



FIG. 32. Cleveland *tsun*. Thin section, body, $\times 50$. Transmitted light. The layered coatings loaded with pigment grains and the jagged quartz particles are visible.

THE PRODUCTION AND PATRONAGE OF THE *HAFT AURANG* BY JĀMĪ IN THE FREER GALLERY OF ART

BY MARIANNA SHREVE SIMPSON

FEW WORKS OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY IRANIAN ART ENJOY a more stellar reputation than the *Haft Aurang* of Jāmī dated 963–972/1556–1565 and made for the Safavid prince Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrā (Freer Gallery of Art 46.12). The manuscript's renown derives above all from the technical virtuosity and dramatic style of its twenty-eight illustrations, which have been virtually the sole focus of scholarly attention to this work.¹ Recent descriptions and comparative analyses of these pictures have involved two main concerns: (1) to establish the stylistic relationship between the ateliers sponsored by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrā at Mashhad while he was governor there in the 1550s and 1560s and those sponsored by his uncle and father-in-law, Shāh Ṭahmāsp, in the first Safavid capital of Tabrīz in the 1520s through mid-1540s and in the second Safavid capital of Qazvīn from the mid-1540s on; and (2) to classify the twenty-eight paintings by individual hands and/or specific artists.² The overall consensus on the first issue is that the Mashhad style continued the brilliant formal developments conceived at Tabrīz and fostered at Qazvīn while at the same time introducing more dynamic, mannered, and even decadent tendencies. Less unanimity has been achieved with respect to the attributions, and the identities of the Freer Jāmī artists remain problematic. Nevertheless, there seems to be general agreement that a number of different and exceptionally talented Safavid court painters were responsible for the beautiful compositions in this volume of the *Haft Aurang*.

Future research will undoubtedly contribute much more to the elucidation of formal modes, pictorial qualities, and other issues pertinent to the connoisseurship of the Freer Gallery's great masterpiece of sixteenth-century Iranian painting. In this paper, however, the Freer Jāmī will be considered as something other than a magnificent picture gallery—specifically, as a historical document and as a material object. These dimensions of the manuscript will be illuminated through an examination of its colophons and through a systematic review of its physical structure and contents, with full details given in a pair of appendixes (A. Colophons, and B. Description). This combined archival and archaeological approach is intended to facilitate a reconstruction of the circumstances of the manuscript's production and patronage, on the assumption that a

fuller account of the work's contemporary history will lead to an enriched and expanded perspective of its continuing art-historical value.

There are eight colophons in the *Haft Aurang* volume (figs. 1–8); a ninth would probably have been found on the now missing final page of the manuscript.³ Complete translations of these colophons appear in appendix A. The first three appear at the end of the three *daftars* (books) into which the *Silsilat al-dhahab* is divided. Numbers one and three are signed by the scribe Mālik al-Dailamī, and number two is surely also his work. He wrote the first colophon in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 963/October 1556 in Mashhad; the second colophon in Ramaḍān 964/June–July 1557; and the third colophon at the very end of the *masnavī* (poem) in Ramaḍān 944/June–July 1559 in the city of Qazvīn. Colophon number four, which marks the end of *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*, is dated 12 Rajab 964/11 May 1557 and signed by Muḥibb 'Alī, the librarian, in Mashhad. The fifth colophon ends the *Subḥat al-abrār* poem. It was written by Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī on the first day of Dhu'l-Ḥijja 963/6 October 1556 in Mashhad. The completion of *Salāmān u Absāl* is signaled with a very short colophon written by 'Aishī ibn 'Ishratī and dated 968/1560–1561. Colophon number seven at the end of the *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār* is equally terse. It was written by Rustam 'Alī in the beginning of Shawwāl 963/August 1556. The eighth and final colophon, which marks the completion of *Lailā u Majnūn*, is another long one written by Muḥibb 'Alī in the royal city of Herāt at the beginning of Shawwāl 972/May 1565. It contains a lengthy panegyric to the patron, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrā, whose name is also lauded in colophons one, three, four, and five.

This series of statements appearing throughout the *Haft Aurang* text and specifying when it was done, where it was done, for whom it was done, and by whom it was done combine to make the Freer Jāmī an exceptionally well-documented manuscript. In addition, the colophons as a group yield unexpected information about the volume's transcription and arrangement. First, the *masnavīs* are dated in nonsequential order: 963, 964, 966, 964, 963, 968, 963, and 972. Second, the text was copied in three different cities.⁴ Colophons one, four, and five were written in Mashhad, colophon three in Qazvīn, and

colophon seven in Herāt. Finally, two of the five calligraphers moved from one city to another during the time they worked on the manuscript. Mālik al-Dailamī transcribed the first *daftar* of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* in 963 in Mashhad and concluded the third *daftar* three years later in Qazvīn with the explicit statement that “the initiation and the writing of the greatest part of it [was done] in al-Mashhad.” Muḥibb ‘Alī also copied two sections of the *Haft Aurang* in two different places at two different times: the *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā* poem in 964 in Mashhad and the *Lailā u Majnūn* in 972 in Herāt.

It would be difficult to conceive of a more complicated situation than that revealed in the Freer Jāmī colophons as a group and equally hard to find an immediate parallel or precedent for it within the history of Islamic art.⁵ The chronological disjunction could, of course, have resulted from the manuscript’s having been taken apart at some point and then improperly recollated.⁶ However, the text in each *masnavī* reads continuously, without any significant lacunae.⁷ And although the manuscript has been re-bound at least once, and probably several times, its remarkably good condition seems to preclude the possibility that it was ever subjected to major refurbishing.⁸

In short, the manuscript has preserved its original chronologically mixed order and its original physical format. What that format consists of is forty gatherings, or quires, of which thirty-six are quaternions.⁹ Considering that the *masnavīs* were copied by five scribes in five different years and at three different locations, it would seem logical for each section to start and stop with a separate quire. There is, in fact, a definite visual break between each consecutive poem which takes the form of either a sheet of undecorated paper or a sheet of gold-flocked paper (fig. 9).¹⁰ Nonetheless, the poems do not begin and end on separate gatherings or even on separate bifolios. With one exception, the successive sections of the text share bifolios and quires.¹¹ To give an example, folio 83 is the first folio of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* and carries on the verso Mālik al-Dailamī’s statement that he finished his work in Qazvīn in 966 (fig. 10). Folio 83 is joined to folio 90, the last folio of the twelfth gathering and one of the opening folios of the *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā* poem completed by Muḥibb ‘Alī in Mashhad in 964—that is, some six hundred miles away from and two years before the completion of the preceding *masnavī*.¹²

How, then, was this multipart, multicopied, multidated, and multilocal manuscript put together? This question, raised by the colophons, can be resolved by a codicological investigation. The

process of the Freer Jāmī’s production turns out to consist of a sequence of steps which can be reconstructed in their smallest detail and which add up to a *modus operandi* as laborious as it is sophisticated. Appendix B describes fully the results of the operation. What follows here is an outline of the basic procedural progression so that the dynamics of the overall enterprise become apparent.

Although the manuscript ended up as a codex of forty gatherings, with most, if not all, composed of four conjoint bifolios, it started out as at least 306 separate folios, each of which is itself a montage of several different parts (fig. 11).¹³ All the text folios consist of two kinds of paper: a piece of thin, single-ply, ivory-hued paper in the center and a piece of thicker, double-ply, colored paper for the margins. The first step in the *Haft Aurang*’s production involved the preparation of these separate sets. The surface of the single-ply paper was dusted or sprayed with gold, impressed with a grid of twenty-one horizontal lines and six vertical lines, and cut into sheets of approximately 22.3 by 13.5 cm. The double-ply border papers were tinted on both recto and verso in pink (now quite faded), yellow, brown, four shades of blue, two shades of green, and one shade of blue green. Windows were then cut at virtually the same off-center position on all these colored sheets.¹⁴

During the second step, Jāmī’s poetic text was copied in elegant *nasta’līq* onto the standardized pieces of gold-dusted ivory paper. The five scribes used the horizontal grids as their guide in centering the verses and the vertical lines in calculating the width of the four text columns. They penned their forty-two verses per page in black ink; the rubrics in pink, green, orange, and blue inks; and the colophons in black, with occasional use of colored inks and gold (fols. 46, 139). They also wrote catchwords in black ink on a diagonal on the verso side of each sheet, either in the left-hand column divider or near the bottom left edge.

Once the transcription was finished, the thin text pages were set into their colored frames with a slight overlap.¹⁵ With this operation the Freer Jāmī reached a “protocodex” state, with a stack of 306 or more full folios, each measuring approximately 37.5 by 25.4 cm.¹⁶ These were now ready to be transformed, through several substeps, from plain, albeit colorful, folios into folios deluxe.¹⁷

First, the dividers between the text columns were defined by two gold lines flanked in black and a curving band of gold jonquils and daisies, stems and leaves, painted between these lines. Next, multi-colored illuminations were added around the rubrics in the middle columns of virtually every text page,

around the colophons, and in triangular spaces left by diagonally written verses.¹⁸ The decoration of the rubrics takes two forms. Where the headings fill up an entire line, the letters are outlined in black or colored contour lines and the background filled in with gold or dark blue and embellished with small, brightly colored blossoms and buds. Where the calligraphy is concentrated in the center, the illumination is divided into a middle panel and two vertical side panels, all enframed with a cross-and-dot border. The design of the middle panel resembles the first rubric type. The side panels, on the other hand, are extremely varied in content and include floral scrolls, leafy scrolls, half-cartouches, scalloped medallions, braids, diamonds, octagons, pentagons, human heads, animal heads, hearts, cloud bands, zigzags, single blossoms, and various other floral and geometrical motifs.¹⁹

The catalogue of motifs is more constant on the forty-three pages with triangular illuminations, where cartouches, floral scrolls, and blossoms predominate and where an occasional human head and harpy may be found (fig. 12). Instead of endless varieties of decorative units, these leaves display diversified exercises in patterning. The illuminated triangles always come in opposed pairs, with four pairs per line, and their placement moves from left to right depending on the direction of the diagonal verses. A strict geometric precision in layout often prevails. On folio 99v, for instance, the six rows of illuminated triangles are composed of four repeat motifs distributed in three different patterns. The recto and verso of folio 90 have the same motifs arranged in six different ways.

The eight colophons are also characterized by considerable diversity—in fact, no two are identical. The variation begins with the format in which each colophon is written, ranging from a simple vertical rectangle to an elaborate tripartite layout. The first colophon (fol. 46) is the most lavishly illuminated, and the last one is the most unusual, with a pair of side panels containing white flower vases (fol. 272).

These four different illuminated elements—the column dividers, heading panels, triangles, and colophons—could conceivably have been done before the text pages were joined to their borders. There is, however, another set of illuminations which could only have been executed after the full folios were formed. These are the *'unvāns* (headings) which open the separate *masnavīs* of the *Haft Aurang* (figs. 13, 14).²⁰ No two are identical in size or design, but the basic formats are comparable: two superimposed rectangles topped with a line of blue finials.²¹ The bottom rectangle is always larger and

contains a gold medallion in the center. The narrow upper rectangle consists of either a straight panel with a geometric pattern (fols. 70v, 84v, 200v), or a panel with a large scalloped triangle projecting upwards from the center (fols. 47v, 140v, 182v, 225v, 273v). It is extremely difficult to detect—and impossible to photograph—the fact that most of the lower rectangle is painted on the text paper. On folio 182v, for instance, the break comes just below the top edge of the gold braided frame enclosing the center field.

The next substep in the decoration of the Freer Jāmī folios was the addition of framing lines on the inner edges of the borders to mask the joints around the written surface. The ruling system is uniform throughout and consists of a series of variably spaced black lines filled with color.²² Most of the lines are on the margin paper. Because they often break for ascending letters, however, it is clear that they must have been drawn after the text sheets were set into their borders.

The rulings not only hide the overlap between the text and border sheets but also serve as a line of demarcation between the elegant calligraphy and colorful illuminations on the inner part of each folio and the striking decorations on the outer tinted margins (figs. 11, 14). The majority of the text folios in the manuscript have lush floral designs painted in gold. These consist of large blossoms, stems, branches, and leaves on the three widest margins, and long leafy branches on the fourth, or gutter, margin, all arranged in a fluid and rhythmic composition which swoops neatly around the multi-colored rulings—proving that the marginal designs were added as the final phase of illumination.²³

So far, this examination of the Freer Jāmī's contents and production has concerned only those folios with text on both recto and verso. The twenty-eight folios which have paintings on one side share many of the same physical features. However, the actual fabrication of the illustrated folios was handled somewhat differently and their illumination was accomplished in a less uniform manner; the sequence of steps, at least, does not follow the same neat pattern which can be traced for the text folios.²⁴

Except for folios 10 (fig. 15) and 207, which were composed like the text folios and painted after the transcribed text pages had been set into their borders, the *Haft Aurang* miniatures were painted on full sheets of cream-colored paper (figs. 16, 18–20). That is to say, the painted surface and the marginal surface are the same on the illustrated sides of twenty-six folios. However, the unillustrated sides of these folios are made up of the standard thin ivory paper in the center joined to a separate cream-colored border.

Six illustrated folios are laminates; each of these has two entirely independent sides, with cream-colored paper used for the illustrated sides and variously colored paper margins around the text on the other sides (fols. 59, 194, 221, 253, 264, 275).²⁵

All the paintings are vertical rectangles, but they are never identical in size.²⁶ After a scene had been laid out and painted, often with landscape and figural elements placed in or projecting out into the margin, its perimeter was outlined with either a continuous or a broken frame. The general system of rulings is similar to that used elsewhere in the manuscript except that there is much greater variation in the sequence and order of the lines.

Next, the text was written into the variously positioned and sized text blocks.²⁷ That the verses were transcribed after the rulings had been drawn can be determined from several unfinished paintings (fols. 194, 253, 264, 275, 298; see fig. 16) and the fact that the calligraphy often goes over the framing lines (fols. 153v, 221v). On folios 110v, 153v, and 169v, catchwords were written in the lower margin.

These catchwords were then enclosed in cartouches when the marginal decorations were added to both sides of the illustrated folios. Unlike the two sides of the text folios, almost all of which have the same kind of marginal decoration, the rectos and versos of the illustrated leaves are almost always different (figs. 17, 18). On sixteen of these, the plain-paper margins of the unillustrated sides are decorated with long-tailed birds amidst peony blossoms and small rosettes. These motifs are stenciled in pink and outlined in gold.²⁸ The margins on the illustrated sides contain the same gold-painted floral margins found on the text pages, but here the size and arrangement of the blossoms, leaves, and stems had to be designed to accommodate parts of the compositions that project into the margins. These adjustments are often very clever: on folio 38v, the floral sprays weave in, out, and around the landscape encroaching into the margin at right; on folio 59, a leafy branch comes down between the two black slaves at the top left and then bends around the building and the horse and groom below. The margins of the illustrations on folios 110v (fig. 19) and 291 are painted with fanciful animal compositions. Folios 10 and 207 have birds stenciled in pink on their illustrated sides and in gold on their unillustrated sides.²⁹

One more step was needed to finish these folios: the illumination of the text blocks. Here again there is great variation, not only in motif but also in degree of completeness. Often the illumination consists of only a set of thin gold and black lines; sometimes the

column dividers are illuminated with gold flowers, stems, and leaves.

Once both the text and illustrated portions of the *Haft Aurang* had gone through their various transformations, they were ready to be joined into bifolios. This union was achieved by overlapping one colored sheet onto another just about at the thin gold line that delineates the floral sprays at the gutter's edge. And then, after the bifolios had been joined, the leaves could finally be gathered into quires and stitched together as an actual codex.

In summary, then, the Freer Jāmī consists of a multiplicity of separate parts and a plethora of decorative details assembled in five primary stages and a series of simultaneous secondary steps. Many of the individual procedures followed in this operation seem consistent with recognized practices of later Iranian manuscript production, although it would require a careful survey of many sixteenth-century codices to determine whether the overall process of the Freer Jāmī's execution was merely routine or in any way unusual.³⁰ The aim of the present archaeological investigation is not, however, to pass judgment on the volume's structural uniqueness but rather to reconcile the still puzzling information about cities, years, and scribes found in the colophons. As it turns out, the manuscript's material form can explain a good deal about its history. At the same time, the combined evidence—that is, the documentary evidence of the colophons and the physical evidence of the transcribed, illuminated, and illustrated folios—would seem to have certain implications for accepted notions about the circumstances under which sixteenth-century Iranian books were produced.

One very obvious point that can be made straightaway is that the manuscript took longer to be produced than the period from 963 to 972. After all, those are colophon dates, and they only record the various moments when the transcription of the *masnavīs* was accomplished. We now know that after the text pages were ready, they had to be set into their colored borders before the illumination could begin. Since the illumination is characterized by an overall homogeneity and consistency in design and quality, it must have been added in a continuous program from one end of the manuscript to the other. That being the case, the illumination had to wait until at least Shawwāl 972, when the *Lailā u Majnūn* poem was completed, for only then could the text and border sheets be joined. And when the work did begin, it must have been a fairly lengthy affair to decorate the thousands of column dividers and rubrics and hundreds of rulings and margins,

not to mention the colophons and *'unvāns*. And when that step was done, the illuminated folios had still to be conjoined, gathered, and bound. Thus, even without taking into consideration the lead time which might have been used before the late summer and fall of 963 for such tasks as the selection and assignment of personnel, the organization of materials, the preparation of a “dummy” manuscript, and so forth,³¹ it becomes apparent that the nine-year span automatically cited in the scholarly literature for the Freer Jāmī is misleading.

Then there is the far more critical problem of the colophons’ nonsequential internal chronology and multiple locations. To understand this anomaly we must return to the very beginning of the Freer Jāmī’s production process. In step one, each folio consisted of two separate sections, of which the single-ply paper, measuring slightly more than 22 by 13 cm, was the core element. This is what the scribes received at the start of the subsequent transcription stage, and this is what explains how they were able to write in three different places at five different times. Because their writing surfaces were small and individual and their other materials, such as pens and inks, as well as any volumes of the seven Jāmī poems used as textual models, were equally portable, the scribes’ work could be accomplished at any place and at any time. It had the potential of being a peripatetic process which required no special temporal or spatial coordination. Therefore, Mālik al-Dailamī could easily start the *Silsilat al-dhahab* in Mashhad and then move some six hundred miles away and finish the poem in Qazvīn. Furthermore, work on different parts of the *Haft Aurang* could be parceled out and undertaken at different times. Thus, Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī might have started the *Subḥat al-abrār* in 963, whereas ‘Aishī ibn ‘Ishrāī might have been assigned what ended up being the next poem five years later. Similarly, a scribe could pick up and put down his assignment at will—as Mālik al-Dailamī evidently did with the *Silsilat al-dhahab*—since no one else was waiting to write on the same sheets of paper. And since no one part of the book physically depended on another, the sections could be arranged in any order whatsoever, regardless of their individual completion dates, when the separate folios were conjoined and gathered in the last stage of production.

If the transcription was achieved in an almost piecework fashion, then theoretically the illustration could have been accomplished in the same way. The exact point at which the artists got their sheets—that is, before or after the text portions had been inset on the reverse sides of the folios—remains un-

certain.³² However, in either case, the folios destined for illustration were still individual, and therefore manageable, sheets of paper when they were painted. So the artists could conceivably have been working in various places at various times, just like the scribes.³³

Thus, we may deduce from the physical and historical evidence that, certainly during the stage of transcription and probably also during the stage of illustration, the Freer Jāmī was essentially a “mail-order” manuscript. Yet this hypothetical scenario does not correspond at all to traditional views about the setting in which a manuscript like the Freer Jāmī would have been prepared.³⁴ Such a fancy codex is generally presumed to have been made in an atelier sponsored by a royal personage and located at a royal court. There, papermakers, scribes, illustrators, illuminators, binders, and so forth would be assembled to work together in a situation akin to a medieval Western scriptorium. This kind of environment is defined by the term *kitāb-khāna*, which literally means “book-house,” or library, but which has also come to connote a combination of studio, study, and palace. Several Safavid notables kept *kitāb-khāna*, including Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā. The *Haft Aurang* itself attests directly to the existence of this establishment. Three colophons begin with the phrase *berasm-e kitāb-khāna* (“by order of the *kitāb-khāna*”) and subsequently mention the name of the patron, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā (fols. 83v, 139, 181). Two paintings (fols. 38v, 162) are also inscribed with the phrase *berasm-e kitāb-khāna-ye Abu’l-Fath Ibrāhīm Mīrzā Sulṭān* (see fig. 18). In the fourth colophon, the scribe Muḥibb ‘Alī identifies himself as the *kitāb-dār*, or librarian (fol. 139).

Additional information about Ibrāhīm Mīrzā’s *kitāb-khāna*, as well as those established by his father Bahrām Mīrzā and his uncle Shāh Ṭahmāsp, is found in the *Gulistān-i hunar*, a biographical treatise on Iranian calligraphers, artists, and patrons written by Qāḍī Aḥmad ibn Mīr Munshī.³⁵ The author’s family had close connections with the Safavid family, and particularly with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā. Qāḍī Aḥmad’s father served the prince as a high-level functionary and secretary during Ibrāhīm Mīrzā’s governorship in Mashhad, and his uncle was an intimate of the prince. Qāḍī Aḥmad himself was connected from childhood with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā’s *kitāb-khāna* and with the artistic circles of Mashhad.³⁶ Consequently, his frequently cited treatise is accorded the credibility of an eyewitness account, even though he wrote it in 1005/1596–1597, well after the death of many of the people whose careers he chronicles.

Qāḍī Aḥmad's longest description of Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā's *kitāb-khāna* certainly corresponds to the image of a royal scriptorium.

No sultan or *khāqān* possessed a more flourishing *kitāb-khāna* than that powerful prince. The majority of excellent calligraphers, painters, artists, gilders, and bookbinders were employed there. . . . Some 3,000 volumes and treatises were collected in the library of that light of every eye.³⁷

Despite the impression that Qāḍī Aḥmad creates of a large *kitāb-khāna* staff, the number of individuals whom he actually singles out as working there is quite low—only seven all together, including four of the scribes who copied parts of the *Haft Aurang*.³⁸ Yet the colophons on folios 83v and 272 reveal that two of these scribes—Mālik al-Dailamī and Muḥibb 'Alī—were not even in residence at the *kitāb-khāna* when they completed their final text sections. This does not mean that the *kitāb-khāna* did not function in the atelier or scriptorium fashion that Qāḍī Aḥmad implies. What the colophons do suggest is that, instead of being primarily a center for the copying of texts, Ibrahīm Mīrzā's *kitāb-khāna* may have been above all a library for which books were made and a place where work in progress elsewhere (for instance, the mail-order material) was gathered.

Of course, this kind of an establishment could have shifted periodically from the passive position of a book repository, or *bibliothèque*, to the more productive role of a press. For the Freer Jāmī such a moment would have come with its illumination. The convoluted character of this operation, on the one hand, and the qualitative uniformity of its results, on the other, presuppose a joint effort by a group or team of illuminators working in the same place.³⁹ Who the members of that group might have been is a matter of conjecture. Only one *mudhahhib*, or ornamentalist in gold, is recorded as working in the *kitāb-khāna* of Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā.⁴⁰ According to Qāḍī Aḥmad, this man, called 'Abdullāh Mudhahhib, came from the prolific book-making center of Shīrāz and worked for the prince for twenty years. There can be no doubt that he was involved in the production of the Freer Jāmī, as the initial folio (84v) of the *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā* poem proves (fig. 13). Like the other *masnavīs* in the volume, this one opens with a two-part illuminated '*unvān* with a gold medallion in the lower rectangle. But whereas the seven other '*unvān* medallions are blank, this one contains an inscription, consisting of four verses praising the poem's text and images.⁴¹ These lines are encircled by little flowers. Below the medallion there is a green band inscribed with a minute notation between two X's which reads *dhahhabahu*

'*Abdullāh al-Shīrāzī* ("gilded by 'Abdullāh of Shīrāz").⁴² It seems reasonable to associate this 'Abdullāh with the 'Abdullāh whose biography appears in the *Gulistān-i hunar* and thus to conclude that he wrote—perhaps even composed—the little poem and painted the blossoms around it.

'Abdullāh's reputation as a gifted *mudhahhib* notwithstanding, his signature here does not seem to indicate that he executed the entire '*unvān*, for then one would expect to find hidden signatures in other Freer Jāmī decorations.⁴³ Could he have been the director of the illumination enterprise who worked only on singular details⁴⁴ or, alternatively, a big-name consultant who was brought into the *kitāb-khāna* at the end of the project—perhaps even after the main task force had been disbanded—to lend his expertise?

The latter possibility is particularly appealing because it fits with the flexible conditions under which the *Haft Aurang* scribes—and perhaps also the painters—worked on this manuscript. Qāḍī Aḥmad's characterization of Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā's *kitāb-khāna* as a large establishment with an impressive and permanent residential staff turning out thousands of books seems to be both an inflated and a simplified view of the *kitāb-khāna*'s organization and operation. The prince undoubtedly owned a collection of books, presumably increased it with new titles, and certainly retained a librarian and other artists. However, the evidence now available suggests that, instead of being a formal institution where books were manufactured on a regular or daily basis, the *kitāb-khāna* was more like a center where a team could be assembled for short or irregular periods of time for concentrated work on a special project, such as the illumination and final compilation of a deluxe codex. If this was the case, then the *Haft Aurang* may have been the sole such special project undertaken at Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā's *kitāb-khāna*, for despite Qāḍī Aḥmad's claims that the prince had a library of three thousand volumes, this is absolutely the only known codex for which the prince's patronage and his *kitāb-khāna*'s provenance is unequivocally documented. So his supposed scriptorium-cum-atelier may actually have geared up only once—that one time being after 972—for the completion of a single great masterwork.

It is not merely the structure of such a center which the Freer Jāmī calls into question but also its location. As mentioned previously, *kitāb-khānas* are always described as being situated at royal or aristocratic courts, and *kitāb-khāna* personnel are regarded as part of a royal entourage which would,

or at least could, move whenever the court did. The *Haft Aurang*, however, presents a different picture of the geographical relationship between a royal patron and the artists who produced work for his *kitāb-khāna*. We already know that two of the Freer Jāmī scribes completed their portions of the text in Qazvīn and Herāt during 966 and 972, respectively, years when Ibrāhīm Mīrzā was still governor of Mashhad.⁴⁵ And it seems likely that even earlier in its history, perhaps from its very inception, this manuscript's manufacture was characterized by a marked independence from the physical presence of the prince. According to the *Sharafnāma*, Ibrāhīm Mīrzā received the appointment as governor of Mashhad in 963 from Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who gave the youth his daughter's hand in marriage at the same time.⁴⁶ This important source says that the shah made his new son-in-law leave for the province of Khurāsān in 963. Qāḍī Aḥmad, however, reports that Ibrāhīm Mīrzā proceeded to Mashhad in 964, that is, in the year following the transcription of three sections of the *Haft Aurang*.⁴⁷ Qāḍī Aḥmad may well have erred in the year that the prince commenced his governorship.⁴⁸ However, if the chronicler was right and if Ibrāhīm Mīrzā was still in Qazvīn while a text was being copied for him in Mashhad, then there exists the distinct possibility that a *kitāb-khāna* could be in one place while its newest acquisition was being prepared in another.

From all of this the *kitāb-khāna* emerges as a much more variable "institution" than previously envisioned. But whether Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's *kitāb-khāna* was at times just a collection of books and at times a flourishing workshop, and whether it had a home base in Mashhad or was transferred from city to city, the production of an elaborate codex like the Freer Jāmī for a royal *kitāb-khāna* would have required a certain amount of direction at some stage of its execution. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā was, of course, the project's patron—that is, he commissioned the work, paid for it, and took possession of the final product. Might he not also have been its mastermind or, at least, the one person who kept the momentum going throughout the nine-year-plus life-span of this operation?⁴⁹

The most obvious indicators of such a role or impact are the references to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā in the manuscript. His name appears eight times—an unprecedented number of personal citations for a Safavid manuscript, even one of such high calibre. The profusely illustrated *Shāhnāma* made for Shāh Ṭahmāsp, for instance, mentions its patron's name only twice.⁵⁰ Five of the *Haft Aurang* colophons include Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's name in varying forms,

always preceded by the type of honorific titles favored in Iran for the description of nobility, such as "the just," "the perfect," "the illustrious," "the world keeper," "the successful one of the orbit of fate," and frequently succeeded by one or more similarly typical and effusive benedictions, such as "May God perpetuate the shadow of his retinue" (fols. 46, 83v, 139, 181, 272). In the first and fourth colophons, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's name is highlighted still further by the use of gold and colored inks (fols. 46, 139). It is also prominently displayed in the architecture of three *Haft Aurang* illustrations, twice at the end of identical *kitāb-khāna* inscriptions (fol. 38v, fig. 18; fol. 132, fig. 20) and once by itself (fol. 162).

Thus, there is throughout the codex a veritable flaunting of its patron. At the very least, these eight references seem to proclaim a pride of possession. At the same time, they may reflect a more intense, even personal hubris in a job well done. Ibrāhīm Mīrzā was, after all, not merely a prince, governor, and bibliophile. He was also a master of calligraphy, miniature painting, and bookbinding, of covering paper with gilding and gold sprinkling, of decorating margins with flowers and animals, of blending colors, and of working in gold.⁵¹ In the face of such skills and of the egotism manifest in the *Haft Aurang*, it is tempting to suppose that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā not only ordered and orchestrated the production of the Freer Jāmī but also executed some of its illuminations as well.

Perhaps the prince's personal and direct involvement explains why the profusion of both documentation and decoration in the Freer Jāmī is unparalleled in other extant manuscripts of the Safavid period. Not even the Ṭahmāsp *Shāhnāma* received such a lavish and varied application of gold pigment.⁵² This disparity between the *Shāhnāma* and the *Haft Aurang* may actually signify something about what spurred Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā to commission, and perhaps even work on, his splendid book.

Much has been made in the scholarly literature about the on-again/off-again relationship between the Safavid monarch and his nephew-cum-son-in-law and about their at times converging, at times diverging interest in the fine arts.⁵³ Specific reference to this relationship is made in the same *Haft Aurang* paintings which incorporate gold inscriptions about Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's *kitāb-khāna* into their architectural decor (fol. 38v, fig. 18; fol. 162). Directly above these phrases are longer inscriptions blessing Ṭahmāsp, with the shah's name written in gold. They are similar in form and sentiment to the *Haft*

Aurang colophons praising Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā.⁵⁴ Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā may have been trying to please or flatter his older and more powerful relation, or he may have been signaling his intention to compete with the shah and to acquire a work for his *kitāb-khāna* that would equal, even outshine, anything that Ṭahmāsp had ordered for his book collection.

If Ibrahīm Mīrzā's patronage of this manuscript was not motivated by feelings of emulation or competition, then perhaps it was prompted by some specific event or series of events in the prince's life. 963 was a banner year for this young man, for in that same year he received both a governorship and a bride. There must be some connection between the momentous events of 963 and the completion of several sections of the *Haft Aurang*, also in 963. Perhaps Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā commissioned the manuscript as a way of celebrating his dual good fortune. Telling evidence for this hypothesis is provided by the illustration on folio 132, which represents the feast honoring Yūsuf on the night before his wedding to Zulaikhā. Interestingly enough, this painting is the very one in which the name of Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā appears all by itself without any kind of modifier. It is hard to imagine that the placement of Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā's name immediately above the nimbed head of the prophet

Yūsuf could be a mere coincidence. Perhaps we have here a direct allusion to Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā's own marriage, and perhaps even a portrayal of the prince in the idealized form of another, legendary groom.⁵⁵ If so, then the *Haft Aurang* might have been Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā's present to himself in commemoration of his alliance with Gauhar-sulṭān khānum, the daughter of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

Confirmation of these suppositions about Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā's participation in and motivation for the creation of such a deluxe copy of the *Haft Aurang* must await the investigation of a whole series of issues, ranging from the status of Jāmī's text at the Safavid court to the hierarchy, that is to say, relative importance, of the decorative and illustrative program in this particular volume. To resolve these issues would be to penetrate much further into the manuscript's private history, that is, into its uses and meaning. For now, the manuscript's public record, culled from eight colophons and 304 folios, recounts the complicated conditions and considerable effort involved in its manufacture. This account constitutes an important reminder that such a work of art must be studied as the sum of many parts—as a complete codex—for that is exactly how Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā's *Haft Aurang* was conceived, fabricated, and preserved.

Notes

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1. Selected references: Esin Atil, *Exhibition of 2500 Years of Persian Art* (Washington, D.C., 1971), p. 10 and cat. no. 39; Milo C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp. 12, 20–21, 55–57; Martin B. Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1981), 1:45B–18A; 128A–B; 155A; 193A; 240B, n. 15; 246A, n. 4; and figs. 41, 42, 47, 48, 163, 164, 199–204, 219–22, 224, 226–32, 254, 263–66, 272–76; O. Galerikina, "Some characteristics of Persian miniature painting in the later part of the sixteenth century," *Oriental Art*, n.s., 21 (Autumn 1975): 232; Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (Geneva, 1961), pp. 142–43; Ernst Grube, *The World of Islam* (New York and Toronto, 1966), pp. 145, 161; Basil W. Robinson, *Persian Drawings from the 14th through the 19th Century* (Boston and Toronto, 1965), p. 135, pl. 45, and p. 136, pl. 48; B. W. Robinson, ed., *Persian and Mughal Art* (London, 1976), p. 15; Robert Skelton, "The Mughal Artist Farokh Beg," *Art Orientalis* 2 (1957): 396; Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Safavids de 1502 à 1581* (Paris, 1959), pp. 127–29; A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven and London, 1976), pp. 13, 150–58; S. C. Welch, *A King's Book of Kings: The Shah-Nameh of Shah Tahmasp* (New York, 1972), pp. 69, 72–76; S. C. Welch, *Persian Painting: Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1976), pp. 23–27, 31, 98–127; S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501–1576* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), pp. 27–30.
2. The most extensive discussion of these issues appears in Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:36A; 47A–48A; 53A; 95B; 102B; 114A–115B; 130A; 140A–141B; 155B; 159A–B; 161B; 165B; 167A; 168A–B; 175A–176B; 177A; 206B; 210A; 224A; 228A–B; 241A, n. 15; 248A, no. 10; 252B, n. 12; Gray, *Persian Painting*, pp. 142–43; Stchoukine, *Manuscrits Safavids*, pp. 127–29; A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 150–58; S. C. Welch, *Persian Painting*, pp. 23–27; and S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, pp. 27–30.
3. The only complete list of the colophons is found in the unpublished curatorial folder sheet, prepared by Richard Ettinghausen in 1946 when he acquired the *Haft Aurang* for the Freer. Stchoukine's listing in *Manuscrits Safavids*, p. 127, both omits certain essential data and includes the colophon signed by Sulṭān Muḥammad Khandān on replacement folio 304 as though it were part of the original manuscript, as do Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:246A, n. 4.
4. Of the numerous published references, only Atil, *2500 Years of Persian Art*, cat. no. 39, mentions the three cities. Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:250B, n. 8, do refer to the colophon written by Muḥibb 'Alī in Herāt. M. Nizamuddin also mentions, on the authority of R. Ettinghausen, that the manuscript was "written and illustrated between 963–972 AH 1556–1565 in Mashhad or Qazvīn or Herāt." See M. Nizamuddin, "More light on the description of a rare illustrated XVth century manuscript of the Gulistan of Sa'di in Hyderabad Deccan," in *The Memorial Volume of the Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology . . . 1968*, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1972), 2:111.
5. It is not uncommon, however, for sixteenth-century *kulliyāts*, or anthologies, to be copied by more than one calligrapher. An *Anthology* dated 930/1524 (Freer Gallery of Art 44.48) was transcribed by six scribes, and a volume of four *masnavīs* of Jāmī (Chester Beatty Library P.213) of 950–954/1543–1547 by four scribes. See B. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 85, 134.
6. At first, this possibility seemed quite likely since the seven *masnavīs* in the Freer Jāmī do not correspond to the following order, in which the poet is said to have named them: *Silsilat al-dhahab*, *Salāmān u Absāl*, *Tuḥfat al-aḥyār*, *Subḥat al-abrār*, *Yūsuf u Zulaikḥā*, *Lailā u Majnūn*, and *Khirdnāma-i Iskandarī* (C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in The British Museum*, 3 vols. [London, 1879–83], 2:644; C. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in The British Museum* [London, 1895], p. 189). A preliminary examination of other sixteenth-century copies of the *Haft Aurang* suggests, however, that no fixed or canonical sequence of the *masnavīs* may have been observed. In any case, even if the Freer Jāmī *masnavīs* had been arranged in Jāmī's designated order, their chronological order would still have been nonsequential.
7. The text in the Freer Jāmī has been checked against M. Gīlānī, ed., *Masnavī Haft Aurang* (Tehran, 1337/1958).
8. The manuscript now has painted and lacquered covers of the Qajar period attached to a European leather spine and four modern fly-leaves. Replacement paper has been inserted on folios 299–303, which suffered water damage. Folios 1 and 301 are replacement leaves: folio 1 contains the correct opening text of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* and probably dates from the eighteenth or nineteenth century (Iran or India); folio 301 seems to come from seventeenth-century India and contains on its recto a poetic text signed by Sulṭān Muḥammad Khandān and on its verso a series of Mughal court seals and inscriptions. Folio 303 is now bound out of order; it originally followed folio 299. An illustrated bifolio has been removed from between folios 261 and 262.
9. G1 (gathering 1) contains only two folios, with folio 1 tipped in as a replacement leaf. G34 lacks its original middle bifolio (with one illustration) and is now a ternion. G39 and G40 are both binions, but they may have originally been gathered into a single quaternion. A full collation of the manuscript is being prepared for publication.
10. The breaks occur on folios 46v–47, 70, 84, 139v–40, 181v–82, 199v–200, 225, 272v–73. The first *daftar* of *Silsilat al-dhahab*, *Yūsuf u Zulaikḥā*, *Subḥat al-abrār*, *Salāmān u Absāl*, *Tuḥfat al-aḥyār*, and *Lailā u Majnūn*, which all end on the recto, are followed by a double spread consisting of an unadorned sheet facing either another unadorned sheet or a gold-flocked sheet. None of the Freer Jāmī *masnavīs* begins on the verso or facing recto of its predecessor.
11. *Khirdnāma-i Iskandarī* does start with a separate gathering.

12. Similarly, folio 199v at the end of *Salāmān u Absāl*, dated 968 by 'Aishī ibn 'Ishratī, shares the same gathering (G26) as the next poem, *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār*, which Rustam 'Alī finished five years earlier in 963. Three leaves of the later *Salāmān u Absāl* poem form conjoint bifolios with the earlier *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār* (195 and 202, 196 and 201, 197 and 200).
13. There may originally have been additional folios at the beginning with such front matter as a *sarlah* (frontispiece), dedicatory *shamsa* (rosette), etc.
14. The difference between the text and border paper is most clearly visible on the pages separating successive *masnavīs*, previously listed. See also figure 9.
15. Surprisingly, the location of the overlap is unpredictable—sometimes it occurs on the recto and sometimes on the verso of a folio. Furthermore, there is no pattern in the distribution of the colored margin paper.
16. At some later date, the folios were trimmed down to an average size of 34.5 × 23.4 cm.
17. See appendix B for a full description of the various types of illumination.
18. That these illuminations were executed after the column dividers is demonstrated on folio 242v, where a dab of the orange paint used in the decoration of a rubric was splashed over the gold column line. A few rubrics remain unfinished, proving that they were first written and then illuminated (fols. 162v, 253v).
19. These designs still need to be thoroughly analyzed and classified.
20. The 'unwān on folio 1v is not original and is not included in this discussion.
21. The 'unwān on folio 200v lacks the narrow upper rectangle.
22. The colored lines are the same on all the text and colophon pages and on 'unwān folios 140v and 230v. Six 'unwān folios have additional colored and black lines (47v, 70v, 84v, 182v, 225v, 273v).
23. The margins on the page opening the second *daftar* of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* are decorated with a unique geometric lattice design stenciled in gold (fol. 47v). The margins of two other 'unwān folios and the text obverses of eighteen illustrated folios have stenciled bird designs, which will be described below. See also appendix B.
24. The unfinished state of a few illustrated folios is useful in establishing the stages of their individual execution. Yet the combined information is not always consistent. More technical analysis might help to establish the overall operational procedure. The present explanation of the production of these folios is still somewhat tentative.
25. It is not yet certain if the text sections on these twenty-six folios were inset and the rectos and versos joined before the illustrations were begun. The method of joining the two sides also needs further investigation. At least two illustrated folios have a third sheet of paper between their rectos and versos (fols. 52, 188).
26. Black drafting lines, visible on folio 264, may have been used to define the pictorial space for each illustration.
27. Some of these blocks were impressed with grid lines to define the width of the text columns (e.g., fol. 110v).
28. The same designs are found on 'unwān folios 84v and 255v except that the birds are stenciled in gold and not outlined.
29. The six laminated folios, described above, have floral designs painted on both recto and verso.
30. The history of the many arts involved in Islamic book manufacture has not yet been studied as a coherent whole, although a number of technical processes, particularly the preparation of inks, paper, and leather and the craft of bookbinding, are well known through such important treatises as the *Umdat al-kuttāb wa 'uddat dhaw' al-albāb* of Ibn Bādīs (1031–1108) and the *Šinā'at tasfīr al-kutub wa ḥall al-dhahab* completed by al-Sufyānī in 1619 (see G. K. Bosch, "The Staff of the Scribes and Implements of the Discerning: An Excerpt," *Ars Orientalis* 4 [1961]: 1–13; M. Levey, "Medieval Arabic Bookmaking and Its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 52 [1962]: 5–79). The recent exhibition catalogue by G. Bosch, J. Carswell, and G. Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking* (Chicago, 1981), contributes significantly to our knowledge of the materials and techniques employed in the general tradition of Islamic bookmaking. S. C. Welch presents an interesting scenario for the process involved in the production of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's celebrated *Shāhnāma* in *King's Book of Kings*, pp. 18–21, and in Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:4B–7B; and T. W. Arnold has some general remarks about the execution of manuscripts in the Safavid and Mughal periods in *Painting in Islam* (New York, 1965), p. 76. Safavid illumination is discussed in R. Ettinghausen, "Manuscript Illumination," in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, 6 vols. (Oxford and New York, 1939), 3:1968–74. References to certain characteristic features of the Freer Jāmī—namely, the gold-dusted (*afshān* and *ghubār*) and gridded text paper, folios made of two kinds of paper, tinted and decorated margin paper, rulings, illuminated contours around rubrics (*tahrīr*), triangular corner-pieces, and bifolios joined by overlap—are found in O. F. Akimuskina and A. A. Ivanov, "The Art of Illumination," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. B. Gray (Boulder, Colo., 1979), pp. 46–50 (tracing many of the decorative features to the fifteenth century); H. T. Behzad, "Book Painting. H. The Preparation of the Miniaturist's Materials," in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Pope and Ackerman, 3:1923; Bosch et al., *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking*, pp. 33–34, 41; Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:5A–B; and Cl. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman* (Paris, 1908), p. 13.
31. The assumption of a "dummy" or "mock-up" is based on the close physical and iconographical relationship between the *Haft Aurang* illustrations and the Jāmī verses incorporated into the picture planes. This proximity must have been worked out in advance, since the size of the text blocks, where the verses would be written after a scene was painted, had to be calculated before the artists began their work. The verses in the illustrations always follow the sequence of the text; the same regularity would also have been maintained on those unfinished illustrations where the verses were never transcribed. There is only one example of miscalculation in the layout of a text block, resulting in the repetition of a single verse from a preceding text page (fol. 105).
32. There is, of course, no problem with folios 10 and 207 since they are constructed like the text folios. The compositions could have been painted only after the text had been

- transcribed and the central pieces of paper set into the margins.
33. Such a scheme has already been proposed by Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:164B, for reasons involving the attribution of certain Freer Jāmī illustrations to artists whom they believe stayed in Qazvīn and submitted their pictures by messenger to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mūzā in Mashhad. See also S. C. Welch, *Persian Painting*, p. 24.
 34. Akimuskina and Ivanov, "The Art of Illumination," p. 50; Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pp. 72–78; L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (New York, 1971), p. 109; Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:8A–9B (general discussion of a royal atelier), 52A–B, 95B, 130A (references to Ibrāhīm Mūzā's atelier in Mashhad); Ettinghausen, "Manuscript Illumination," pp. 1938–39; Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, Son of Mīr Munshī*, trans. V. Minorsky (Washington, D.C., 1959), p. 6; R. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne, 1980), p. 129; S. C. Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, pp. 18–21; S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, pp. 14–15.
 35. Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*. The introduction to this translation of the *Gulistān-i hunar*, written by B. N. Zakhoder, with additions by V. Minorsky (pp. 1–39), contains valuable information about Qāḍī Aḥmad's life and times and about the contents of his treatise.
 36. *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3, 7–9, 20.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
 38. The five calligraphers who signed the Freer Jāmī colophons were among the most talented masters of the Safavid period and were often employed by royal patrons, including Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Considerable biographical data is available for Mālik al-Dailamī, Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī, Rustam 'Alī, 'Aishī of Herāt (presumably 'Aishī ibn 'Ishratī), and Muḥibb 'Alī in the *Gulistān-i hunar* and in several other primary and secondary sources. Curiously, Qāḍī Aḥmad does not identify Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī as being in the service of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mūzā, although he does report that the celebrated calligrapher lived and worked in Mashhad for some twenty years without receiving patronage from anyone; he died there in 972. The other artists whom Qāḍī Aḥmad places in Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mūzā's *kitāb-khāna* are 'Abdullāh al-Shūzārī (to be discussed below), Shaykh Muḥammad Sabzavārī, and 'Alī Asghar Musavvūr. A more extensive discussion of the calligraphers and artists associated with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mūzā will be included in my projected monograph on the Freer Jāmī. Primary sources: Dūst Muḥammad, "Account of Past and Present Painters," in Binyon et al., *Persian Miniature Painting*, p. 186; Eskandar Beg Monshī, *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, trans. R. Savory, 2 vols. (Boulder, Colo., 1978), 1:266, 273–74; Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*, pp. 75, 134–35, 141–45, 147–48, 153–54, 187–90. Secondary sources: M. Bayānī, *Ahvāl va Ashār Khushnūvīsān*, 3 vols. (Tehran, 1345–48/1966–69), 1:200–203, 208–9, 295–304; 2:305–7, 545–46; 3:598–609, 616–17; Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:27B; 34A; 42A; 52A; 118B; 129B; 154B–55A; 240A, n. 11; 245A, n. 7; 246A, n. 4; 246B, n. 4; 247A, nn. 10–11; 248A, n. 23; 249A, nn. 4, 10; 250A, nn. 5–6; 250B, n. 8; 252B, n. 12; Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 142; Huant, *Les Calligraphes*, pp. 220, 223, 225–26, 237–38; A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 152–57.
 39. Such a collaborative endeavor would explain why, for instance, the size and shape of the gold flowers and leaves which decorate the column dividers often change, though their basic arrangement remains consistent throughout the manuscript.
 40. Eskandar Beg Monshī, *History of Shah 'Abbas*, 1:274; Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*, pp. 189–90.
 41. Translation given in appendix B.
 42. The signature was first noticed by Prof. Priscilla Soucek, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, who has written an entry on 'Abdullāh al-Shūzārī for the *Encyclopedia Iranica* (forthcoming). I would like to thank Prof. Soucek for providing me with an advance copy of her article. Another minute signature by 'Abdullāh al-Shūzārī appears in the frontispiece of a *Gulistān* of Sa'dī in Hyderabad. See Nizamuddin, "More light on the description of a rare illustrated XVIth century manuscript," pp. 137, 141, 150.
 43. Furthermore, the signature is written over a rubbed-out portion of the original cross-and-dot border, indicating that the main part of the illumination had already been completed.
 44. Apparently without knowing of the *ḥunvān* signature, Gray, in *Persian Painting*, p. 142, has wondered if 'Abdullāh might have executed the Freer Jāmī's marginal decorations.
 45. Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*, pp. 142–44, describes quite explicitly how Mālik al-Dailamī was summoned from Mashhad to Qazvīn by Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who wanted the calligrapher to add inscriptions on some government buildings. Mālik al-Dailamī inscribed several *ghazals* (poems) on the *ḥun* (arch) and portals of the Chihil-sultān in 966, the same year he completed the third *daftar* of the *Silsilat al-dhahab*, also in Qazvīn. Afterwards he was not allowed to return to Mashhad. See also Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:250A, n. 5. Qāḍī Aḥmad sheds no light on what Muḥibb 'Alī was doing in Herāt in 972. There was a military expedition from Mashhad to Herāt that same year in which Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mūzā participated, but it seems unlikely that Muḥibb 'Alī could have been engaged then in the careful copying of a text if he had accompanied the prince. (The particulars of the expedition to Herāt are given in Eskandar Beg Monshī, *History of Shah 'Abbas*, 1:175, 189–90; Sharaf Khān ibn Shams al-Dīn, *Chèreḥ-nāmeḥ*, trans. B. Charmoy, 4 vols. [St. Petersburg, 1868–75], 2:607–11.) Except for the fact of his participation in this military operation, very little seems to be known about Ibrāhīm Mūzā's political activities while governor of Mashhad, or even about his exact whereabouts from the time of his arrival in Mashhad in 963 (or 961, see below) until his recall to Qazvīn in 976. According to one manuscript copy of the *Gulistān-i hunar*, the prince also held governorships in Qā'in and Sabzavar (Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*, p. 163). A. Welch gives the dates 970–973 for this period of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mūzā's career and states that work on the *Haft Aurang* continued in these minor posts (*Artists for the Shah*, p. 151). This corresponds to the notion of a *kitāb-khāna* traveling with its royal patron. Further remarks about the prince's peregrinations appear in Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:47B; 130A; 155B; 164B; 249A, n. 5; 250B, n. 8; 252A, n. 8; 252B, n. 12. Dickson and Welch (1:47B) also support the idea of a traveling atelier or library.

46. Sharaf Khān ibn Shams al-Dīn, *Chèref-nāmeḥ*, 2:592.
47. Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*, pp. 4, 142.
48. There are other inconsistencies between the information given in the Freer Jāmī colophons and that provided in the *Gulistān-i hunar*. For instance, Qāḍī Aḥmad reports that Mālik al-Dailamī arrived in Mashhad in 964, whereas the scribe himself tells us that he was already in Mashhad in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 963, when he completed the first *daftar* of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* (ibid., p. 142). The *Gulistān-i hunar* account of Muḥibb 'Alī's whereabouts also does not fit with the documentation contained in the *Haft Aurang*. According to Qāḍī Aḥmad, the calligrapher/librarian was dismissed from Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mūrzā's service after eight years and summoned back to Qazvīn where he died in 973 (ibid., p. 147; see also Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:250, n. 8; and A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 153–54). According to Muḥibb 'Alī himself, the *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā* poem was completed in Mashhad in 964. Eight years later, that is, at the time Qāḍī Aḥmad places the scribe in Qazvīn and out of Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mūrzā's favor, he was in Herāt, still working for the prince, this time on the *Lailā u Majnūn* poem.
49. It is interesting to speculate about the external circumstances that may have prolonged the project. One such factor may have been the prince's financial situation. Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mūrzā obviously wanted to retain the most eminent, and therefore the most expensive, artists of the day, including the top calligraphers. However, he may not have had the funds to hire and pay them all at once. A delay in payment might explain why Mālik al-Dailamī delayed completion of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* for three years. Certainly this period of time would not be required for the transcription of the text, especially by such an experienced scribe, as can be seen by comparing the time taken to transcribe a *Kitāb al-Khamṣa* of Jāmī (Freer Gallery of Art 07.160). This manuscript contains the *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār*, *Subḥat al-abrār*, *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*, *Lailā u Majnūn* (the combined number of verses in these latter two *masnavīs* more or less equals the length of the *Silsilat al-dhahab*), and *Khiradnāma-i Iskandarī* and four colophons, each dated a month apart (Dhu'l-Ḥijja 955–Šafar 956/November 1548–February 1549; a fifth colophon gives only the year 955).
50. Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:3B–4A; vol. 2, frontispiece and pls. 4, 206; S. C. Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, pp. 16, 78–79.
51. Eskandar Beg Monshī, *History of Shah 'Abbas*, 1:311; Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*, pp. 160, 183.
52. This observation is made on the basis of direct examination of the Ṭahmāsp *Shāhnāma* folios now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1970.301.1–.301.76) and a study of the reproductions in Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*; S. C. Welch, *King's Book of Kings*; S. C. Welch, *Persian Painting*, pls. 1–10; S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, pp. 39–117. Not all the text areas in the Ṭahmāsp *Shāhnāma* are enhanced with gold spray, and although all its margins are gold-flocked, there are no painted or stenciled designs. In addition, the practice of illuminating the column dividers does not seem to have been as ubiquitous in the shah's manuscript.
53. Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:45A, 46A–47B; A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, p. 151; S. C. Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, p. 24; S. C. Welch, *Persian Painting*, p. 72.
54. Translations are given in appendix B. The inscription on folio 162 requires further research to determine if it is an actual building inscription.
55. It has already been suggested that the beautiful figure of Yūsuf might be a flattering representation of Ibrahīm Mūrzā. See Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:47B, and S. C. Welch, *Persian Painting*, p. 113.

APPENDIX A.

Colophons of the *Haft Aurang* of Jāmī

(Freer Gallery of Art 46.12)

The following translations were prepared with the assistance of Prof. Jerome W. Clinton, Princeton University.

1. Folio 46 (fig. 1): *Silsilat al-dhahab*, first *daftar*.

The first section of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* was written by the high order of his highness, the celebrated, the successful, the world-mastering Khusrau [Caesar] of the orbit of fate, and he is the sultan, the just, the perfect, the virtuous Abu'l-Faṭḥ Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā al-Ḥusainī al-Ṣafavī, by the hand of the humble [and] meanest of his servants Mālīk al-Dailamī in Dhu'l-Ḥijja the year 963 in al-Mashhad the holy, the sublime.
[Dhu'l-Ḥijja 963 = October 1556]

2. Folio 69v (fig. 2): *Silsilat al-dhahab*, second *daftar*.

The writing of the second section of the *Silsilat al-dhahab* was finished in Ramaḍān the year 964.
[Ramaḍān 964 = June/July 1557]

3. Folio 83v (fig. 3): *Silsilat al-dhahab*, third *daftar*.

By order of the library of the sultan, the just, the perfect, the distinguished by the increase of divine blessing, the outstanding of the kings in nobility, the royal presence, that is, Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā al-Ḥusainī al-Ṣafavī. May the shadow of his reign not diminish on the shadow of the shadow of the one who is protected by God's shadow and the effects of his noble works on his illustrious people.

He served by completing it, the humble servant, the sinner, the one who is kept away from the regions of greatness and joy, Mālīk al-Dailamī in the city of Qazvīn, after the initiation and the writing of the greatest part of it [was done] in al-Mashhad the illuminated, the holy, the sublime, the purified, the commended. On its exalted paradise [may there be] the noblest of prayers and praises.

In Ramaḍān the year 966.

[Ramaḍān 966 = June/July 1559]

4. Folio 139 (fig. 4): *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*.

Finished with the help of God the highest, by order of the library of his highness, the illustrious, the successful one of the orbit of fate [and] the sun of the months [i.e., the lord of time], Abu'l-Faṭḥ Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā. May God the most high perpetuate the

exalted days of his sultanate and justice. The twelfth of the noble [month of] Rajab in the year 964, by the hand of the humble slave Muḥibb 'Alī, the librarian, in al-Mashhad the holy, the illuminated, the purified.

[12 Rajab 964 = 11 May 1557]

5. Folio 181 (fig. 5): *Subḥat al-abrār*.

It has reached the frontiers of completeness [i.e., it was finished] by order of the library of his highness, the lord, the world keeper, just in his works, the glorifier of rule, the world, and religion, Ibrahīm Mīrzā. May God protect his kingdom and sultanate. Written by his contemptible slave, the *dā'i* [i.e., one who prays for your blessing], Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī, God pardoning his sins and concealed defects, in the first day of the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijja of the year 963 of the hijra of the Prophet, in Mashhad the holy, the illustrious, the laudable. May the mercy [of God] and benedictions be upon it.

[1 Dhu'l-Ḥijja 963 = 6 October 1556]

6. Folio 199 (fig. 6): *Salāmān u Absāl*.

Written by the hand of the poor [slave] 'Aishī ibn 'Ishratī, [God] pardoning his sins and concealed defects. With the date [i.e., dated] the year 968.

[968 = 1560/1561]

7. Folio 224v (fig. 7): *Tuḥfat al-aḥyār*.

Written by the servant Rustam 'Alī, God pardoning his sins and concealed defects, in the beginning of the month of Shawwāl in the year 963.

[1 Shawwāl 963 = 8 August 1556]

8. Folio 272 (fig. 8): *Lailā u Majnūn*.

The writing of *Lailā u Majnūn* was finished by the order of the successful lord, the gem of fate in achieving his desires, in conquering kingdoms, in governing the world, and in dispensing beneficence, Abu'l-Faṭḥ Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mīrzā. May God come to endure [i.e., perpetuate] the shadow of his retinue. The least servant of God the wealthy, Muḥibb 'Alī in the inscription of that [book] carried out steps. In the royal city of Herāt, at the beginning of the month of Shawwāl [he] finished it with good blessings, the year 972.

[1 Shawwāl 972 = 2 May 1565]

9. A colophon for *Khīradnāma-i Iskandarī* probably appeared on the original folio 304.

APPENDIX B.

Description of the *Haft Aurang* of Jāmī
(Freer Gallery of Art 46.12)

Made for Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mūzā. Text transcribed in Mashhad, Qazvīn, and Herāt by Mālik al-Dailamī, Muḥibb ‘Alī, Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī, ‘Aishī ibn ‘Ishratī, and Rustam ‘Alī and dated 963–972/1556–1565. (Colophons translated in appendix A.) Illustrated with 28 paintings (originally 29), all unsigned and undated.

1. SIZE

Present: 304 folios; f and 304 are replacement leaves; 2 folios (one illustrated) missing between folios 261v and 262. 4 modern fly-leaves, 2 before folio 1 and 2 after folio 304.

Original: 306 folios and possibly additional ones at beginning with *sarlah* (frontispiece) or *shamsa* (rosette).

2. TEXT

Contents

Folios	<i>Masnavī</i>	Page references in <i>Masnavī Haft Aurang</i> , ed. M. Gīlānī
1–83v	<i>Silsilat al-dhahab</i>	2–309
84	blank page	
84v–139	<i>Yūsuf u Zulaikha</i>	578–748
139v–40	blank pages	
140v–81	<i>Subḥat al-abrār</i>	445–575
181v–82	blank pages	
182v–99	<i>Salāmān u Absāl</i>	311–64, 575–76
199v–200	blank pages	
200v–224v	<i>Tuḥfat al-aḥrār</i>	367–443
225	blank page	
225v–72	<i>Lailā u Majnūn</i>	750–910
272v–73	blank pages	
273v–303	<i>Khīradnāma-i Iskandarī</i>	912–1013

Significant Omissions, Changes, and/or Additions

Folios	Omissions, changes, additions	Page references in Gīlānī
1	Replacement folio with correct opening text of <i>Silsilat al-dhahab</i> on verso	2–3
14	4 complete sections of <i>Silsilat al-dhahab</i> omitted	49–52
41	3 complete sections and 13 verses of a fourth section of <i>Silsilat al-dhahab</i> omitted	146–48
43v–44	2 complete sections of <i>Silsilat al-dhahab</i> omitted	158–63
181	Complete epilogue of <i>Subḥat al-abrār</i> omitted	575–76

199	Complete epilogue of <i>Subḥat al-abrār</i> added to end of <i>Salāmān u Absāl</i>	575–76
261v–62	115 verses of <i>Lailā u Majnūn</i> missing = 2 folios with one illustration	871–77
304	Final 4 verses of <i>Khīradnāma-i Iskandarī</i> omitted, possibly also colophon. Replacement folio contains poetic text signed by Sulṭān Muḥammad Khandān (recto) and Indian library seals and inscriptions (verso)	1013

3. MATERIAL

Text folios: Thin, polished ivory paper in center for text. Thicker, double-ply colored paper for margins: pink, yellow, light blue, bright blue, deep blue, sky blue, green, dull green, blue green, brown. Margins same color on recto and verso. See figure 11.

Exceptions on folios 40, 47, 84, 225, 273: laminated folios; single sheets of cream-colored or light blue paper on rectos, versos same as other text folios except that margins are different colors from recto sheets.

Illustrated folios: Single sheets of cream-colored paper on illustrated sides. Thin, polished ivory paper in center for text with thicker, cream-colored paper for margins on unillustrated sides. See figures 18–20. Sometimes a third piece of paper between recto and verso (fols. 52, 188).

Exceptions on folios 10 and 207: both recto and verso are like the text folios, with painting and text on thin, polished ivory paper in center and double-ply cream-colored paper for margins. See figure 10.

Exceptions on folios 59, 194, 221, 253, 264, 275: cream-colored paper on illustrated sides and colored paper margins on unillustrated sides. See figure 16.

Fly-leaves: Modern brown paper without watermarks.

Interleaf folios: Near Eastern polished paper inserted at later date in front of illustrated and some illuminated folios; many now missing.

4. DIMENSIONS (average dimensions given)

Full folio: 34.5 × 23.4 cm (trimmed from approximately 37.5 × 25.4 cm).

Written surface: 21.8 × 13 cm.

Margin widths: 2.8 cm (gutter); 6.1 cm (bottom); 7.1 cm (fore-edge); 6.0 cm (top).

5. CONSTRUCTION

Gatherings: 40 gatherings, all but 4 comprised of 4 bifolios (quaternion); bifolios formed by overlap (visible on 76 bifolios). See figure 10.

Exception in G1: 2 folios; folio 1 tipped in later.

Exception in G34: 3 bifolios (ternion); middle bifolio with illustration now missing.

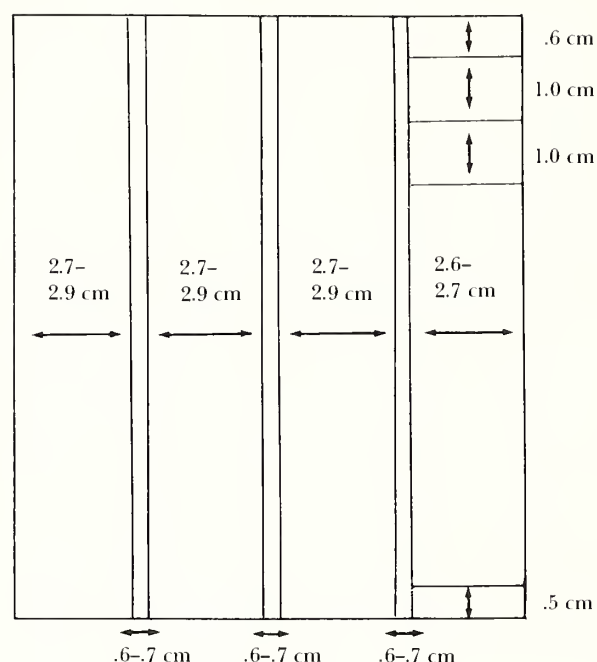
Exceptions in G39 and G40: 2 bifolios (binion) each, probably once gathered as a single quaternion; folio 303 originally came between 299 and 300; folio 304 tipped in later.

Stitching: 5 primary stitching stations; various other stitching stations which are not found in all gatherings, possibly errors. Orange silk thread, frequently broken.

6. PREPARATION OF FOLIOS

Text sections: Thin ivory paper dusted with gold and gridded with 21 horizontal lines and 6 vertical lines forming 4 text columns and 3 pairs of column dividers per page; black drafting lines sometimes drawn over right-hand vertical line of each pair of column dividers (practice not consistent).

Grid system, with average dimensions:



Text written with lines centered on top of horizontal grids, 21 lines per page and 2 verses per line.

Exceptions on 46 pages where verses written diagonally (see below).

Catchwords written at diagonal on verso, either in left-hand column divider (*Silsilat al-dhahab*, *Yūsuf u Zulākhā*, *Salāmān u Absāl*, *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār*, *Khīradnāma-i Iskandarī*) or at bottom left of page (*Subḥat al-abrār*). Often catchwords covered up when text sections joined to margins and rewritten in cruder hand above original.

Rubrics written most frequently between horizontal grid lines. Colophons written without following grid lines; each differs in size and placement. See figures 1-8.

Margins: Windows cut into colored paper at slightly off-center position.

Joining of text sections and margins: Text sections set into windows of margin paper after text transcribed to form full folios.

7. CALLIGRAPHY

Nasta'liq throughout manuscript. Text verses and catchwords written in black ink; rubrics in pink, green, red, and various shades of blue; colophons in black, occasional words in pink (fol. 46) and/or gold (fols. 46, 139).

8. DECORATION/ILLUMINATION

Column dividers: On all text folios, each pair of gridded column dividers ornamented with band of gold flowers (resembling daisies and jonquils), stems, and leaves arranged in alternating S-curves between 2 gold lines, each flanked by a thin black line. Style of flowers and leaves varies somewhat throughout manuscript. Average width of illuminated column dividers: .5 cm.

Rubrics: Virtually every folio has one or more rectangular panels containing chapter headings of 1-4 lines; panels always extend across 2 central text columns and usually end at innermost line of column dividers, although some cut across column divider. Average dimensions: 1.2-2.3 × 6.2-7.4 cm.

2 types of rubrics: (a) Simple rectangle: chapter heading fills entire width of panel, with lines of writing outlined in contour lines (either black or colored lines edged in black); gold background (sometimes pricked for texture) or dark blue background, painted with small blossoms and buds growing out from contour lines; background illumination occasionally includes human or animal heads. Panels framed top and bottom with gold band between 2 black lines; panels on folios 163v-80 include a blue line between 2 sets of gold and black lines.

Exceptions: few instances of simple rectangular rubrics with only floral or geometric illumination and no chapter heading (e.g., fol. 211).

(b) Tripartite rectangle: chapter headings concentrated in center of panel with lines outlined in contour lines against a gold or dark blue background and decorated with flowers as in rubric type (a); 2 vertical side sections filled with great variety of multicolored geometric, floral, and figural motifs, alone or in combination, against gold or dark blue background. Panels framed on all sides with black line, plus border of white crosses and dots in alternation on colored ground around vertical side sections.

Triangular cornerpieces: Found on 46 pages where text written in diagonal lines, generally preceding or following an illustration or preceding a colophon: 20, 29v, 37v, 38, 39, 39v, 45v, 46, 58, 58v, 63v, 64, 90, 90v, 98v, 99, 99v, 100, 104v, 110, 114, 131v, 161v, 168v, 169, 179, 180, 180v, 187v, 193v, 194, 198v, 206v, 207, 214, 214v, 215, 220v, 221, 230v, 252v, 261v, 290v, 297v, 302 (upper line repainted), 302v (upper 2 lines repainted). See figure 12. Each diagonal line is the equivalent of 3 horizontal lines of text. Triangular cornerpieces always in opposed pairs, with 4 pairs per line in either left or right corner; illumination includes cartouches, floral scrolls, blossoms, and occasionally a human form or animal face; same motifs often arranged in several different patterns on same page. Illuminated parallelograms (e.g., fols. 58v, 114) or horizontal panels (e.g., fols. 58v, 99v, 104v) sometimes accompany triangular cornerpieces.

Colophons: 5 colophon pages decorated with illumination: 46, 69v, 83v, 181, 272 (see figs. 1-3, 5, 8).

Illumination different on each page: colophon text outlined in contour lines against gold ground decorated with flowers (fols. 69v, 83v); sections of colophon flanked by triangular and/or square and/or rectangular panels filled with multicolored floral motifs and/or medallions and/or flower vases (fols. 46, 69v, 83v, 181, 272); narrow rectangular panels filled with multicolored floral and/or geometric motifs and lozenge patterns and placed above or below colophon (fols. 83v, 181, 272).

ʿUnwāns: 8 original illuminated *ʿunwāns* on opening text pages: 47v, 70v, 84v, 140v, 182v, 200v, 225v, 273v. (*ʿUnwān* on folio 1v not original.) See figures 13, 14.

ʿUnwāns composed of two superimposed rectangles: lower rectangular section with empty gold medallion in center against ground of geometric units or floral motifs and surrounded by an inner geometric border and an outer floral border; narrow upper rectangle with geometric motifs, often with large scalloped triangular projection in center (fols. 47v, 140v, 182v, 225v, 273v) and adorned with blue finials of varying height. No two *ʿunwāns* identical.

Exception on folio 200v: lacks narrow upper rectangle.

Exception on folio 84v: gold medallion inscribed with 4 verses and signed in green band below (see fig. 13):

This book that is *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā* in name,
Its writing [is] like the curls in the musky love locks,
Its images [are] like the lips of nubile young men with flecks
of black in their beards,

It is a poem that conveys a message from the Divine.

Gilded by ʿAbdullāh of Shīrāz

Dimensions:

47v	10.2 × 13 cm
70v	8.5 × 13.3 cm
84v	7.3 × 13 cm
140v	9.2 × 13 cm
182v	11.2 × 13 cm
200v	6.7 × 13.2 cm
225v	11.3 × 13 cm
273v	10.5 × 13 cm

Rulings: All written and painted surfaces framed in series of black and colored lines or rulings.

System for all text and colophon pages and for *ʿunwān* pages 140v and 230v (from outside in):

dark blue line
space
2 thin black lines with space in between
gold line
thin black line
green line
thin black line
brownish red/reddish brown line
thin black line
dark or light blue line
thin black line
gold line
thin black line

System for *ʿunwān* pages 47v, 70v, 84v, 182v, 225v, and 273v is more elaborate (from outside in):

dark blue line
space
2 thin black lines with space in between
gold line
thin black line
green line
thin black line
gold line
thin black line
orange line
thin black line
gold line
thin black line
bright or light blue line
thin black line
gold line

thin black line

On all *ʿunwān* folios, rulings continue above top rectangle and terminate at a sharp angle.

System for illustrated folios 30, 38, 59, 64, 110v, 114, 153v, 169, 188, 215v, 264, 275, and 291 is more diversified:

dark blue line
space
2 thin black lines with space in between
gold line
thin black line
green line ————— [38 substitutes pink
114 substitutes light blue
169 substitutes orange
188, 215v omit altogether

thin black line
gold line ————— [188, 215v omit altogether
thin black line
orange line ————— [38, 264, 291 substitute blue
169 substitutes green

thin black line
gold line
thin black line
System for illustrated folios 53, 100, 105, 120, 132, 147, 162, 179v, 221v, and 298 is even more complex:

dark blue line
space
2 thin black lines with space in between
gold line
thin black line
green line ————— [120, 132, 298 omit altogether
thin black line
gold line
thin black line
orange line ————— [53 substitutes space
179v substitutes blue

thin black line
gold line
thin black line
dark or light blue line — [179v substitutes orange
thin black line
gold line
thin black line

Exceptions on folios 10 and 27: ruling system as text pages.

Exception on folio 194: series of black and gold lines with no color.

Exception on folio 231: rulings very sloppy; without various black lines:

dark blue line
space
2 thin black lines
gold line
thin black line
green line
orange line
light blue line
thin black line
gold line
thin black line

Exception on folio 253: rulings only around text panel:

dark blue line
thin black line
gold line
thin black line
orange line

thin black line
gold line
thin black line

Margins: All margins except on folio 253 decorated with either (a) painted or (b) stenciled designs.

(a) Painted margin designs on all text folios and around illustrations on folios 30, 38v, 52, 64v, 100v, 105, 110v, 114v, 120, 132, 147, 153v, 162, 169v, 179v, 188, 194v, 215v, 221v, 231, 264, 275, 291, 298. All but 2 margins decorated with gold floral designs: 6 large, bushy, heart-shaped blossoms spaced at regular intervals around top, fore-edge, and bottom margins and united by curving and intersecting stems from which grow additional branches, leaves, and rosettes; series of long, leafy branches in wavy line along gutter, delineated by thin gold line. Size of blossoms and overall arrangement modified somewhat around illustrations to skirt parts of composition projecting into margins (see figs. 11, 14, 18, 20).

Exceptions around illustrations on folios 110v and 291: margins decorated in various shades of gold with compositions of real and fantastic animals and birds in landscape settings (see fig. 19).

(b) Stenciled margin designs on 'unvān folios 47v, 84v, 225v; on both recto and verso of illustrated folios 10 and 207; on folios 30v, 38, 52v, 64, 100, 105v, 110, 114, 120v, 147v, 153, 162v, 169, 179, 215, 291v (these are text obverses of illustrated folios). All but 5 margins decorated with long-tailed birds, stenciled in pink and outlined in gold, in various poses amidst peonies, rosettes, stems, and leaves also stenciled in pink and outlined in gold.

Exceptions on folios 10, 84v, 207v, 225v: same design stenciled in gold and not outlined (see figs. 13, 15).

Exception on 'unvān folio 47v: geometric lattice design stenciled in gold.

9. ILLUSTRATIONS

Subjects, Dimensions, and Historical Inscriptions

Silsilat al-dhahab

- Folio 10 (fig. 15) *The wise old man chides a foolish youth, 21.6 × 13.2 cm.*
- Folio 30 *Satan berates a depraved man, 25 × 19 cm.*
- Folio 38v (fig. 18) *The simple peasant entertains the salesman not to sell his wonderful donkey, 26.1 × 14.6 cm.*
Inscribed over door: "By order of the library of Abu'l-Faṭḥ Ibrahīm Mūrā Sulṭān."
Inscribed at top of building: "O Lord, strengthen the reign of the just sultan Abu'l-Muzaffar Shāh Ṭahmāsp al-Ḥusainī. May the Lord perpetuate the days of his sultanate against the separator of the two worlds [i.e., death]."
(Previously published in Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:249A-B, n. 10.)
- Folio 52 *A father advises his son about love, 26.2 × 15.8 cm.*
- Folio 59 *The dervish picks his beloved's hairs from the hammam floor, 23.5 × 16 cm.*
- Folio 64v *'Aynia valiantly repulses bandits while Ria watches, 28 × 18.1 cm.*

Yūsuf u Zulaikhā

- Folio 100v *The vizier of Mīsr brings jewels to Zulaikhā's litter, 23 × 18.2 cm.*
- Folio 105 *Gabriel rescues Yūsuf from the well, 24 × 14 cm.*
- Folio 110v (fig. 19) *Yūsuf with his flocks, 21.5 × 15.2 cm.*
- Folio 114v *Yūsuf in a garden with Zulaikhā's maidens as Zulaikhā observes from above, 24.8 × 16.8 cm.*
- Folio 120 *The infant witness testifies to Yūsuf's innocence, 21.6 × 13 cm.*
- Folio 132 (fig. 20) *Yūsuf gives a royal banquet in honor of his marriage, 24.6 × 17.8 cm.*
Inscribed on arch: "Abu'l-Faṭḥ Sulṭān Ibrahīm Mūrā."

Subḥat al-abrār

- Folio 147 *Sa'dī has a vision of angels carrying trays of light, 23 × 16.6 cm.*
- Folio 153v *The pīr rejects the ducks brought as presents by the murīd, 24 × 17.4 cm.*
- Folio 162 *An old man is knocked off a roof by the youth he loves, 24.9 × 19.5 cm.*
Inscribed over door: "By order of the library of Abu'l-Faṭḥ Ibrahīm Mūrā Sulṭān."
Inscribed around door: "The building of this structure and its decoration [was done] by order of the sultan, the most important, mightiest, and most perfect, cream of the sons of the Lord of the prophets in the world, Abu'l-Muzaffar Shāh Ṭahmāsp al-Ḥusainī."
- Folio 169v *The Arab berates his guests for attempting to pay him for his hospitality, 26.3 × 19 cm.*
- Folio 179v *The townsman robs the villager's orchard, 24.5 × 15.6 cm.*

Salāmān u Absāl

- Folio 188 *Solomon and Bilqis sitting together and speaking frankly, 23 × 12.2 cm.*
- Folio 194v *Salāmān and Absāl repose and live on the happy isle, 22.7 × 13.8 cm.*

Tuḥfat al-aḥrār

- Folio 207v *The murīd kisses the pīr's feet, 21.6 × 13.1 cm.*
- Folio 215v *People cry out as they watch the tortoise travel through the sky with the ducks, 21.7 × 13 cm.*
- Folio 221v *The East African looks at himself in the mirror, 24 × 13.6 cm.*

Lailā u Majnūn

- Folio 231 *Qay's first glimpse of Lailā, 25.2 × 15.7 cm.*
- Folio 253 (fig. 16) *Majnūn comes to Lailā's camp, 27.5 × 20.5 cm.*
- Folio 264 *Majnūn disguised as a sheep, 23.4 × 14.4 cm.*
(One illustrated folio now missing between folios 261v and 262.)

Khiradnāma-i Iskandarī

Folio 275	<i>The miraj of the Prophet</i> , 23.2 × 17.6 cm.
Folio 291	<i>Khusrau Parvīz and Shīrīn watch the fish-monger pick up a fallen coin</i> , 25 × 17.2 cm.
Folio 298	<i>Iskandar lies dying</i> , 23.7 × 16.6 cm.

Technique: Illustrations on folios 10 and 207v painted after thin paper in center set into double-ply margin paper. Other illustrations painted on single sheets of cream-colored paper. All illustrations are vertical rectangles, but no two exactly identical in size (see dimensions above). All but folios 10 and 207v incorporate panels reserved for 1–8 text verses; some panels impressed with grid for column dividers. Vertical rectangles and text panels possibly defined with black drafting lines as visible on folio 264. Illustrations first drawn in and then painted, with gold possibly added before colors.

Text transcribed in panels after painting, with catchwords sometimes added in lower margins (e.g., fols. 110v, 153v, 169v); text panels empty on folios 194v, 253, 264, 298. Text panels illuminated in various forms: thin gold lines flanked by black lines define column dividers and enframe panels on folios 30, 52, 59, 61v, 100v, 105, 110v, 114v, 120, 132, 147, 153v, 162, 169v, 179v, 188, 207v, 215v, 231, 264, 275, 291 (this illumination incomplete on folios 52, 110v, 153, 231, 264); double set of gold and black lines enframes text panels on folios 100v, 194v, 298; system of colored rulings enframes text panel on folio 253 (see above); band of gold flowers, stems, and leaves ornaments column dividers on folios 10, 147, 221v; multicolored floral designs ornament column dividers on folio 253 and side sections of tripartite text panel on folio 38v; text surrounded with gold on folio 38v.

Rulings in various systems surround illustrations (see above) except on folio 253; usually do not extend around all 4 sides of painted surface; sometimes added before text.

Margin decorations painted around all illustrations (see above) except for folio 253; sometimes cartouches painted around catchwords in margins.

10. UNFINISHED AREAS

Folio	Unfinished areas
105v	Blank space left for 1 verse
114	Blank space left for 1 verse
139	No black lines flanking gold lines in column dividers
147v	Contour lines around rubrics not edged in black
153v	Contour lines around rubrics not edged in black
162v	2 rubrics lack illumination
253–53v	Rubrics and margins lack illumination; illustration lacks rulings (see fig. 16)

Gold medallions on all ‘*unwāns*, except folio 84v, lack calligraphy.

Various paintings lack text and illumination (see above).

11. CONDITION

Serious water damage on upper parts of folios 296v–303; sections of text paper replaced on folios 299–303; folio 303 bound out of order; text rewritten and rubrics replicated on folio 302; pigment from illustration on folio 298 offset and smeared on folio 297v. Folios 1 and 304 loose.

Spine broken; stitching broken in many places.

Paintings all touched up to some extent, especially in landscapes; upper section of illustration on folio 298 repainted because of water damage.

12. BINDING

Manuscript no longer has original binding.

Front and back covers: Lacquered boards with painted floral compositions on red ground, Qajar style (nineteenth century?); pasted onto heavy boards.

Doublures: Painted red board, edged with painted gold and black border; fly-leaves attached with black tape.

Spine: Red leather tooled with 5 identical compartments with flower in center, modern (late nineteenth or twentieth century?).

13. PROVENANCE

Sultān Ibrahīm Mīrzā: Name of Sultān Ibrahīm Mīrzā appears in colophons on folios 46, 83v, 139, 181, 272; and in illustrations on folios 38v, 132, 162.

Foundation endowed by Shāh ‘Abbās: Seal impressions dated 1017/1608–1609 of a *waqf* foundation established by Shāh ‘Abbās on folios 2–10, 12, 14–18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 34, 46, 60, 69v, 71, 83v, 85, 100, 100v, 114v, 116, 132, 140v, 147, 153v, 169v, 179v, 183, 188, 199, 200v, 207, 215v, 224, 226, 231, 253, 264, 272, 274, 275, 291. Placement of seals varies; almost all effaced, but still possible to read full inscription on folios 4, 12, 15–17. Inscription reads: “*Waqf* of the blessed and pure Safavid threshold 1017/1608–1609.”

Mughal court: Replacement folio 304 has 11 seal impressions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mughal officials, as well as inscriptions of the Mughal period. If folio 304 was added to the manuscript in the Mughal period, then the seals and inscriptions do establish the manuscript’s provenance.



FIG. 1. Folio 46: Colophon of first daftar of *Silsilat al-dhahab*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 2. Folio 69v: Colophon of second daftar of *Silsilat al-dhahab*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 3. Folio 83v: Colophon of third daftar of *Silsilat al-dhahab*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

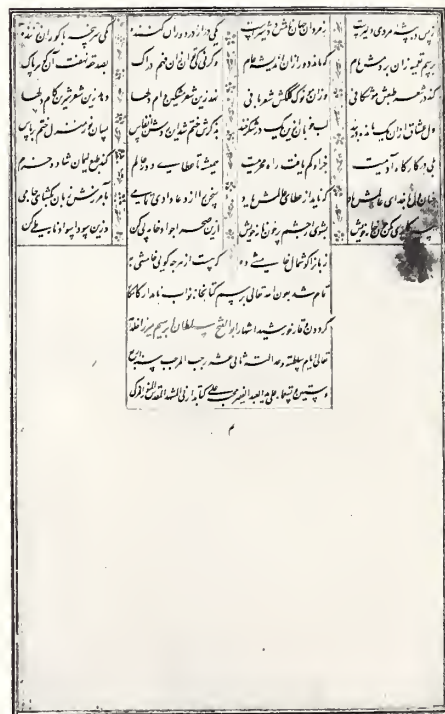


FIG. 4. Folio 139: Colophon of *Yūṣuf u Zulaikḥā*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

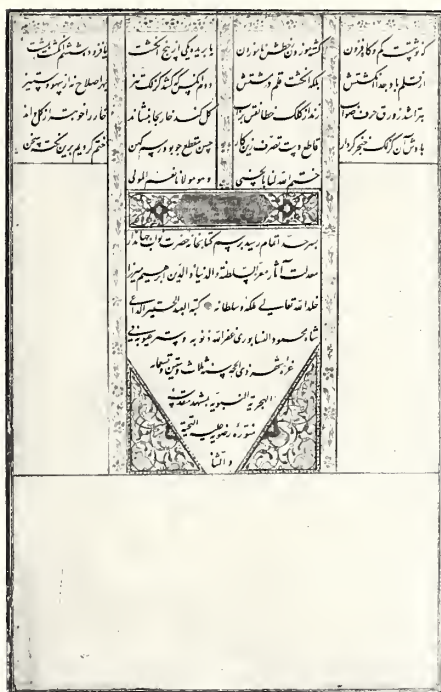


FIG. 5. Folio 181: Colophon of *Subhat al-abrār*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

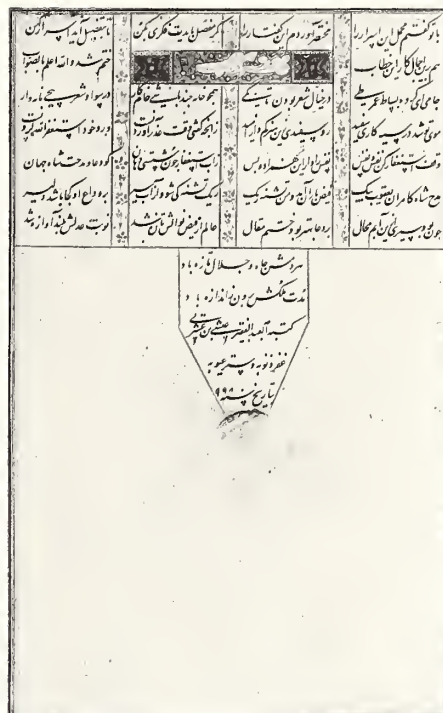


FIG. 6. Folio 199: Colophon of *Salāmān u Absāl*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 7. Folio 224v: Colophon of *Tuhfat al-abrār*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 8. Folio 272: Colophon of *Lailā u Majnūn*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

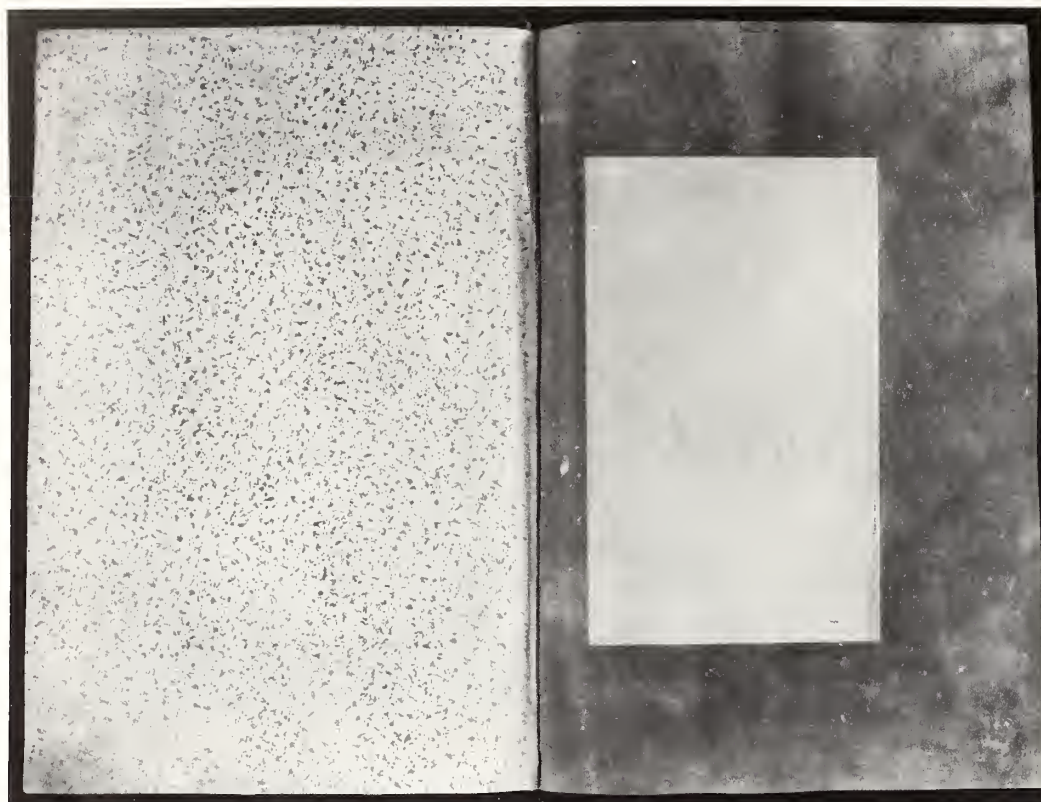


FIG. 9. Folios 181v–82: Break between *Subḥat al-abrār* and *Salāmān u Absāl*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

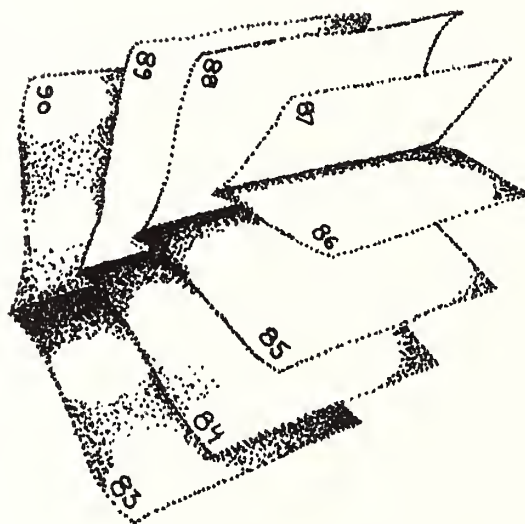


FIG. 10. Folios 83–90: Diagram of twelfth gathering, containing end of *Silsilat al-dhahab* and beginning of *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*. (Modified from Robert G. Calkins, "Stages of Execution: Procedures of Illumination as Revealed in an Unfinished Book of Hours," *GESTA* 17 [1978], fig. 4.)

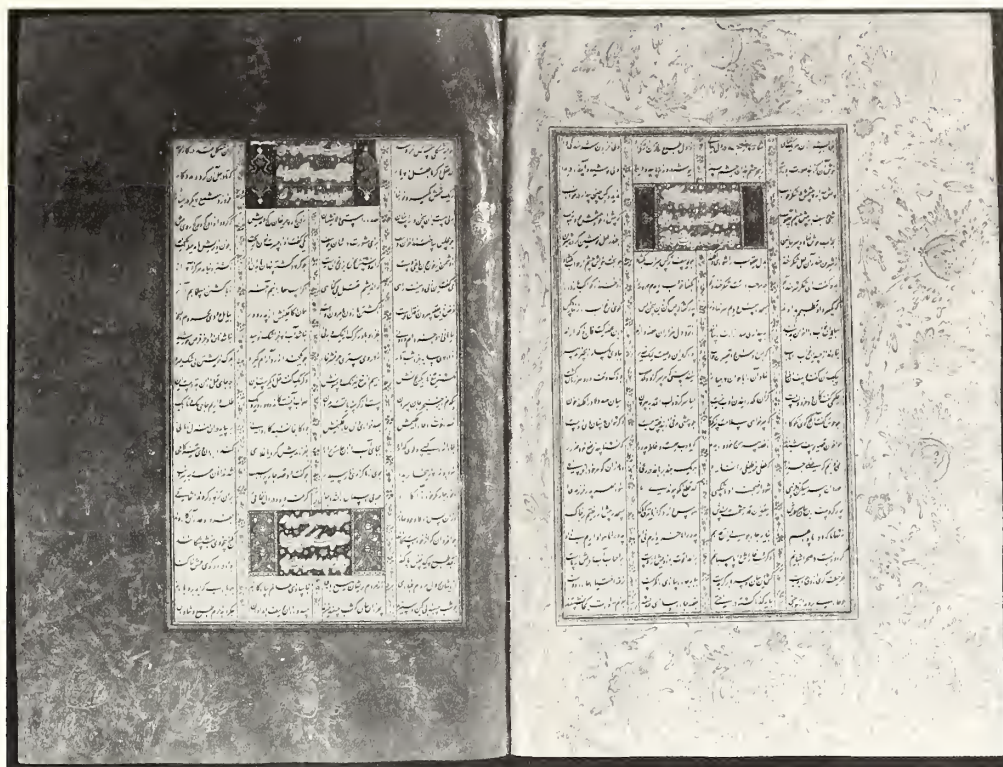


FIG. 11. Folios 102v-3: Text folios in *Yūsuf u Zulaikḥā*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

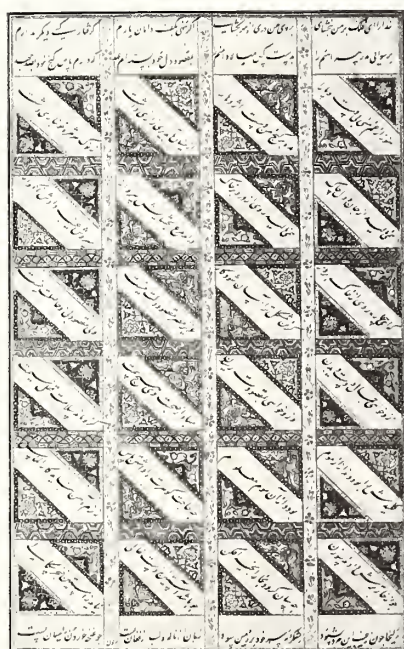


FIG. 12. Folio 99v: Text folio with triangular illuminations in *Yūsuf u Zulaikḥā*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

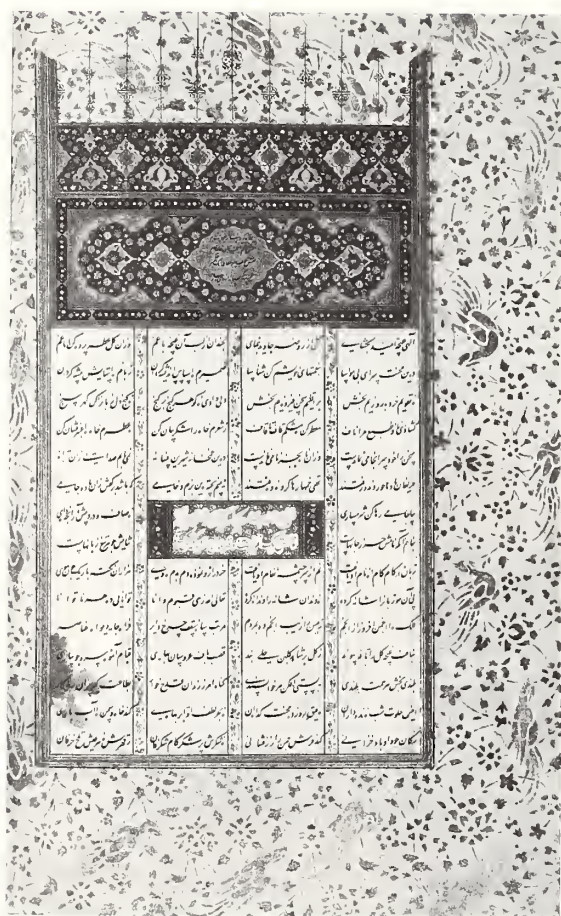


FIG. 13. Folio 84v: 'Unwān of Yūsuf u Zulaikḥā. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

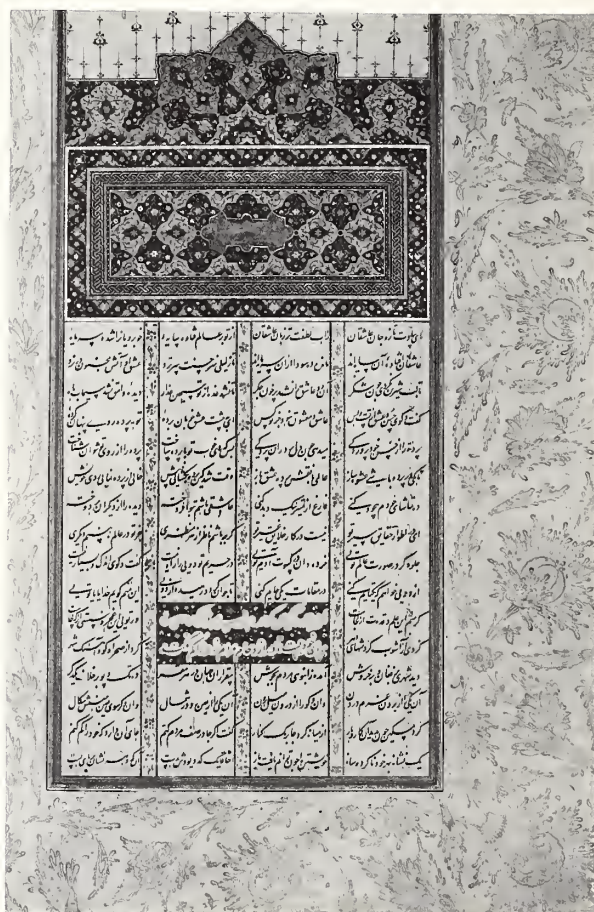


FIG. 14. Folio 182v: 'Unwān of Salāmān u Absāl. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 15. Folio 10: *The wise old man chides a foolish youth*, in *Silsilat al-dhahab*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 16. Folio 253: *Majnun comes to Laila's camp*, in *Laila u Majnun*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

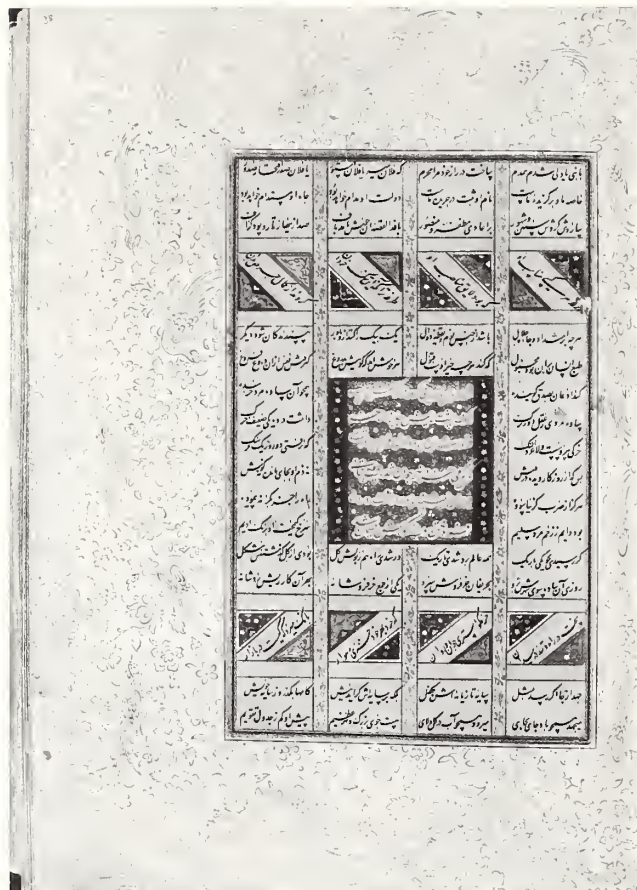


FIG. 17. Folio 38r: Text folio in *Silsilat al-dhahab*, obverse of illustration. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

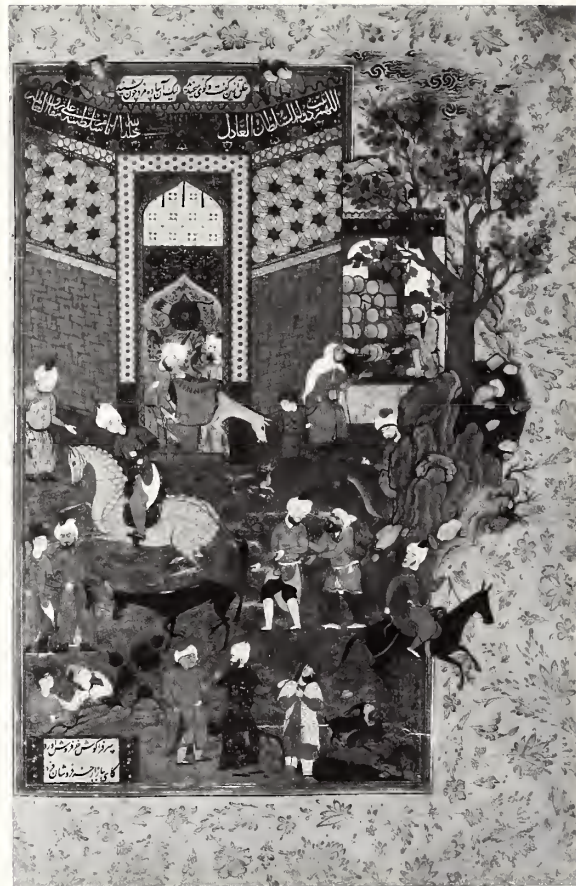


FIG. 18. Folio 38v: *The simple peasant entreats the salesman not to sell his wonderful donkey*, in *Silsilat al-dhahab*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 19. Folio 110v: *Yūsuf with his flocks*, in *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

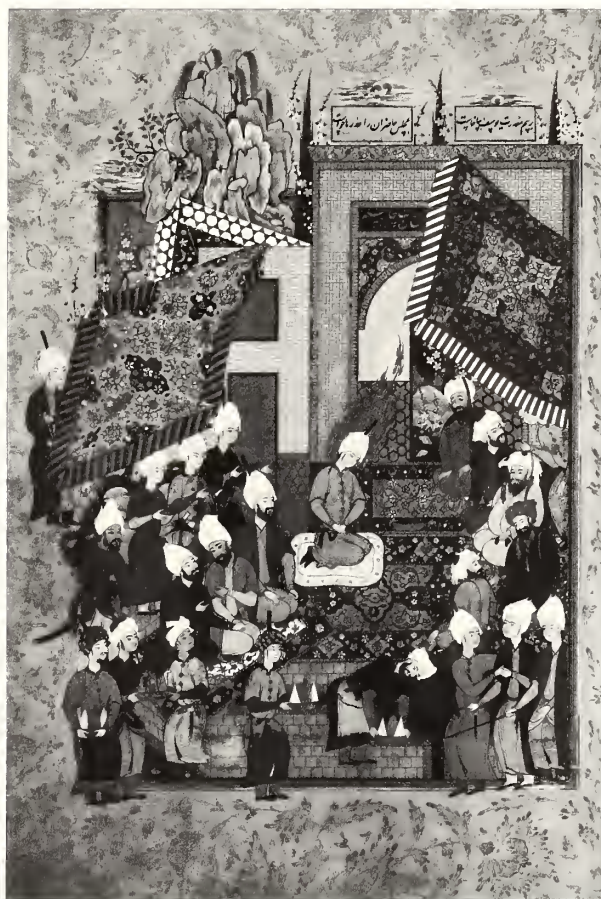


FIG. 20. Folio 132: *Yūsuf gives a royal banquet in honor of his marriage*, in *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

THE MUGHAL PAINTER DASWANTH

BY MILO CLEVELAND BEACH

DASWANTH WAS THE FAVORITE PAINTER OF AN EXTRAORDINARILY perceptive patron, the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605).¹ In the *Āʾm-i-Akbarī* (*Annals of Akbar*), the official contemporary study of the imperial administrative system, the author Abūʾl Faḡl wrote of the artist:

Then there was Daswanta, the son of a palanquin-bearer (*kahār*), who was in the service of this workshop and, urged by a natural desire, used to draw images and designs on walls. One day the far-reaching glance of His Majesty fell on those things and, in its penetrating manner, discerned the spirit of a master working in them. Consequently, His Majesty entrusted him to the *Khawāja* [i.e., 'Abd as-Ṣamad]. In just a short time he became matchless in his time and the most excellent, but the darkness of insanity enshrouded the brilliance of his mind and he died, a suicide. He has left many masterpieces.²

This reference was placed within a hierarchic ranking of important artists, and the name of Daswanth, listed third, followed those of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abd as-Ṣamad. These two Iranian emigré painters—whose reputations had been well established in their homeland—were brought by Humāyūn, Akbar's father, when he returned to India in 1555, following almost fifteen years of exile. Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, the older master, does not seem to have been artistically active after about 1570, however, when he evidently went on pilgrimage to Mecca; even then, only very modest works by the artist dating from his years in India are known.³ What we know of 'Abd as-Ṣamad's style suggests that he was less an innovator than a maintainer of traditional standards, for his works are stylistically highly conservative.⁴ (This is of interest, of course, because he was Daswanth's teacher.) He was, moreover, given major governmental administrative responsibilities after 1577, which would certainly have lessened his involvement with the painting studios. It seems possible, therefore, that both men were more important as prestigious standards of established artistic quality than as creative artists, suggesting that Daswanth was indeed—at least in Akbar's opinion—the major active painter at this time.

There is a second important reference to Daswanth in the *Akbar-nāma*, the official historical narrative of Akbar's reign, also by Abūʾl Faḡl. In the passages for 1584, it is written:

One of the occurrences was the death of the painter Daswanth. He was the son of a *kahār*. . . . The acuteness and appreciativeness of

the world's lord [i.e., Akbar] brought his great artistic talents to notice. His paintings were not behind those of Bihzād [the most famous Iranian painter] and the painters of China. All at once melancholy took possession of him, and he wounded himself with a dagger. After two days he paid back the loan of life, and grief came to the hearts of connoisseurs.⁵

As this is the only laudatory reference to a painter in the entire lengthy work, it was obviously an event of extraordinary importance for the emperor. It seems, too, that Akbar's judgment of the artist may have been based on a particularly personal response to Daswanth's sensitivities, for in a passage about the painter Basāwan, who is fourth in the *Āʾm-i-Akbarī* list, Abūʾl Faḡl says that he "has come to be uniquely excellent. Many perspicacious connoisseurs give him preference over Daswanta."⁶ We seem to catch here the unusual suggestion that imperial opinion, at least in this case, was not supreme.

Despite his obvious importance, however, Daswanth is a difficult artist to discuss, for very few of his paintings are known. The major portion of his identified work is found in a *Razm-nāma* manuscript executed between 1582 and 1586, which is now reportedly in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II City Palace Museum in Jaipur.⁷ It is not available for inspection, however, and scholars must rely on an almost complete publication of the work by T. Holbein Hendley in 1884.⁸

What are the characteristics of the manuscript and its paintings? There is an illustration on almost every page, so the impact of imagery is unrelenting, especially as the scenes are full of often violent action and detail. This is not the case with figure 1, however, which was designed by Basāwan. It is a crystal clear composition, in which the spaces and figural interrelationships are rationally arranged. The artist gives us an immediate sense of physical depth, even without such devices as spatial diminution. Basāwan was a great innovator in the development of Mughal naturalism—the use of painting to define and explore seemingly objective characteristics of the natural world—and this interest is already apparent here.

Other pages from the manuscript are far less controlled, however, and it is these works which give the book its unique character. Figure 2 illustrates the episode in which Bhima kills the brothers of Kichaka just as they are about to burn the body of Draupadi. The corpse lies at the bottom, surrounded by frenzied

mourners; above, seemingly suspended in air, is the wood gathered for the funeral pyre and, still higher, the attacking Bhima. Despite careful modeling and the view of a town in the background, the forms seem suspended on the surface, and the effect of the upper half is that of a vision hovering in space. In figure 3, the ghoulish Kāl-rātri rises out of the dead body of Shikandin and drinks the blood of those slain during a night assault on the Paṇḍava camp. The background here is almost blank, a device which also obliterates any sense of spatial volume or depth. The gigantic demon, garlanded with flayed animals and a necklace of freshly severed heads, sips from a bowl of blood. In both of the latter works, we sense a world in which humans are manipulated by energies over which they have no control—quite different from the rational world continually presented by Basāwan. Figures 2 and 3 are designed by Daswanth. Typical of the evidence we have for his mature—and most distinctive—work, these scenes are charged with energy, instability, and constant movement; they lack the stabilizing elements provided by the horizontals and verticals so evident in Basāwan's scenes. Basāwan also brings our attention to such architectural details as the various tile or inlaid wall patterns, which he defines with great faithfulness, increasing our sense of the reality of physical and material surfaces and textures. The two artists, therefore, do seem to represent two quite different aesthetic attitudes.

Kumar Sangram Singh, former director of the City Palace Museum, has stated that the Jaipur *Razm-nāma* has 176 illustrations. As is true for figures 1–3 here, most were executed within a system whereby a master artist made designs which were actually painted by lesser (or younger) men, with special portraits occasionally added by a third major painter. Some folios are the work of single artists painting unassisted, though this is far rarer.⁹ Lāl executed the greatest number of designs, thirty-seven, while Basāwan drew thirty-three and Daswanth thirty. After this, the numbers drop sharply: Makand designed only five pages but worked on an additional six illustrations unassisted; Kesū Dās designed four, with three unassisted; and Kānhā designed five. Lāl, Basāwan, and Daswanth were therefore unquestionably the most important active artists at the time of the project. A bare numerical tabulation, however, is not sufficient to indicate the extent of Daswanth's role. His last folio is number 125, at which point death intervened. Of Lāl's thirty-seven pages, only twenty-six come before folio 125, and of Basāwan's group, only nineteen. This means that Daswanth had, before his death,

designed relatively more folios than either of the other artists. Had he not died, he would have been the project's most prolific painter. As the first illustration in the volume is by 'Abd as-Šamad, working without help, the elderly Iranian may have been an honorary overseer of the project, which was reportedly directed by his son, Muḥammad Sharīf. He might then have been responsible for the extent and character of the scenes assigned to Daswanth, his pupil. The relationship of the two men is made clearer in an earlier work, a page from the *Tārīkh-i-khāndān-i-Timuriya*, or *Timur-nāma*, in the Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Patna (fig. 4).

The painting, which illustrates the childhood of Timur, is closely related to 'Abd as-Šamad's style as exemplified by *Jamshid Writing on a Rock*, dated 1588, in the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 5). We find the same love of densely packed detail. Both paintings share similarly animated mountain forms as well, and these are built up out of overlapping flat planes. In each, the composition is stabilized by a massive tree. Neither artist can here create particularly convincing or profound character types, a limitation that stays with 'Abd as-Šamad throughout his career. It would thus seem reasonable to date the *Timur-nāma* page earlier than the *Razm-nāma* illustrations since Daswanth's individual artistic personality in the former is far less defined.

These illustrations represent the mature Daswanth—the artist's style in the years just preceding his suicide—and what we know of Akbar explains his own sympathy with the painter.

The emperor's physical and intellectual dynamism has been too frequently discussed to require repetition here. He came to the throne in 1556, inheriting a very tentative political structure which he quickly and brilliantly strengthened. Born in Sind in 1542 during his father's slow retreat from India to Iran, Akbar's initial years were extremely difficult and could hardly have given him a sense of either political or personal stability or power—factors which did surround his own son and successor, Jahāngīr (r. 1605–1627), and which helped to determine much of his quite different character. In 1543, Akbar was left with guardians and did not see his father again for more than two years, when Humāyūn returned to Kabul after his sojourn at the court of the Safavid Shāh Ṭahmāsp. During these early years, Humāyūn and his brother Kāmran were fighting for control of Kabul, which Humāyūn eventually established as his interim capital. Finally, in 1555, he took advantage of a declining political situation in India and returned to reclaim his throne in Delhi, only to die the next year.

The great *Hamza-nāma* manuscript may have been begun for Akbar by 1562.¹⁰ Its production offers us insight into the young emperor's character at this point. We know it was a favorite text; in fact, a contemporary account states that he "was very fond of the story of Amir Hamza which contained 360 tales. So much so that he in the female apartments used to recite them like a storyteller."¹¹ The work is a fantastic adventure story based very loosely on the life of an uncle of the prophet Muhammad, and the illustrations are brilliantly innovative. They combine the usual complexity of Iranian painting with the immediacy, vividness, and vigor found in Indian styles. Composition is used to reinforce narrative impact, to which purely aesthetic values are subservient. The paintings were closely linked to Akbar's need for physical excitement, adventure, and direct encounter and must have seemed virtual extensions of his own life.

A major concern of Akbar during these years of the *Hamza-nāma* project (which was only completed in about 1577) was his failure to produce an heir. In 1568, knowing that one of the queens was pregnant—her identity is still disputed—he consulted with *Shāikh* Salīm Chishūī at Faṭhepur and was assured of a son. The child, named Salīm after the saint, was born in 1569, and in 1570 and 1572 two more sons, Murād and Daniyāl, appeared. Akbar had conquered Chitor Fort, in Rājasthān, the home of the rulers of Mewar, the most rebellious of Rājput nobles, in 1568; and Bengal, to the east, fell in 1576. By the later 1570s, therefore, Akbar's dynastic and political power was securely established, and his energies could flow into new channels.

His first encounter with Europeans came in 1572, and this served to whet an already keen appetite for new ideas and for information about the world around him. Akbar was never content with the acceptance of given traditions, and this eventually produced a profound conflict with established Muslim orthodoxy. In 1575 he organized the 'Ibādatkhāna, or House of Discussion, where men of different religious and philosophical beliefs could explain these systems and debate with each other. The emperor even wrote to the Jesuit order at Goa to ask for priests to come to teach him about the Gospels. They arrived in 1580, and two years later, drawing from all these experiences, Akbar established a new religious system, the Dīn Ilāhī (Divine Faith), a synthesis of those beliefs which he found personally acceptable.¹² This was the creative culmination of a period of intense probing and intellectual experimentation.

The most important of all the events which

determined Akbar's personal development may well have been a mystic vision which he had in 1579, following the slaughter of a hunt.¹³ In Abū'l Faḍl's words, "a sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame. The attraction (*jazaba*) of cognition of God cast its ray."¹⁴ It was a quintessentially irrational event which seemed to give the emperor a sense of a fundamental holism behind the diversity with which he was surrounded. And it is precisely this sense of the irrational, of overwhelming forces and emotional intensity, that distinguishes Daswanth's work from that of, for example, Basāwan. But after 1582, when Akbar's concerns were given an outlet through political and dynastic developments, or the Dīn Ilāhī, he himself, as if relieved of that pressure, moved in a new direction: he became interested in the factual and the historically verifiable. In manuscript production, work now concentrated on the writing or translation of historical studies or of basic religious texts; the *Razm-nāma*, for example, was a translation of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, the greatest of Hindu epics. In the introduction to the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, a history of the first millenium of Islam, it was explicitly stated that Akbar "ordered, that the rational contents of different religions and faiths should be translated in the language of each, and that the rose garden of the traditional aspects of each religion should, as far as possible, be cleared of the thorns of bigotry."¹⁵

Daswanth, then, a troubled individual, was particularly responsive to Akbar during an emotionally turbulent period of the emperor's own life. And, by removing a major and distinctive influence, the painter's death in 1584 may have simply eased and accelerated a transition already under way in Akbar's personality. Certainly from this time forward the rationality of Basāwan was the dominant element of the Mughal style.¹⁶

Recent discoveries provide us with some additional evidence of Daswanth's development as an artist. The earliest Akbari manuscript now known is the *Tutī-nāma* (*Tales of a Parrot*) of the Cleveland Museum of Art, begun about 1560. While marginal inscriptions originally noted the painters of the illustrations, the vast majority of these were trimmed at some point when the manuscript was remargined. Two pages do, however, still bear recognizable inscriptions to Daswanth, and others are attributable to the artist. The character of these can, again, best be isolated through comparison with illustrations signed by Basāwan.

Folio 32v (fig. 6), by Daswanth, and folio 36v (fig. 7), by Basāwan, combine figures and architecture and attempt to create a spatial ambient; and both are

clearly early, immature works compared to the artists' major paintings. In the Basāwan page, the diagonals of the rug at the left are reinforced as spatial definition by the three overlapping seated figures; while this is a naive device, it is an early experiment with interests for which Basāwan would become especially acclaimed. Daswanth also used diagonals in the base of the pavilion, but the figures in no way aid any potential move into depth, and it remains a flat shape. The human figures as well are placed with minimal overlapping, and they too remain on the surface. Basāwan carefully models clothing—of the parrot-keeper and the king, especially—and exults in his new-found ability to present cloth as a three-dimensional substance. Basāwan's character types are also more varied, expressively rich, and securely handled. His is the quieter, more epicurean work.

A second comparison is also useful. Folio 32 (fig. 8) is attributed to Daswanth and folio 35 (fig. 9) to Basāwan. There is an important initial difference: the Daswanth scene is far more immediate. The trees and animals are seen as separate entities, and the effect is vivid. The Basāwan work is, by comparison, relatively complex: not only are there more trees, for example, but they are intertwined. Each element is not so clearly isolated; therefore, the effect of the illustration is based on a slower accumulation of perceptions. In addition, Daswanth places his figures as he does in folio 32 of the *Tuti-nāma* (fig. 6): the surface arrangement is most important. Basāwan, on the other hand, is interested in the relation of objects in space and uses the picture surface to reproduce this sense of external reality. Daswanth's painting is harder and more vivid; its strength of impact is retained as a trait by the artist throughout his career (note the *Razm-nāma* pages). One innovation found in all four of the *Tuti-nāma* pages reproduced here is the very free application of wet pigment, especially noticeable in the trees. Not explicable in terms of Iranian or Indian precedents, this is close to European oil or watercolor techniques, although we have no information on European paintings available in India at the time which may have served as models. (Prints, of course, existed in abundance.)

The *Tuti-nāma* pages are the only manuscript illustrations known by Daswanth working unassisted. There is, however, an important and hitherto unnoticed drawing (fig. 10) inscribed with the artist's name in a fragmentary album in the Royal Library, Windsor. Consisting of twelve loose pages, the album also contains drawings with inscriptions to Basāwan, Bhagavatī, Bundi, Dhanrāj, Kesū, Lāl,

and Makand; these are surrounded by excellent, late sixteenth-century gold margins. The styles of the inscribed pages are consistent in every case with other known works by the named artists, so there is no reason to question the authenticity of the inscriptions.

Figure 10 shows a group of holy men. As in the *Tuti-nāma* pages by Daswanth, the figures are arranged individually on a flat surface; though there is a landscape background, it creates no depth. The small, badly worn drawing (fig. 11) by Basāwan included in the album has no background at all, yet it evokes a much deeper, more coherent, naturalistic space. In his *Tuti-nāma* illustrations—note especially figure 7—Basāwan's modeling was clearly checked by strong outlines and was therefore of limited impact. In figure 11, however, he has softened, even obliterated, the outlines, and the figures have thereby taken on greater corporeality. The majority of the figures in the Daswanth drawing are only slightly more sophisticated in treatment than those of his *Tuti-nāma* page (fig. 6). Faces in three-quarter profile tend to have large, flattened noses, for example, and most expressions have no vitality. What gives the drawing its artistic importance is the extraordinarily intense study of the holy man seated at the top right. His character is clearly the focus, perhaps even the extent, of Daswanth's interest in the scene; he is a charismatic personality, while the subsidiary figures are of severely limited impact. Thus, the drawing seems both to develop characteristics found in the *Tuti-nāma* pages and to predict the riveting power of the best *Razm-nāma* illustrations.

Daswanth certainly worked on the *Hamza-nāma* as well, for ten of its fourteen volumes were executed under the directorship of 'Abd as-Šamad. (The first four volumes were painted under Mīr Sayyid 'Alī's supervision.) Doubtless it was this project that demonstrated Daswanth's abilities and helped to bring about his eventual major responsibility for the *Razm-nāma* illustrations. Moreover, the *Hamza-nāma* betrays the same conflict between the irrational and naturalistic worlds that we have noted as a basic characteristic of the period. It is this tension, rather than the artistic contributions of the older Persian directors, that is at the root of the manuscript's brilliance. 'Abd as-Šamad's role in the workshop must have been to maintain artistic standards, though Daswanth's career proves that he clearly recognized and encouraged—perhaps even inspired—innovation among those working for him. The recognition of Daswanth's contribution to the *Hamza-nāma* is one of the most important

problems facing students of Mughal art.

Daswanth may originally have been a village artist, as is perhaps implied by Abū'l Faḍl's reference to his painting on walls. To suggest further that he was discovered by the "far-reaching glance of His Majesty" is not necessarily to be taken literally, for talent is frequently said to originate with a patron. Of 'Abd as-Ṣamad, for example, Abū'l Faḍl wrote that "though he knew this art before he joined the royal service, the transmuting glance of the king has raised him to a more sublime level, and his images have gained depth of spirit."¹⁷ And even at the sub-imperial level, it was said of Nadīm, who painted for 'Abd ar-Raḥīm, *Khān-i-khānān*, that "the exalted Khan Khanan himself instructed and raised him

to this high level. Thus, under the training of the Khan Khanan, he became a peerless master in his art."¹⁸

In any case, there is little evidence in the *Tuti-nāma* paintings that suggests either 'Abd as-Ṣamad's influence or Daswanth's later importance. Clearly, the artist was then at the beginning of his career. By the time of the production of the *Timur-nāma*, he had virtually adopted the style of 'Abd as-Ṣamad, and his technique had acquired immense control. While he continued to paint in a conservative manner in some *Razm-nāma* scenes, the greatest and most individual illustrations are the episodes of frenzy and chaos—doubtless motivated and enforced by the disturbed character of Daswanth's own mind.

Notes

1. For brief discussions about the artist, see W. Staude, "Daswanth," in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, 15 vols. (London, 1954), 2:234-35 and pls. 112-15; and Pramod Chandra, *The Tuti-nama of The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Graz, 1976), pp. 88-90.
2. Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, p. 183.
3. He is thoroughly discussed in Martin Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1981).
4. A major study of the artist is also included in *ibid.* See also Milo C. Beach, *The Imperial Image—Painting for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp. 164-67.
5. Abū'l Faḡl 'Allāmī, *Akbar-nāma*, 3 vols. (1927; reprint ed., Delhi, 1973), 3:651.
6. Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, p. 184.
7. For a discussion of the manuscript's dating, see R. Skelton, "Mughal Paintings from Harivamsa Manuscript," *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook*, 1970, p. 48.
8. T. Holbein Hendley, *Memours of the Jeypore Exhibition 1883*, 4 vols. (Jaipur, 1884), vol. 4.
9. A full list of artists who worked on the *Razm-nāma* and *Timur-nāma* manuscripts is given in Beach, *Imperial Image*, pp. 215-20.
10. This dating is given in Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, pp. 62-68.
11. S. N. Khan, *Maathir ul-Umara*, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1911-14), 1:454.
12. This is discussed at length in S. A. A. Rizvi, *The Religious and Intellectual History of Muslims During Akbar's Reign* (Delhi, 1973).
13. Further discussion is found in Beach, *Imperial Image*, p. 18.
14. Abū'l Faḡl, *Akbar-nāma*, 3:346-47.
15. Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, p. 254.
16. The differences in the two illustrated versions of the *Harivamsa* text (see Skelton, "Mughal Paintings") can also be attributed to the change in Akbar's interests noted here. It is interesting also to see the emperor's personal development in relation to modern psychoanalytic theories of the evolution of human personality around the age of forty. See, for example, D. J. Levinson, *The Seasons of a Man's Life* (New York, 1978).
17. Chandra, *Tuti-nama*, p. 183.
18. M. Mahfuzul Haq, "The Khan Khanan and His Painters, Illuminators and Calligraphists," *Islamic Culture* 5 (1931): 626.



FIG. 1. *Bhima Arrives at Dwarka*. Designed by Basāwan, painted by Jagjivan. From a *Razm-nāma* ms. Ca. 1582–1586. Sawai Man Singh II City Palace Museum, Jaipur. (After T. H. Hendley, *Memoirs of the Jeypore Exhibition 1883*, 4 vols. [Jaipur, 1884], vol. 4, pl. lxxxiv.)



FIG. 2. *Bhima Kills the Brothers of Kichaka*. Designed by Daswanth, painted by Miskin. From a *Razm-nāma* ms. Ca. 1582-1586. Sawai Man Singh II City Palace Museum, Jaipur. (After Hendley, *Memoirs*, vol. 4, pl. xxxiii.)



FIG. 3. *A Night Assault on the Paṇḍava Camp*. Designed by Daswanth, painted by Sarwan. From a *Razm-nāma* ms. Ca. 1582–1586. Sawai Man Singh II City Palace Museum, Jaipur.
(After Hendley, *Memoirs*, vol. 4, pl. lxix.)



FIG. 4. *The Childhood of Timur*. Designed by Daswanth, painted by Jagjivan Kalan. From a *Timur-nāma* ms. Ca. 1580. Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Patna.



FIG. 5. *Jamshid Writing on a Rock*. By 'Abd as-Šamad. From an album of Jahangir. Dated 1588. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 6. *The Wounded Monkey Bites the Hand of the Prince*. By Daswanth. From a *Tuti-nāma* ms. Ca. 1560. The Cleveland Museum of Art (Gift of Mrs. A. Dean Perry).



FIG. 7. *The Hunter Offers the Mother Parrot to the King*. By Basāwan. From a *Tuti-nāma* ms. Ca. 1560. The Cleveland Museum of Art (Gift of Mrs. A. Dean Perry).



FIG. 8. *The Parrot Mother Cautions Her Young*. Attributed to Daswanth. From a *Tuti-nāma* ms. Ca. 1560. The Cleveland Museum of Art (Gift of Mrs. A. Dean Perry).



FIG. 9. *The Hunter Throws Away the Baby Parrots*. Attributed to Basāwan. From a *Tuti-nāma* ms. Ca. 1560. The Cleveland Museum of Art (Gift of Mrs. A. Dean Perry).

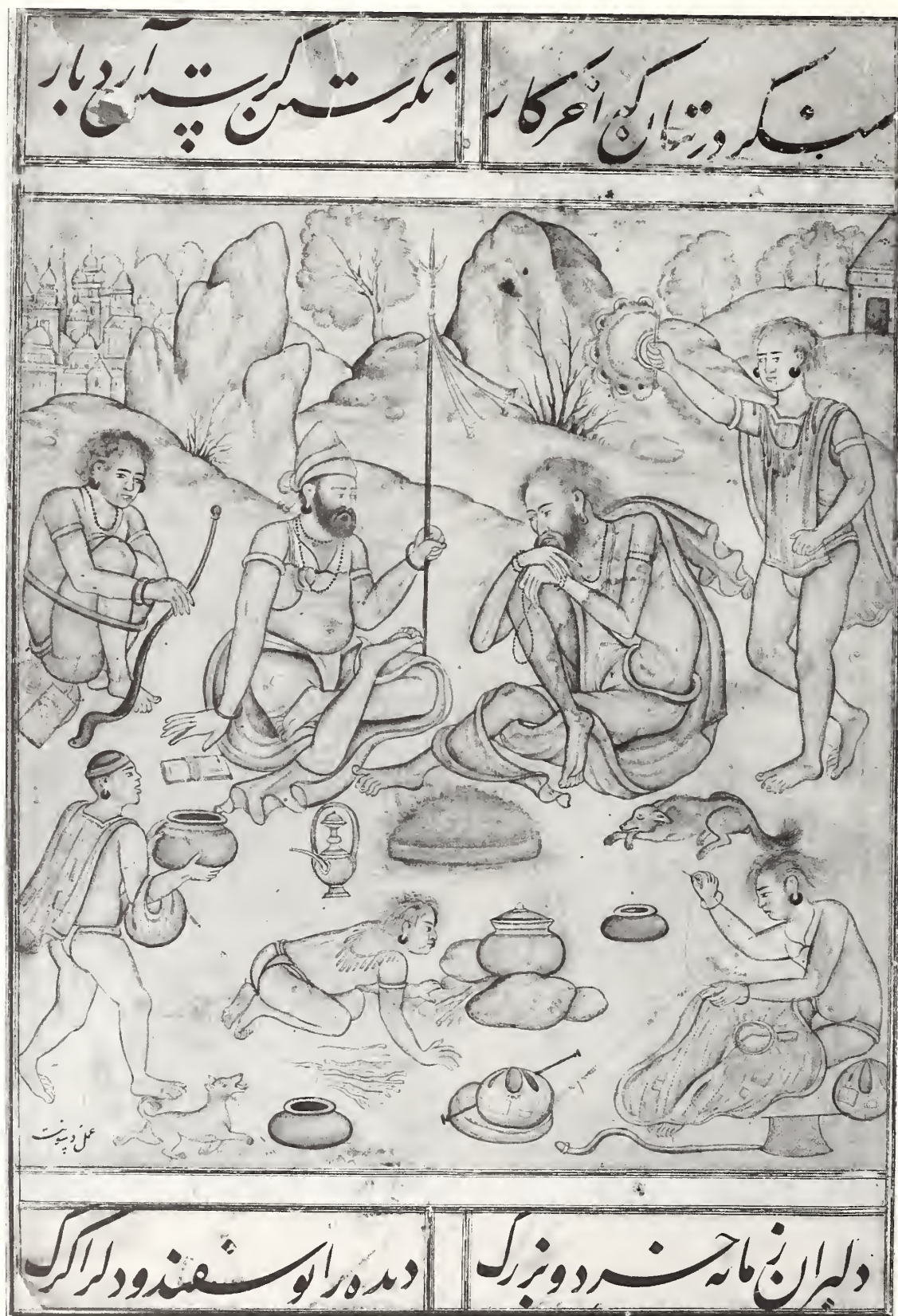


FIG. 10. *Holy Men*. By Daswanth. Ca. 1580. Royal Library, Windsor. Reproduced by Gracious Permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



FIG. 11. *Two Ascetics and a Dog*. By Basāwan. Ca. 1580. Royal Library, Windsor. Reproduced by Gracious Permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

SOME ADDITIONS TO THE KNOWN CORPUS OF PAINTINGS BY THE MUGHAL ARTIST FARRUKH CHELA

By REKHA MORRIS

ALTHOUGH FARRUKH CHELA WAS NOT CONSIDERED A great artist either in his own time (the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* does not include him among the seventeen foremost artists of the period)¹ or in recent years, his style is so distinctive and idiosyncratic that it invites both interest and close examination. He has been the subject of one full-length article and has been briefly mentioned in several other publications.² The growing corpus of works that may be ascribed and attributed to him adds to the emerging picture of his talents and career (see apps. B and C). To this group of miniatures ascribed and/or attributed to Farrukh Chela may be added four others, three unpublished and one published but not attributed to him. These are *The Garden Scene* from the *Dīwān of Hāfiz*;³ a stray page entitled *Controlling an Infuriated Elephant*;⁴ *The Seven Princesses Pay Homage to Bahram Gūr* from the *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrāu*, folio 182;⁵ and a page from a dispersed *Gulistān of Sa'dī*.⁶ The purpose of this study is to analyze these four miniatures, relate them to securely dated works by the artist, and suggest an approximate date for each of them. Since many of the miniatures ascribed and/or attributed to Farrukh Chela have been assigned conflicting and questionable dates, it will be necessary to postulate a chronology of his career on the basis of a close examination of the stylistic evolution evident in his paintings.⁷ Tracing the evolution of his career by using the securely dated works as indicators will enable us to fit the four miniatures under consideration into the general chronology of Farrukh Chela's artistic development.

Little is known of Farrukh Chela's career or his personality. Examination of Akbar-period manuscripts allows us to make at least a few generalizations regarding his career. The majority of his works were executed during the decade of the 1590s. Three miniatures in the Patna *Tārīkh-i-khāndān-i-Timuriya* (fols. 80A, 101A, 108B) are somewhat earlier, that is, around 1585; and three other miniatures, one from the British Museum *Akbar-nāma* and two from the Beatty *Akbar-nāma*, extend his artistic life to ca. 1605.⁸ His compositions in the histories do not illustrate major events, and there are to date no known individual portraits by him. In those works where historical figures such as Akbar appear, inscriptions mention another painter to whom portraiture is to be credited. This is the case

with the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma*, folio 81, where Basāwan most assuredly is responsible for the equestrian figure of Akbar,⁹ and the Beatty *Akbar-nāma*, folio 32B, where the faces are credited to Manohar and Anant.¹⁰ Even when a recognizable historical figure is absent from the scene, faces are still painted by collaborating artists, as in the Binney *Akbar-nāma* page where the faces are credited to Dhārm Dās¹¹ and the *Khamṣa-i-Nizāmī*, folio 65A, where the faces are credited to Dhanraj.¹²

It has been assumed, largely on the basis of these works in which portraits and/or faces are credited to other artists, that Farrukh Chela's figural style is weak and inept. The present argument will attempt to modify this supposition. It is true that his paintings of the 1580s do not provide us with any clear idea of his figural style. This is due, perhaps, to the fact that in all three miniatures ascribed to him for this period, he worked with collaborators who may have been responsible for the figures. It is also possible that he had not yet developed a distinct figural style at this stage of his career. However, in his works of the 1590s and later, Farrukh Chela's figural style has become both personal and capable of realizing rather intense dramatic effects. It is thus possible to say that in an unusually distinctive style, Farrukh Chela's figures and architectural depictions are by far the most individualized. His treatment of land and riverscapes, trees and animals, supports his distinctive figural and architectural representations and gives his works a peculiar, unifying consistency.¹³ Consistent and personal though his manner is throughout the span of his known career, it is still possible to trace a stylistic evolution, the chronological implications of which will enable us to attribute uninscribed and/or undated works to him with a certain assurance.

Farrukh Chela appears to have developed a distinctive manner of depicting architecture early in his career. We are thus provided with a basis for attributing works to him even before a recognizable figural style evolves. It is these architectural motifs which will be examined first. Since architectural renderings provide a focus for considerations of chronology, this architectural style will play an important role in our discussion of three of the five miniatures that will be examined here.

There is considerable homogeneity both in the

type of architecture depicted and in the location of these forms within the composition. The architectural areas in Farrukh Chela's paintings are of two varieties. In one variety, a fortress is seen from the exterior and from a distance; in the second type, buildings define and enclose a space and provide close-up views of the architectural elements that comprise the whole structure. Where architectural depictions are seen from a distance, they are generally fortresses which are, without exception, placed in the top corners of the paintings and viewed diagonally. The entrance to these fortresses is over a bridge which is set at an angle (emphasizing the diagonal compositional scheme favored by our artist); the architecture has solidity and mass, and the various parts of the structure have a logical, though complex, distribution in space. These depictions of fortresses fall into two distinct groups. In one group, fortresses are depicted with round turrets that are lightly tapered at the top. These turrets are supported on massive cylindrical pylons. Examples of this type may be seen in the Patna *Tārīkh*, folio 101A, and the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma*, folio 81. In the second group of fortresses, the turrets are conical and are supported on hexagonal pylons, as in the Binney *Akbar-nāma* page and the National Museum of India *Bābar-nāma*, folio 17. The Beatty *Akbar-nāma* seems to draw on both these varieties: its double-page composition includes both types in a modified version. Folio 32B shows conical, six-sided turrets, tapered at the top and placed on hexagonal pylons, and folio 33A shows rounded turrets on circular pylons.

Inasmuch as both types of architectural design occur in a manuscript of 1604, the evidence provided by the Beatty *Akbar-nāma* might suggest that the depictions of fortresses do not indicate changes in the various phases of the artist's career. That stylistic evolution does in fact take place may be demonstrated by dividing Farrukh Chela's career into three phases: an early, formative phase extending from ca. 1585 to ca. 1595, a middle phase lasting from ca. 1595 to ca. 1600, and a late phase spanning the years from ca. 1600 to ca. 1605. This stylistic evolution may be demonstrated by a brief consideration of such miniatures as the page from the Binney *Akbar-nāma*, the National Museum of India *Bābar-nāma*, folio 17, and the Beatty *Akbar-nāma*, folios 32B and 33A.¹⁴

Inscriptional evidence indicates that the page in the Binney Collection was executed by three artists. The outline was by Farrukh [Chela], the color was applied by Dhānu, and the faces were done by Dhārm Dās.¹⁵ The three distinctive features of Farrukh Chela's architectural treatment—the location of the

fortress in the upper right corner, the bridge set at an angle, and the solidity conveyed by the structure—are all present. However, as in the miniatures of the Patna *Tārīkh* ascribed to Farrukh Chela, there is in the Binney miniature a greater reliance on line than on modeling. Together, these characteristics place this painting securely in the early phase of the artist's career. Elements of the building, such as turrets, pylons, crenellations, and the individual stones of the wall, are defined by emphatic lines. The bridge (as in fol. 108B of the Patna *Tārīkh*) is likewise given definition by straight lines. All of these features are present also in folio 81 of the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma* (ca. 1590) ascribed to Basāwan and Farrukh.¹⁶

A page from the National Museum of India *Bābar-nāma* (fol. 17) of ca. 1598 and ascribed to Farrukh Chela serves as an example from the middle phase of the artist's development.¹⁷ Here the emphatic linear rhythm of the early period is considerably modified by the modeled areas. These are especially noticeable in the rounded, softly shaded contours of the bridge. In a magnificent example of ink drawing with slight color, *A Ruined Castle* in the Art Institute of Chicago (fig. 1), Farrukh Chela's singular style achieves fine expressive qualities through the heavily modeled structures of a ruined city inhabited by deer, rabbits, and foxes.¹⁸ The architectural elements of this miniature are brought forward into the middle ground rather than placed in the top right-hand corner; however, the bridge set at an angle continues the diagonal pictorial scheme noted above. Unexpectedly, the linear effects in ink have been subsumed in the soft tonalities. The result is a startling synthesis of outline and volume, creating images of considerable evocative force. Tonality applied to architectural renderings is a marked feature of this middle phase of Farrukh Chela's work.

In the artist's final phase, the effects created by means of heavy shading are diluted. This change is apparent in the miniatures from the Beatty *Akbar-nāma* (ca. 1604), folios 32B and 33A. Inscriptions identify the artists of folio 32B as Farrukh, Manohar, and Anant, and those of folio 33A as Farrukh Chela and Makand.¹⁹ Although the architecture retains its massive, solid qualities and the bridge has the softer, curving lines introduced in the middle phase, the modeling is diluted and the texture of the buildings, still in their corner locations, has lost its sense of startling immediacy.

The chronological implications of these architectural renderings are not reflected in a progressively more solid and massive structure, nor are they

reflected in a radically different introduction of architectural types. Rather, they are communicated by means of the color tonalities that define the individual parts of the structure. For example, in the early phase the shading is not so emphatically utilized to achieve a tenebrist effect in which light and dark areas play against each other to give the buildings heightened sharpness and clarity. This effective tonal manipulation is best realized in the miniatures of the middle phase of Farrukh Chela's career.

It is difficult to determine the point of emergence of a fully developed, easily recognizable figural style. Once it is apparent, however, so too are its idiosyncrasies, and we experience little difficulty in attributing specific figures to Farrukh Chela even in joint ventures, where one and perhaps two collaborating artists complicate the analysis. An overall consideration of the miniatures accepted as Farrukh Chela's in this paper (see app. A) makes it possible to identify two basic types of figures favored by him.²⁰ One immediately recognizable figural type is a somewhat grotesque form, short and squat with a disproportionately large head set awkwardly between the shoulders. The faces of these figures are heavysset, with protruding lips, ponderous jaws and cheeks, and wide-open, staring eyes. Frequently, these figures are seen astride animals, often elephants; in this posture their short legs are pulled upwards, and their hands are outflung in violent movement. Farrukh Chela uses this figural type to distinguish the more courtly participants from the servitors, musicians, and spectators who are often depicted in this manner. The second figural type favored by our artist is a more refined creature, tall and slender with a delicate oval or heart-shaped face. This type particularly suited the depiction of youths. In the case of older men, this basic form is often shown with a short beard and a generally expressionless face; the eyes appear to be downcast or gazing calmly into the distance. The figures themselves do not alter and evolve to a large extent in the course of the artist's career, though it is pertinent to note that Farrukh Chela's middle-phase miniatures depict a large number of figures involved in a variety of movements and actions.

In such early works as the Patna *Tārīkh*, the folios ascribed to our artist are action-packed, crowded compositions in which Farrukh Chela, the *tarah* (supervising artist), worked with an *amal* (assisting artist): in folio 80A he was assisted by Bānwāri Khurd, in folio 101A by Sūrjan, and in folio 108B by Manik.²¹ In these miniatures, it is difficult to discern an emergent figural style. The architectural render-

ings, on the other hand, have already acquired a distinctive touch, as is quickly made clear by comparing these three folios with those in which collaborating artists Bānwāri Khurd and Sūrjan participated with artists other than Farrukh Chela. For those works assigned here to the years between 1590 and 1595, this process of identifying Farrukh Chela's figural style is suddenly simplified. A good example is the miniature from the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma*, folio 81, ascribed to Basāwan and Farrukh. There is a startling dissonance between the style of the equestrian figure of Akbar and some of the courtiers surrounding him and that of the foreground figures around the two fighting elephants. Such stylistic dissonance can only be the result of a division of work between the two artists involved. Since Basāwan has been the subject of several studies, it is unnecessary to describe the specifics of his style here.²² However, there can be little doubt that he was not responsible for the figures on and around the fighting elephants in the foreground. These figures are short and squat and have heads too large for their bodies. There is marked awkwardness in the way the artist has placed the head on the body: the figures appear virtually without necks, their heads squashed directly down onto the shoulders. The faces are heavily and awkwardly proportioned, and the gestures are deliberately of a broad and sweeping nature.

These telltale characteristics of Farrukh Chela's figures are difficult to spot in other works from his early period. Certain heads in the *Akbar-nāma* page in the Binney Collection carry the stamp of Farrukh Chela's hand even though the faces are ascribed to Dhārm Dās. One example that reflects the former's style is the disproportionately large head set awkwardly on the body of the wounded soldier lying among the group of dead and dismembered in the middle right of this miniature. In the miniature from the *Dīwān of Hāfiz*, which has been attributed to Farrukh Chela, the figure of the shepherd belongs to the second, more elegant of his figural types described above.²³ A fifth work, the miniature from the Nelson Gallery *Muraqqa Gulshan*, is assigned here to the end of the artist's early phase (ca. 1595). The short, squat figure riding the buffalo clearly belongs to the first figural type. The too-large head set on the shoulders at an awkward angle and the short legs pulled up along the flanks of the buffalo echo the foreground figures in the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma* miniature discussed above. There are two considerations that suggest an early date for the miniature from the Nelson Gallery *Muraqqa Gulshan*. The treatment of rocks, tree, and

leaves is clearly in the style of those paintings that belong to the early phase of Farrukh Chela's oeuvre, and elements of the figural style of this miniature approximate the figural style of the Victoria and Albert miniature painted around 1590.²⁴

Two other miniatures attributed here to the decade of the 1590s do not contain human figures. These are *A Ruined Castle* in the Art Institute of Chicago and the *Anwār-i-Suhailī* page in the Bharat Kala Bhavan. But in the four miniatures from the *Khamṣa-i-Nizāmī* in the British Museum ascribed or attributed to Farrukh Chela, there is evidence of the familiar Farrukh Chela figural type in the various heads in folio 530 and in the figure of the groom in folio 531.²⁵ Together with these somewhat grotesque and comical types, the second, more refined type of figure may be seen in folio 123, *Lailā and Majnūn Swoon*. In this scene, the figure supporting the swooning Majnūn is tall and slender, and his oval face is devoid of emotion. His resemblance to the shepherd of the *Dīwān of Hāfiz* miniature is striking. The type continues to appear in other works of this and the later phase. Folio 80 of the *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau* in The Walters Art Gallery, attributed to Farrukh Chela, combines in its multfigurative composition both of the figure types described above.²⁶ The heavyset, awkwardly joined heads, the elongated bodies, the oval faces associated with depictions of youths, all are to be found here. In folio 17 of the National Museum of India *Bābar-nāma*, ascribed to Farrukh Chela, the heavyset, disproportioned, awkward figure type appears to predominate.

It is clear that by the decade of the 1590s the figural style of Farrukh Chela has reached maturity and become easily recognizable. There appears to be little change and development in the treatment of figures in the miniatures of the late phase—that is, in the two miniatures belonging to the Beatty *Akbar-nāma* and the miniature from the British Museum *Akbar-nāma*. An examination of several stylistic features in conjunction—architectural renderings, the treatment of elements of the landscape, brushwork, and figural style—will enable us to assign dates to the miniatures under consideration.

Farrukh Chela's treatment of such landscape elements as rocks, the dominant banyan tree, riverbanks, and gushing streams have been discussed in previous publications. Such discussions have not, however, analyzed these stylistic features from a chronological perspective.²⁷ What is crucial is not the presence or absence of the dominant banyan tree or a certain type of rock grouping but variations in line and modeling which enable us to divide his work into the three distinct phases postulated above.

An examination of the paintings accepted as works of Farrukh Chela (app. A) will clarify the problem and provide the key to its solution.

Farrukh Chela's depiction of riverbanks and ridges remains consistent throughout his career (see fols. 101A and 108B of the Patna *Tārīkh*; fol. 81 of the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma*; the pages in the Nelson Gallery and the Art Institute of Chicago; the *Anwār-i-Suhailī* page in the Bharat Kala Bhavan; and the late-phase miniatures). They are nearly always drawn with vertical sides, softly shaded to indicate hollows and projections, and sharp outlines along the upper limits that endow the grades with a peculiar clifflike quality. The eddies and swirls created by the gushing water are highlighted in brighter shades of blue. Rocks are depicted in vertical clusters which are interrupted at intervals by a series of flat-surfaced rocks (as in the Victoria and Albert page, the Nelson Gallery page, and the Bharat Kala Bhavan page). At the foot of these rock piles, the artist scatters small stones which are roughly spherical or ovoid in shape (as in the page in the Nelson Gallery, *The Pastoral Scene* in the *Dīwān of Hāfiz*, and the page in the Bharat Kala Bhavan). The outlines of these rocks, though defined with clarity, are not arbitrarily harsh, and the internal shading is characteristically soft: shades of beige, brown, mauve, and bluish gray. The banyan tree appears in several miniatures and is dominant in four (the pages in the Art Institute of Chicago, the Nelson Gallery, the Freer Gallery, and the Bharat Kala Bhavan). In these four, the trunk and branches are given a twisting and gnarled texture by the application of sharply differentiated shades of brown and beige. The clusters of leaves are again distinguished by alternating dark and light colors and are graduated in size so that at the outer extremities the leaves get smaller and smaller. Background trees are generally depicted in clusters; they appear as olive green conical shapes seen hazily in the distance.

As was the case with regard to the depiction of architecture and figures, the stylistic evolution of these landscape elements is indicated, not by a change in the types of natural forms, but by a variation in the nature of the line and accompanying changes in color shading. In early works, such as the Patna *Tārīkh*, both the outlining of banks and the shading of rocks appear somewhat arbitrary and consequently less natural (fols. 80A, 101A). In addition, the eddies of water appear more tumultuous (fol. 108B), and the dominant banyan tree is missing. By the 1590s, these obvious painterly qualities begin to acquire more naturalistic nuances. In the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma* illustration,

for example, the outlines are finer and the shading softer. Works belonging to the end of the early phase and the middle phase (1595–1600) exhibit a heightened quality—a tensely controlled, nervous line juxtaposed with subtle and harmonious tonalities—which creates a surface vibrancy that is lacking in both the early- and late-phase works. These qualities are at their best in the stray page from the Art Institute of Chicago, the *Muraqqa Gulshan* page in the Nelson Art Gallery, and the page in the Freer, all probably executed around 1595.

The foregoing stylistic analysis has made it possible to analyze the four miniatures which are the subject of this study and suggest a probable date for each. In the case of two of the miniatures, *The Garden Scene* from the *Dīwān of Hāfiz* and the miniature from the *Khamsa of Amīr Khusrau*, stylistic analysis supports the dates generally accepted for them. We are also fortunate in possessing other miniatures attributed to Farrukh Chela in these same manuscripts.²⁸ But all four miniatures are clearly products of the 1590s. The analysis which follows will attempt to narrow this general date by postulating an early- or middle-phase assignment for each.

The Garden Scene from the *Dīwān of Hāfiz* (fig. 2) is a charming re-creation of the delights of a garden replete with food, wine, and music. On a central decorative dais sit two men, the younger of whom is shown offering a wine cup to the older. In the foreground are two musicians and a youth preparing fowl at an open fire. The scene is set amidst cypresses, poppies, and flowering shrubs. The garden composition is broken into irregular segments by the water channel that originates in the top right corner at a well from which water is being raised by means of a Persian wheel. The compositional scheme is typical of Farrukh Chela. The eye travels into the picture plane diagonally, with axial turns that follow the bold white rendering of the raised water course.

The figures are readily identifiable as the work of Farrukh Chela. Particularly characteristic are the two musicians, who are of the short and squat variety and whose heads are set at an awkward angle between their shoulders. The two youths, the one cooking fowl and the other serving wine, are identical but for the difference in their dress. Their oval faces, seen in three-quarter view, are vacuous and devoid of expression. The bearded nobleman on the dais resembles the figure supporting the swooning Majnūn in the *Khamsa-i-Nizāmī*, folio 123A, by Farrukh Chela. Farrukh Chela's delight in the natural world is evident in the depiction of the flower-filled garden, where the four slender cypresses

framing the central figures are given a delicate counterpoint by the rectilinear bed of poppies in the top right corner.

The *Dīwān of Hāfiz* has been dated to ca. 1598 by Dr. Anand Krishna, who has also attributed another of the manuscript's miniatures, *The Pastoral Scene*, to Farrukh Chela. Dr. Anand Krishna's date would place both miniatures in what has here been defined as the middle phase of Farrukh Chela's career (see app. A). There are, however, strong visual reasons that militate against our acceptance of this attribution. An analysis of *The Garden Scene* in conjunction with *The Pastoral Scene* highlights several features that are characteristic of Farrukh Chela's early style. The depiction of the foreground portion of the wall enclosing the garden is typical of his early work: linearity dominates and the tenebrist play of dark and light is minimal. In fact, the angled view of the monumental door and the framing wall is clearly a reworking of the left side of the castle entrance of folio 108B of the Patna *Tārīkh* (ca. 1585), which identifies Farrukh Chela as the *tarah*. In the treatment of the rocks and banks of *The Pastoral Scene*, we see the same lack of emphasis on heavily shaded areas; this is also noticeable in the depiction of the clothes, scarves, and sashes of the figures in both miniatures (compare, for example, the shading of the *Anwār-i-Suhailī* rocks and those of *The Pastoral Scene*). It appears more likely that the two miniatures from the *Dīwān of Hāfiz* were painted around 1590, for which date further support will be provided below.

The stray page *Controlling an Infuriated Elephant* from the Salar Jung Museum (fig. 3) will be evaluated in the context of the two miniatures from the *Dīwān of Hāfiz* discussed above. The page depicts an elephant that has broken its chains and is rearing up, thereby unsettling the *mahout* who clings to the harness ropes on its back. Two men, one at each foreground corner, wield a trident and a flaming torch in an attempt to subdue the elephant. The background consists of a hilly ascent flanked by two outcroppings of rock and topped by a cluster of trees through which portions of a spired building can be seen. The miniature is attributed to Farrukh Chela on the basis of the figural depictions, the treatment of the elephant, and the landscape elements. All three men in this miniature belong to the grotesque type described above. The man on the elephant sliding backwards and crouching to hold himself astride is quite like the second figure on the left elephant in the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma* miniature, folio 81, ascribed to Basāwan and Farrukh Chela. Similarly, the elephant depicted in

the Salar Jung Museum illustration bears a close resemblance to the elephants of the Victoria and Albert miniature. These similarities are evident in the ringed shading of the trunks, the lighter ears, the darker shading of the edges and joints of the body, and the peculiar thrust of the raised front feet, features common to all three elephant depictions. These close parallels with the Victoria and Albert miniature suggest a date of ca. 1590 for the Salar Jung Museum miniature.

A date of ca. 1590 is further supported by the fact that the background landscape of rocks and a hill surmounted by a clump of trees through which spired buildings are glimpsed parallels the background of both the Victoria and Albert Museum miniature and *The Pastoral Scene* from the *Dīwān of Hāfiz*. The depictions of these elements in *The Pastoral Scene* and in this page from the Salar Jung Museum are startlingly similar: the two rock formations of the latter approximate those of the *Dīwān of Hāfiz* miniature not only in their natural forms but also in the treatment of line and modeling. Though in the Salar Jung Museum miniature the far distant clump of trees has been brought forward, its situation on a rising hillock, defined by a somewhat heavy line from which darker shades emerge and are gradually softened to denote the texture of the ground, is so close to *The Pastoral Scene* as to suggest an approximate date for both. Further, the head of the man in the right foreground of the Salar Jung Museum miniature resembles the head of the musician in the white turban in *The Garden Scene* of the *Dīwān of Hāfiz*: both have the same slightly rounded forehead, the weak chin, the drooping mustache, and the large spherical ears.

The date for the Victoria and Albert miniature is generally accepted as ca. 1590.²⁹ The resemblance of its figural types, landscape elements, and treatment of elephants to those which appear in the two miniatures from the *Dīwān of Hāfiz* and in the Salar Jung miniature is a strong indication that these three works were also painted around 1590 by Farrukh Chela, the collaborating artist in the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma* miniature.

The two miniatures remaining to be dated belong to a later stylistic phase than those already analyzed. One of these miniatures is from the *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau* in The Walters Gallery (fig. 4).³⁰ Inscriptional evidence gives the names of two painters involved, Miskīn and Farrukh, and it is the contention of this study that the Farrukh of this miniature is Farrukh Chela. The scene depicted is generally referred to as *The Seven Princesses Pay Homage to Bahrām Gūr*. Even without the secure reference to

another artist—in this case a celebrated one—knowledge of the figural style of Farrukh Chela would discount his participation in the figures represented, with the exception of the fourth princess from the top right.³¹ However, in light of earlier discussions of architectural renderings, the pavilion in which Bahrām Gūr sits is undoubtedly Farrukh Chela's contribution.

The miniature is dominated by a complex, three-storied, circular pavilion set in a garden. In the center, with his back against a bolster, sits Bahrām Gūr. To the right, emphasizing the circular compositional scheme, are six of the seven princesses in varying attitudes of supplication. A fountain with four runnels defines the foreground and separates the six princesses from the seventh, who is placed to the left of the fountain. Four attendants complete the semicircular arrangement of the figures on the left; a fifth attendant leans forward from behind Bahrām Gūr and offers him a wine cup. The back of the garden is defined by a cluster of trees and the front by a crenellated wall with an entrance in the lower right corner. The pavilion is raised on a plinth and surrounded by a porch poised on slender circular pillars. The pavilion is topped by an open rotunda with a small circular structure set on nine slender columnettes. The depiction of the mouldings of the plinth, the slender columnettes, the cornices, walls, and the door behind Bahrām Gūr has the deft manipulation of line and modeling that enlivens Farrukh Chela's works of the middle phase, while the assurance in handling the airy grace of the structure that surmounts the pavilion is the final cadenza to an accomplished rendering.

The stylistic analysis which places this miniature of the *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau* (fol. 182) in the middle phase of Farrukh Chela's career is further substantiated by the fact that this is a dated work of 1597/1598.³² This assignment is borne out by a second miniature from the same manuscript which has been attributed to Farrukh Chela (fol. 80);³³ this work's elaborate architectural setting has the unmistakable flourish of his middle-phase creations. It is also interesting to note that in folio 65A of the *Khamṣa-i-Nizāmī* in the British Museum (ascribed to Farrukh Chela and Dhanraj), the circular pavilion set on a diagonal axis of the water channel to the right resembles the pavilion in folio 182 of the *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau* under discussion. The *Khamṣa-i-Nizāmī* is placed at the end of the early phase, separated from the *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau* by only a couple of years.

The last of the four miniatures under consideration here is one of eight pages from a dispersed

Gulistān of Sa'dī in the Cincinnati Art Museum (fig. 5). This miniature depicts a *Shooting Match*. The lower margin of the page bears an ascription to Farrukh, interpreted here as Farrukh Chela.³⁴ On grounds of both the architectural and figural renderings and the quality of line and modeling, this attribution is appropriate. The focal point of the miniature is a pair of riders galloping by a pole, their bows and arrows aimed at a ring suspended from the pole. A group of mounted archers waits on the right. Excited, gesticulating spectators are ranged to the left and in two groups atop the foreground buildings. The entire court in which the contest occurs is encircled by buildings. Among the spectators are examples of both the familiar Farrukh Chela figural types. Their unusual animation is not due simply to their outflung arms but appears to emanate from their entire bodies. The galloping riders and the absorption of the spectators has the dynamic quality of folio 80 of the *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau*, attributed to the Farrukh Chela by Dr. Anand Krishna. Farrukh Chela's awkwardness in rendering certain postures has been overcome here. The leading horseman, his body twisted to aim his bow upwards, has been depicted with remarkable grace and assurance. The second rider, slightly raised from the saddle, is poised to lift his bow; the transitional physical state has been captured with fidelity and contributes in large measure to the tense atmosphere of anticipation that fills this miniature.

The architectural depiction in the *Gulistān of Sa'dī* miniature belongs to the second type described above; that is, it is not a fortress viewed from a distance but an open court defined by architectural elements. The upper and lower limits of the court in which the shooting match takes place are defined by porticos raised on plinths and supported by slender pillars; arcuated niches appear in the rear walls. The

upper portico is interrupted by two buildings raised on superimposed platforms. One of these buildings is partially seen to the right of the miniature, while the second has a central location and is viewed frontally. The latter structure consists of a monumental entrance reached by a flight of steps and flanked by projecting pavilions. The entire structure is topped by a hexagonal pavilion. The porticos in the foreground flank an entrance to the inner court and are given the characteristic diagonal slant we have come to associate with Farrukh Chela. The architectural depictions of the Cincinnati miniature are reminiscent of folio 80 of the *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau*, particularly in the rendering of the porticos and buildings of the upper portion of the miniature. Here, as in the *Khamṣa* miniature, the partial view of the building to the right, the angled position of the portico that links this building with the central one, the niched rear walls, and the hexagonal forms that create the central building are all delineated by heavily shaded areas combined with assured linear rhythms which give the buildings a crystalline definition. Thus, the characteristic architectural style of the middle phase of Farrukh Chela's work, paralleling closely the depiction of the upper architectural portions of folio 80 of the *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau* dated 1597/1598, suggests a similar date for this page of the *Gulistān of Sa'dī* in the Cincinnati Museum. However, Farrukh Chela's general preference for pastel groupings of colors, such as pinks and mauves, grays and blues, and browns and beiges, has been relieved in this miniature by deeper tones of red and blue, a shift in palette that looks forward to the color schemes of the Beatty *Akbar-nāma* of ca. 1604. This suggests a date of somewhere between 1598 and 1600 for the last of these four examples of Farrukh Chela's distinctive style.

Notes

This paper originated as a seminar report for Prof. P. Chandra at the University of Chicago. The author is indebted to Prof. Chandra for valuable help in identifying and analyzing the works of Farrukh Chela.

1. Abū'l Faḍl, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, trans. H. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1939), p. 114.
2. Anand Krishna, "A Study of the Akbari Artist: Farrukh Chela," in *Chhavi*, Golden Jubilee Volume, 1920-1970 (Benaras, 1971), 5:353-73. Milo C. Beach, *The Grand Mogul* (Williamstown, Mass., 1978), pp. 46-51. Suzanne Marshall, "The Poet and the Prince—A Moghul Painting from the Album of an Imperial Connoisseur," *Bulletin of the Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum* 5 (1978): 8; 22, n. 7.
3. *Dīwān of Hāfiz*, Reza Library, Rampur. See Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela," p. 369. Dr. Anand Krishna attributed another page, *The Pastoral Scene* (pl. 32 of his article), to Farrukh Chela but does not discuss this miniature. Stuart Cary Welch, "Miniatures from a Manuscript of the *Dīwān-i-Hāfiz*," *Marg* 11 (1957-58): 56-58. Welch describes and illustrates this page from the *Dīwān of Hāfiz* but does not attribute it to Farrukh Chela. *The Garden Scene* illustrates no. 162 of Qazvini's edition of the *Dīwān of Hāfiz*, trans. H. Wilberforce Clarke (Calcutta, 1891). The author is indebted to Finn Thiesen (Mag. art.) of Copenhagen for help in identifying and translating the text.
4. *Controlling an Infuriated Elephant*, Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, museum no. XXX 94. Dimensions: 19.2 × 14.2 cm; *nīm qalam* ("lightly colored"). The miniature was part of the personal collection of Salar Jung III and the museum has no information as to the date of purchase or from whom it was purchased. The museum's own date for the work is early seventeenth century, which I contest in view of the style of the painting.
5. *Khamsa of Amīr Khusrāu Dihlavī*, folio 182, The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Information regarding this work was supplied by Jennie P. Bauman of the museum in a letter dated 11 March 1980. This is a manuscript dated 1597/1598. R. Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India* (New Delhi, 1961), pl. 6. S. C. Welch, *The Art of Mughal India* (New York, 1963), p. 163, cat. no. 7. Welch includes the eight pages in the Cincinnati Art Museum among the dispersed pages of this *Khamsa of Amīr Khusrāu*; however, these eight pages are actually from a dispersed *Gulistān of Sa'dī*.
6. *Gulistān of Sa'dī*, eight pages in the Cincinnati Art Museum. *The Shooting Match* illustrates chap. 3, apologue 28 (see the J. Ross translation [London, 1823], pp. 300-301). This section relates the story of a youth who accidentally shoots an arrow through the ring fixed to the dome of Azud after four hundred professional archers had failed to do so. Dimensions of painting only: 27.6 × 14.9 cm. Information regarding the miniature was supplied by Daniel S. Walker, Cincinnati Art Museum, in letters dated 20 March and 30 April 1980.
7. Dr. Anand Krishna, to whose article I am greatly indebted, points out various aspects of Farrukh Chela's style, such as the dominant banyan tree or the peculiar rock formations, but does not discuss in any detail the chronological implications of these motifs. Marshall, "The Poet and the Prince," p. 22, n. 7, also mentions these motifs but is not concerned with a rigorous stylistic analysis of Farrukh Chela's work.
8. Dr. Anand Krishna is of the opinion that certain pages of the *Dārāb-nāma* (ca. 1580-1585) and the Jaipur *Razm-nāma* (ca. 1580) are to be attributed to Farrukh Chela (see app. C). Since I am skeptical of these attributions and others in the articles by both Dr. Anand Krishna and Suzanne Marshall cited above, I submit my own list of Farrukh Chela's works in appendix A.
9. I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols* (Paris, 1929), pl. 17, incorrectly attributes this miniature to Farrukh Beg and Basāwan. See Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela," p. 364, n. 55, for other attributions.
10. Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela," pp. 370-72.
11. E. Binney, *Indian Miniature Painting: The Mughal and Deccani Schools* (Portland, Ore., 1973), p. 40, cat. no. 19. The miniature is dated ca. 1595-1600. However, since Binney points out that the major section of this *Akbar-nāma* manuscript is in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the generally accepted date for the manuscript is around 1590, his later dating of this stray page is unacceptable. See n. 29 below for the date of the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma*. Dr. Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela," p. 365, designates this as a miniature from a *Bābar-nāma*.
12. Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela," pp. 367-68.
13. Dr. Anand Krishna has pointed out the individualized treatment of these motifs by Farrukh Chela in his article.
14. Illustrated by Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela" (see app. C of this article).
15. Binney, *Indian Miniature Painting*, p. 40.
16. Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela," p. 364. See also appendix C of this article.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 369, fig. 532.
18. A stray leaf mounted as an album page, the Art Institute of Chicago (19.951). Dimensions of miniature only: $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{11}{16}$ in. Attributed to Farrukh Chela by Prof. Pramod Chandra of Harvard University in an exhibition catalogue: Pramod Chandra and Daniel J. Ehnborn, *The Cleveland Tuti-nama Manuscript and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Chicago, 1976), p. 55, no. 81. The painting is not reproduced in this catalogue.
19. Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela," pp. 370-72.
20. This list has been determined by eliminating some works attributed to Farrukh Chela by Dr. Anand Krishna and Suzanne Marshall. Dr. Anand Krishna's article includes miniatures that have been unavailable for study, and these have not been included in my list of works attributed to Farrukh Chela. A few others have been eliminated since I have only been able to see poor reproductions of them.
21. See appendix C, n. 1.
22. S. C. Welch, "The Paintings of Basawan," *Lalit Kala* 10 (1961): 7-17; see p. 7, n. 1 of his article for other references.
23. Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela," p. 369 and pl. 32.
24. Marshall, "The Poet and the Prince," p. 23, n. 7. She dates it to between 1605 and 1610 because of the refined use of the

technique of *nīm qalam*. Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, p. 46, dates it to ca. 1595–1600. In the three-part division of the career of Farrukh Chela, Beach's date would make this miniature a work of the middle phase. I see this miniature and the one in the Freer (see app. A) as falling towards the very end of the first phase. Marshall is correct in supposing that the Nelson Gallery page and the one in the Freer are to be seen as complementary compositions. Stylistically, they are of the same artistic phase and might be seen as marking an intermediate phase between the early and middle phases postulated in this discussion.

25. Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela," pp. 367–68.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 370. Dr. Anand Krishna refers to it as the *Khamṣa of Amīr Najimuddin Hasan Dehloī*. See appendix C, n. 3.
27. See n. 7 above.
28. *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau*, folio 80, The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Referred to as "Khusrau Sends Ring to Shirin" by Jennie Bauman in a letter dated 11 March 1980. She writes that the name of the painter for this folio has been obliterated: "Farrukh? Fasanah?" Dr. Anand Krishna, "Farrukh Chela," p. 370, correctly attributes this to Farrukh Chela. The second miniature is *The Pastoral Scene* from the *Dīwān of Hāfiz*, attributed to Farrukh Chela in Dr. Anand Krishna's article (pp. 369–70).
29. R. H. Pinder-Wilson, *Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India* (London, 1976), pp. 38–52. He dates the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāma* to ca. 1590. See also R. Skelton, "Two Mughal Lion Hunts," *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook*, 1969, p. 38, pl. 5; he also dates the work to ca. 1590.
30. *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau*, folio 182, The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (see n. 5 above).
31. This princess is most probably the work of Farrukh Chela—her large head and the awkward set of her left arm distinguish her figure from all the others in the miniature. Her face resembles faces seen in folio 80 of the *Khamṣa of Amīr Khusrau* attributed to Farrukh Chela.
32. See n. 5 above.
33. See n. 28 above.
34. See n. 6 above. Daniel S. Walker of the Cincinnati Art Museum has also interpreted the ascription to Farrukh as referring to Farrukh Chela.

APPENDIX A. Works Ascribed/Attributed to Farrukh Chela

This chronological table of the works of Farrukh Chela has been compiled on the basis of two factors. (1) The miniatures listed are those whose reproductions have been available for study. A few of the miniatures included in appendix C have been omitted here since they have been unavailable for study, namely, those in Tehran and Moscow. (2) The stylistic analysis in conjunction with securely dated works as outlined in this study allows the inclusion of the miniatures as those to be attributed to Farrukh Chela. A few miniatures included in appendixes B and C have thus been omitted, since this writer is not convinced that they are indeed the works of the artist under consideration.

EARLY PHASE

<i>Manuscript and Location</i>	<i>Folio Numbers</i>	<i>Artists</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Illustrations</i>
<i>TĀRĪKH-I-KHĀNDĀN-I-TIMURIYA</i> , Khuda Baksh Public Library, Patna	fol. 80A fol. 101A fol. 108B	Farrukh Chela and Bānwāri Khurd Farrukh Chela and Sūrjan Farrukh Chela and Manik	ca. 1585 ca. 1585 ca. 1585	
<i>AKBAR-NĀMA</i> , Victoria and Albert Museum, London	fol. 81	Basāwan and Farrukh	ca. 1590	
<i>AKBAR-NĀMA</i> , Binney Collection, Portland, Oregon		Farrukh, Dhānu, and Dhārm Dās	ca. 1590	
<i>DĪWĀN OF HĀFIZ</i> , Reza Library, Rampur	<i>The Pastoral Scene</i> <i>The Garden Scene</i>		ca. 1590 ca. 1590	fig. 2
<i>Controlling an Infuriated Elephant</i> , Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad	no. XXX 94		ca. 1590	fig. 3
<i>An Elephant Resting</i> , Gulistan Museum, Tehran			ca. 1590	
<i>*Buffalo Goring a Lion</i> , <i>MURAQQA GULSHAN</i> , The Nelson Gallery, Kansas City	no. 48-12/1 verso		ca. 1595	
<i>*Royal Elephant in Chains</i> , Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.	no. 56.12		ca. 1595	
<i>*KHAMSA-I-NIZĀMĪ</i> , The British Museum, London	fol. 65A fol. 123A fol. 273A fol. 281A	Farrukh Chela Farrukh Chela Farrukh Chela Kanak Singh Chela	ca. 1595 ca. 1595 ca. 1595 ca. 1595	

*May be seen as transitional works between the early and middle phases.

MIDDLE PHASE

<i>Manuscript and Location</i>	<i>Folio Numbers</i>	<i>Artists</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Illustrations</i>
<i>A Ruined Castle</i> , Lucy Maud Buckingham Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago	no. 19.951		ca. 1595	fig. 1
<i>ANWĀR-I-SUHAILĪ</i> , Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras			Dated 1595-1596	
<i>KHAMSA OF AMĪR KHUSRAU</i> , The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore	fol. 80 fol. 182	Farrukh? Fasaneh? Miskin and Farrukh	Dated 1597-1598 Dated 1597-1598	fig. 4
<i>BĀBAR-NĀMA</i> , National Museum, Delhi	fol. 17	Farrukh Chela	ca. 1598	
<i>GULISTĀN OF SA'DĪ</i> , Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati	no. 1951.299	Farrukh	ca. 1598-1600	fig. 5

LATE PHASE

<i>Manuscript and Location</i>	<i>Folio Numbers</i>	<i>Artists</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Illustrations</i>
<i>AKBAR-NĀMA</i> , The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin	fol. 32B fol. 33A	Farrukh, Manohar, and Anant Farrukh Chela and Makand	ca. 1604 ca. 1604	
<i>AKBAR-NĀMA</i> , The British Museum, London	fol. 65A	Farrukh Chela	ca. 1604	

APPENDIX B. Works Ascribed/Attributed to Farrukh Chela by Suzanne Marshall*

<i>Manuscript and Location</i>	<i>Publication Source</i>
<i>MURAQQA GULSHAN</i> , <i>Buffalo Goring a Lion</i> , ca. 1610, ¹ The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum, (no. 48-12 1 verso), Kansas City	<i>Bulletin of the Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum</i> 5 (1978): fig. 4.
<i>MURAQQA GULSHAN</i> , <i>An Elephant Resting</i> , Gulistan Museum, Tehran	J. V. S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, "Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum," <i>Burlington Magazine</i> 66 (1935): pl. 3D.
<i>MURAQQA GULSHAN</i> , <i>The Sacrifice of Noah</i> , Gulistan Museum, Tehran	Milo C. Beach, "The Gulshan Album and Its European Sources," <i>Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin</i> 63 (1965): 79, no. 8.

*The other works referred to by Marshall in her article (p. 22, n. 7) have all been referred to by Dr. Anand Krishna.

1. Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, pp. 46-51, no. 6. Beach attributes this miniature to Farrukh Chela, ca. 1595-1600. Marshall does not refer to this publication in her article.

APPENDIX C. Works Ascribed/Attributed to Farrukh Chela in Dr. Anand Krishna's Article

<i>Manuscript and Location</i>	<i>Folio Numbers</i>	<i>Artists</i>	<i>Illustrations</i>
<i>DĀRĀB-NĀMA</i> , ca. 1580–1585; The British Museum, London (OR 4615)	fol. 32A fol. 32B fol. 84B	Farrukh Khurd Farrukh Khurd Farrukh Khurd	fig. 516 fig. 517 not illustrated
<i>RAZM-NĀMA</i> , ca. 1580; City Palace Museum, Jaipur	Hendley, pl. LXXX Hendley, pl. CXXXVII	Mukund and Farrukh Farrukh	fig. 518 fig. 527
<i>TAWARIKH-E-KHĀNDAN-E-TAIMURIA</i> , ca. 1585; Khudabaksh Public Library, Patna	fol. 80A fol. 89B fol. 99A fol. 101A fol. 108B	Farrukh Chela and Banwari Kurd Farrukh Kalan and Suraj Gujarati Farrukh Kalan and Surjan Farrukh Chela and Surjan Farrukh Chela and Narayan (?) ¹	not illustrated not illustrated fig. 519 fig. 520 not illustrated
<i>AKBAR-NĀMA</i> , ca. 1590; Victoria and Albert Museum, London	fol. 81	Basawan and Farrukh	fig. 522
<i>BĀBAR-NĀMA</i> , ca. 1590; ² Binney Collection, Portland, Oregon		Farrukh, Dhanu, and Dharm Das	fig. 523
<i>BĀBAR-NĀMA</i> , ca. 1595; Moscow State Museum of Oriental Culture	S. Tyulayv, pl. 14 S. Tyulayv, pl. 28 S. Tyulayv, pl. 62		not illustrated not illustrated not illustrated
<i>BĀBAR-NĀMA</i> , ca. 1595; The British Museum, London	fol. 13B		fig. 524
<i>CHANGEZ-NĀMA</i> , ca. 1596; Imperial Library, Tehran		Farrukh among the painters	not illustrated
<i>KHĀMSA-E-NIZĀMĪ</i> , ca. 1595; The British Museum, London (OR 3714)	fol. 65A fol. 123A fol. 273A fol. 281A	Farrukh Chela Farrukh Chela Farrukh Chela Ganga Singh Chela	fig. 528 fig. 529 fig. 530 fig. 531
<i>ANWĀR-E-SUHAILĪ</i> , dated 1595–1596; Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras	fol. 30B	Farrukh Chela	pl. 31
<i>BĀBAR-NĀMA</i> , ca. 1598; National Museum, Delhi	fol. 17 fol. 15	Farrukh Chela	fig. 532 not illustrated
<i>DĪWĀN-E-ILĀFIZ</i> , ca. 1598; Reza Library, Rampur			pl. 32
<i>KHĀMSA OF AMĪR</i> <i>NAJIMUDDIN HASAN DEHLIVĪ</i> , ca. 1602; ³ The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore	fol. 80	Farrukh	fig. 533
<i>Royal Elephant in Chains</i> , Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.	no. 56.12		not illustrated
<i>AKBAR-NĀMA</i> , ca. 1604; The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin	fol. 32B fol. 33A	Farrukh, Manohar, and Anant Farrukh Chela and Mukund	fig. 534 fig. 535
<i>AKBAR-NĀMA</i> , ca. 1604 The British Museum, London (OR 12988)	fol. 65A	Farrukh Chela	fig. 536

1. The second artist of this folio is Manik (University of Chicago photograph archive).

2. In no. 19 of the Binney catalogue, this is referred to as *Akbar-nāma*.

3. *Khamsa of Amīr Khusrāu Dihlavi*. Described as such in information supplied by The Walters Art Gallery in a letter dated 11 March 1980.



FIG. 1. *A Ruined Castle*. Ca. 1595. Lucy Maud Buckingham Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago.



FIG. 2. *The Garden Scene*. From a *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiz. Ca. 1590. Reza Library, Rampur.

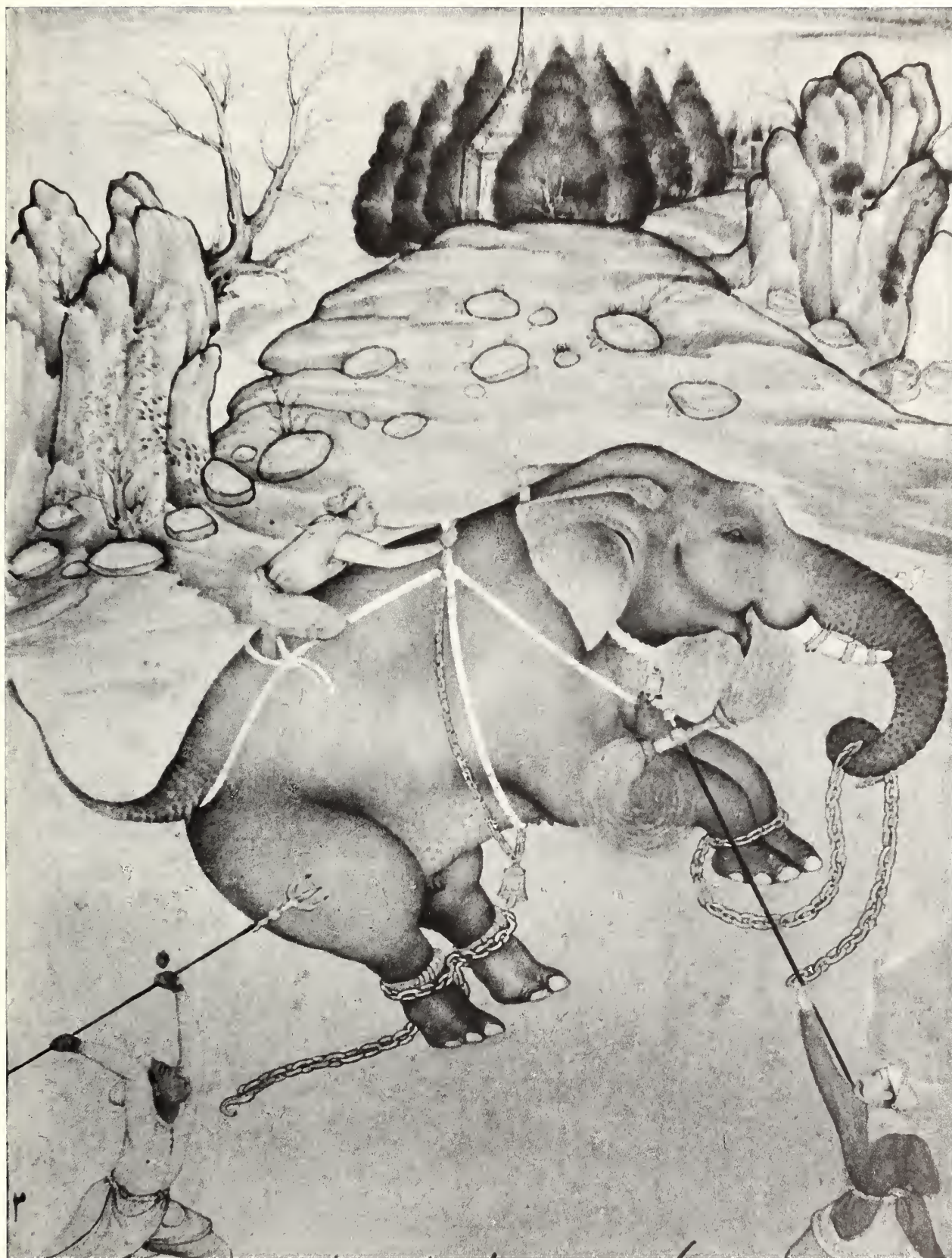


FIG. 3. *Controlling an Infuriated Elephant*. Ca. 1590. Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.



FIG. 4. *The Seven Princesses Pay Homage to Bahram Gūr*. From the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī. Ca. 1597–1598. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.



FIG. 5. *The Shooting Match*. From a dispersed *Gulistan of Sa'di*. Ca. 1598-1600. The Cincinnati Art Museum (Gift of John J. Emery).

"Early Paintings of the Goddess in Nepal," by Pratapaditya Pal
p. 42: "Bhatacharyee" should be "Bhatacharya."
p. 42, lines 45-46: The translation should read "[Though] lord of
the serpents [yet he has a] *crooked* shape, . . ."

Fig. 4: The caption should read "The goddess *Sitavati*, . . ."

Postscript to "The Production and Patronage of the *Haft Auran*
by Jamī in the Freer Gallery of Art," by Marianna Shreve Simpson,
Arts Orientalis 13 (1982).

Only after this volume had gone to press did I become aware of, and have the opportunity to examine, a *second* illustrated manuscript which provides further information about the extent of Sulṭān Ibrahim Mitrā's patronage of the arts (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, R. 1038).^{*} It is a slim volume of Muhammad Ghazālī Mashhadī's *Naqsh-i badt*, copied by Sulṭān Muhammad Khāndan in Ramadān 982/December 1574-January 1575 in the city of Sabzavar for the *kitab-khāna* of Sulṭān Ibrahim Mitrā (colophon fol. 38). Folios 23v and 26 have miniatures. This work and the *Haft Auran* in the Freer Gallery are the only two extant manuscripts definitely known to have been commissioned by the Safavid prince. A complete description of the Istanbul *Naqsh-i badt* will appear in my projected monograph on the Freer Jamī.

MARIANNA SHEREVE SIMPSON

^{*} Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1961), no. 787; Zeki Velidi Togan, *On the Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries* (Istanbul, 1963), p. 37.

EKAPĀDA ŚIVA IMAGES IN ORISSAN ART

By THOMAS DONALDSON

ONE OF THE MOST UNUSUAL OF THOSE SECONDARY DEITIES whose images are frequently found in the side niches of early Orissan Śaiva temples is a one-legged figure generally referred to as Aja-Ekapāda. As a rule, the image of this god occurs on the north side of the *deul* (sanctuary). It flanks the central niche housing the Mahiṣamardīnī.

The evolution of the deity known as Ekapāda is somewhat obscure. According to V. S. Agrawala, Aja-Ekapāda ("goat with one foot") represents a form of Agni. It should be noted, however, that with the exception of a single terracotta figure from Rang Mahal (Suratgarh) in northern Rajasthan, the god has not, as a rule, been given the head of a goat.¹ In a further attempt at identification, J. N. Banerjea has suggested that the deity may represent a lightning flash coming down to earth in a single streak.² Most representations of Aja-Ekapāda, however, appear to describe a form of Śiva. An image from Tiruvottijur, reproduced in Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, depicts Ekapāda Śiva as the central figure with images of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, their hands folded in worship, projecting from his right and left sides, respectively.³ In the *Viśvakarma Śilpa*, Aja and Ekapāda are named as two of the Ekādaśa-Rudras, or eleven emanations of Rudra, each of whom has sixteen arms.⁴ The *Liṅga Purāṇa* supplies two lists of the eleven Rudras. The first list mentions "Ajaikapāda" as one of the host (chap. 5, vv. 29–30). The second list supplies the name of "Ajeśa," i.e., the "Lord of the Unborn Goat" (chap. 153, v. 19). Śiva was considered by the Māheśvaras to be the governing deity of both Aja-Ekapāda and Ahirbudhnya ("serpent of the deep"). In the *Vedas*, as Agrawala has pointed out, these occur as dual or twin aspects of a single deity. Later on, however, both Aja-Ekapāda and Ahirbudhnya are included in the list of the eleven Rudras. The *Mahābhārata* repeats the list (*Ādi-parvan*, chap. 60, vv. 2–3), adding that the twin deities Ajaikapāda and Ahirbudhnya are the guardians of gold in the company of Kubera (*Udyoga-parvan*, chaps. 112–14).⁵

Orissan images of Ekapāda generally depict the deity with four arms, although smaller images occasionally show him with only two. The form apparently represents a Bhairava, or "terrific," aspect of Śiva. Such an identification is suggested by the god's facial expression and attributes. He is shown with a short beard, open mouth, fangs,

mustache, and bulging eyes. He stands in a rigid frontal pose on a single elephantine foot, is ithyphallic, and wears a tiger skin around his loins. A crescent moon frequently appears in his matted hair, and he is flanked on either side by an attendant. In later images, a garland of skulls is added to the god's body ornamentation, and a corpse is placed beneath his foot. In addition to stylistic changes which affect body ornamentation and coiffure, specific iconographic changes may be noted. The *varada* (gift-bestowing gesture) and the water jar which are standard features of most early images are replaced in later depictions by a water-glass-shaped drum (*ḍamarū*) and a skull-cup. In addition to serving as a secondary deity in the side niches of the *deul*, Ekapāda also appears in *cāitya* designs; above the entrance portal; within special shrines associated with Śakta worship; as an attendant to the Saptamātṛikās (Seven Mothers); as an attendant to Bhairava; and, in one example, on a hero-stone where his form is worshipped by the slain warrior in heaven.

With respect to the permutations of Ekapāda images in Orissa, the earliest surviving representations date to the eighth century. These function as secondary deities which were placed in side niches on the Tāleśvara, Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara, and Śiśireśvara temples at Bhubaneswar. The three representations of Ekapāda are iconographically very similar. Only the treatment of the hair differs significantly. The figure of the god from the Tāleśvara Temple has been provided with a coiffure consisting of tiers of tightly coiled curls (*karaṇḍa-mukūṭa*) and corkscrew side-locks which cascade down either shoulder (fig. 1). The Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara and Śiśireśvara images, on the other hand, have their hair looped in long plaits and drawn up into a knot on top of the head (figs. 2, 3). Each of the three deities has its lower right hand extended down in the gift-bestowing *mudra*; a lotus-mark is visible on the palm. The lower left hand holds a water jar. The uplifted back right and left hands hold a rosary and a trident, respectively. The deity wears earrings, a necklace, armbands, wristlets, girdle, sacred thread, and a tiger skin. He has a short beard, a mustache, and an open mouth. A third eye is visible on his forehead and an undecorated halo is carved behind his head. A kneeling figure with hands folded appears in the lower right-hand corner; the lower left-hand corner is occupied by a standing

attendant. In two instances, this subsidiary figure holds the shaft of the trident.

Another early representation of Ekapāda is presently affixed to the Atharanala Bridge at Jajpur. The deity is two-armed. Its uplifted right hand holds a rosary; the lower left hand holds either a water jar or a ball of meal. The god's body ornaments, facial expression, and coiffure do not differ significantly from the Śiśīreśvara and Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara representations of Ekapāda. A third eye is similarly visible on its forehead. An attendant holding a trident stands in each of the lower corners of the niche, while a *vidyādhara* (celestial being) carrying a garland appears in each of the upper corners. A small, two-armed Ekapāda image also exists on the Bhṛṅgeśvara Mahādeva Temple at Bajrakot. It should be dated either to the final decade of the eighth century or to the early years of the ninth century. The deity has been placed within a *caitya*-medallion above a side niche containing Lakulīśa on the south side of the temple. Ekapāda holds a rosary and a trident in his right and left hands, respectively, and is flanked in the lower corners of the medallion by a seated attendant.

Included among ninth-century images of Ekapāda are examples at Baideśwar, Mukhaliṅgam, Badgaon, Paikapaḍa, Simhanātha, and Padmapur. On the Durgā Temple at Baideśwar (fig. 22), Ekapāda is housed in the lower *caitya*-medallion of the crowning *vajra-mastaka* (an ornament consisting of superimposed *caitya*-medallions which issue from either a *kṛtimukha* or lotus design) on the south façade of the spire. A *liṅga* is placed in the vertical extension immediately above the icon. The upper medallion contains an image of Gaṇeśa. A similar juxtaposition of terrifying and benign images appears in the design on the north side, with Andhasaka-vadha-murti in the lower medallion and Naṭarāja in the upper medallion. This dual complementary symbolism plays a major role in the iconographic program of Orissan temples. Ekapāda is four-armed and wears the standard body ornaments. His major right hand holds the shaft of a trident; the left hand holds a water jar. The uplifted back right hand holds a rosary and the back left hand a stag. The god is flanked on either side by an emaciated attendant who looks back at the central image as he appears to move away from it. Each of these attendants holds a rosary and a water jar.

The Ekapāda image located on the north side of the *jagamohana* (hall immediately preceding the sanctum) of the Madhukeśvara Temple at Mukhaliṅgam also holds a stag in its uplifted back hand (fig. 4). The raised back right hand grasps the

trident and the major hands hold a rosary and a water jar. The figure is ithyphallic, displays the standard terrifying aspects, and wears the conventional body ornaments. Curls cascade down to his shoulders and a crescent moon is visible in the braid on top of his head. An ascetic, hands folded, kneels in each of the lower corners of the niche; the figure on the proper left has been distinguished by a long beard.

The four-armed images at Badgaon and Paikapaḍa hold a serpent in place of the stag. The bull Nandī is located behind the foot of Ekapāda. At Badgaon the image serves as a secondary deity in a side niche on the north side of the *deul* (fig. 5). Ekapāda's major right hand holds an offering (either a ball of meal or a citron), and the left hand holds a water jar. The uplifted back right hand grasps the trident. The deity wears the conventional body ornaments, including a waistband, a feature also present in the Mukhaliṅgam depiction of Ekapāda. In the Badgaon representation, however, the armbands and the single anklet are formed of serpents. The god's hair is matted on top of his head and an unadorned halo is barely visible beneath accretions of whitewash. A single kneeling attendant with hands folded appears in the lower left corner. A variation of pose may be noted in the image of Ekapāda located on the north side of the *jagamohana* of the Mallikeśvara Temple at Paikapaḍa. The major hands, which hold a rosary and a water jar, are not lowered, as in previous representations of the god, but are placed instead beside the chest (fig. 6). The uplifted back hands hold the trident and a serpent. Here Ekapāda is ithyphallic. His wristlets, anklet, and sacred thread are formed of serpents. Fangs are visible in his open mouth. His hair is no longer looped on top of his head but is neatly arranged in serpentine coils which spiral upward. The halo carved behind his head has a beaded border. The attendant in the lower left corner, whose right arm is missing, is female. Her left hand is placed on her thigh. The attendant who stood in the proper right corner of the scene has been almost entirely obliterated. The bull Nandī reclines behind the foot of Ekapāda.

The Ekapāda image from the north side of the *jagamohana* of the adjacent Patāleśvara Temple appears to be typical, although the back right arm of the god is obliterated and the attendant in the proper right corner is also missing (fig. 7). The female attendant on the left is better preserved; it can be seen that she holds either a lotus or a fly-whisk in her uplifted right hand.

At Simhanātha, the images of Ekapāda are two-armed (fig. 8). They occur in a side niche on the

north side of the *deul* and on the one remaining corner shrine. In both representations, the god's right hand holds a rosary and the left hand a water jar. In addition to the standard body ornaments, there is a serpent issuing from the right earring. The oval-shaped halo is ornamented with lotus petals. An attendant stands in both lower corners of the niche. These hold objects, possibly tridents. A flying *vidyādhara* may be detected in each of the upper corners. All four figures are, however, partially obscured by accretions of plaster and whitewash. Nandī is visible behind the foot of Ekapāda.

The drum and skull-cup appear for the first time in the image of Ekapāda on the Mallikeśvara Temple at Padmapur. Both icon and temple date to the end of the ninth century (fig. 9). The god's lower right hand holds a rosary, and a skull-cup is held in the left hand at the level of the chest. The uplifted back hands hold the drum and the trident. Ekapāda wears a serpent earring in the right ear, as at Simhanātha, but his hair is now matted into a tall crown (*jaṭā-mukuta*) decorated with floral ruffles, a jeweled tiara at its base. There are no attendant figures.

Early tenth-century images of Ekapāda exist at Shergarh in the Balasore District, on the Someśvara Temple at Mukhaliṅgam, and at Sarapalli and Jayati in northern Andhra Pradesh. The image at Shergarh is presently affixed to the walls of the modern Khejūreśvara Temple amidst numerous other ninth- and tenth-century images (fig. 11). Unfortunately, it is so overlaid with accretions of whitewash that the details have been partially obscured. Ekapāda is two-armed and holds a rosary and trident. A skull is carved at the top of the shaft beneath the prongs of the trident. The god, who is ithyphallic, wears a serpent earring in his badly damaged right ear and the conventional body ornaments. His hair is shaped into a tall crown with a skull-medallion at its base. A standing attendant occupies the lower right corner. The figure in the opposite corner has been almost completely obliterated.

The image of Ekapāda which occurs in a typical subsidiary position on the north side of the Someśvara Temple at Mukhaliṅgam displays archaizing iconographical features. Though closely related to the late ninth-century images at Paikapaḍa, this depiction is distinguished by the appearance of a crescent moon near the top of the tall matted crown (fig. 13). The god is four-armed and, as at Paikapaḍa, holds the rosary, water jar, trident, and serpent. His anklet, armbands, necklace, and sacred thread are formed of serpents. Fangs are

visible in his open mouth, and he wears a tiara at the base of his coiffure. An undecorated halo is carved behind his head, and a lotus rosette is placed in the upper left-hand corner of the niche. He is flanked in the lower corners by Gaṅgā on the left, standing on her *makara*-mount, and by Bhagīratha on the right, who stands with his hands folded reverently. The addition of Gaṅgā points to the identity of the female attendant flanking the Paikapaḍa icon. It should be noted, however, that in the present example the left arm hangs straight down, the hand holding an indistinct object (purse?), while the Paikapaḍa depiction shows the attendant's hand placed on her hip. The Ekapāda images at Sarapalli (Dibbeśvara Temple) and Jayati (Rājarājeśvarī and Mallikarjīn temples) resemble the Mukhaliṅgam icon except that in the former examples the trident and serpent are reversed and Ekapāda is flanked on either side by a squat, bearded attendant whose hands are folded in front of his chest (fig. 10).

Three tenth-century images of Ekapāda found in conjunction with Śakta shrines are iconographically more developed. The earliest, which may date to the second quarter of the tenth century, is a figure carved on the small *maṇḍapa* in the center of the Chausat Yoginī *pīṭha* (lit., "seat") at Hirapur, together with three images of Bhairava (fig. 14). The placement of Bhairava images (including that of Ekapāda himself) at *pīṭha* shrines illustrates the Saṭī ideology behind the development of the *pīṭha* concept. Those places which received the severed limbs of Saṭī, Śiva's beloved wife, became *śaktipīṭhas* (sites sacred to Saṭī). Śiva himself kept watch over the parts of his consort's dismembered body by assuming a number of Bhairava forms and settling in the vicinity of each *śaktipīṭha*.⁶ The image of Ekapāda at Hirapur is four-armed. The major right hand holds a sword and the left hand a shield. The back right arm is broken at the elbow, and the corresponding left hand holds a long trident (?), badly damaged.⁷ The god is ithyphallic and wears the conventional tiger skin around his loins. His armbands, anklet, and sacred thread are formed of serpents, and a serpent earring dangles from his right ear. He wears an ornate necklace with a clustered clasp. A long garland of skulls, draped around his shoulders, falls to his knee. He wears a diadem at the base of his tall matted crown, and floral ruffles appear above each ear. His beard is short and his face is depicted with an open mouth, fangs, mustache, and bulging eyes. A flying *vidyādhara* appears on either side of a pointed halo. The flanking attendants at the base hold a sword and shield. Each attendant stands on a lotus cushion

issuing from the central lotus beneath the foot of Ekapāda. The corpse which was originally placed on the pedestal is missing.

The two other Śakta-related representations are larger and more ornately decorated. The image from Kuṇḍeśvara (measuring 49 by 25½ inches) is the largest and most beautiful of all Orissan depictions of the god (fig. 15). It is placed in the buried sanctum of a temple whose superstructure has completely collapsed. The temple was originally located opposite a similarly buried shrine housing the Saptamātrikās. The images of these divinities all date to the late tenth century. The four-armed Ekapāda stands on a double-lotus cushion above a prostrate corpse. His major arms are broken at the elbows, but they probably held a trident, which is still partially visible, and a skull-cup. The uplifted back right hand holds a drum, and the left, now broken at the wrist, originally held a rosary. The god's anklet, wristlets, necklace, and sacred thread are formed of serpents, and the remains of a serpent earring are visible in his right ear. He wears a tiger skin around his loins and a long garland of skulls falls from his shoulders to his knee. His matted hair is drawn up into a tall crown with a diadem at its base. A ribbon billows out behind each of the god's ears. His face displays the conventional terrifying features. The halo, a standard feature of earlier images, is now replaced by a *makara-toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha* ("glory-face") at the apex. The *kīrtimukha* is flanked by a garland-bearing female on either side. The upper corners of the back slab each contain a flying *vidyādhara* couple. Above the *makaras* carved on either side at the base of the *toraṇa* are a garland-bearer and a figure blowing a conch. Below the *makaras*, the image of Ekapāda is flanked on either side by a standing attendant holding a curved sword and a skull-cup; each figure is placed in front of a miniature *pīḍha* shrine, a temple whose roof is constructed of mouldings (*pīḍhas*) aligned in steps. The attendants' hair is arranged in tiers of radiating serpent coils. Above each miniature shrine is a female figure holding a fly-whisk. A pair of kneeling devotees appears on either side of the corpse on the pedestal; those on the proper left have been almost completely broken away.

An image from Koinśārigarh, now in the Baripāda Museum, is not quite as large (it is 44¾ by 23 inches) or as ornate (fig. 16). The god's major right hand holds a skull-cup in front of his chest; the left hand, now missing, probably held a trident. The uplifted back hands hold a drum and a rosary. Ekapāda wears the conventional body ornaments, including a long garland of skulls. His hair is matted in a tall crown, and his head is framed by a trefoil *toraṇa* with a

kīrtimukha at the apex. Each upper corner of the back slab is decorated with a *vidyādhara*. Ekapāda is flanked at the base by a plump, dancing dwarf, or *gaṇa*, to the right and by an emaciated dancer (possibly Yogiśvari) wearing a garland of skulls to the left. The prostrate corpse, which has been badly damaged, appears beneath the foot of Ekapāda. At Kuṇḍeśvara, as has been noted, the corpse was placed below the lotus cushion. A standing figure occupies the left corner of the pedestal. A jackal and a vulture are carved on the right corner of the pedestal. Additional jackals appear along the base of the pedestal, and another vulture is perched near the head of the corpse. The association of Ekapāda with Śakti is also in evidence in a Saptamātrikā set carved on a boulder a short distance to the southwest of the Chausat Yoginī shrine at Ranipur-Jhariāl. The image of Virabhadra is here replaced by one of Ekapāda. With Ekapāda at the beginning of the series and Gaṇeśa at the end, we again have the complementary terrifying and benign aspects represented by these two deities.

Also dating to the tenth century is a small, open *pīḍha* structure erected near the sacrificial pillar in front of the Vaitāl Deul. Within the structure is a miniature *rekha*-shrine bearing a niche on each of its four sides. These niches house, respectively, the image of Pārvaī on the west, facing the entrance of the *jagamohana*; Gaṇeśa on the north; Sarasvatī on the south; and Ekapāda on the east, facing away from the Vaitāl Deul (fig. 24). Since the Vaitāl Deul is a Tāntric shrine containing representations of the Saptamātrikās within its sanctum, Ekapāda serves here as a Bhairava aspect of Śiva, who traditionally offers his protection to the mother-goddesses. The image of Ekapāda is badly worn, and its details have been partially obliterated. The god holds a trident in his major right hand, while the left hand, now missing, probably held a skull-cup at the chest. The uplifted back hands held, presumably, a drum and a rosary. A flying *vidyādhara* appears in each of the upper corners of the niche. To the right of Ekapāda is a small attendant placed above a lotus cushion; to the left, a larger, female figure stands above a prostrate corpse, her right hand wielding a trident. This figure is depicted as having the head of a goat or a cow.

The decorative program of many of the early temples was strongly influenced by the Pāśupata sect, as evidenced by the many images of Lakulīśa, a famous teacher and systematizer, and of the Bhikṣāṇamūrti, the erotic behavior of Śiva in the latter motif apparently serving as a model of conduct for the Pāśupata adherents. The gradual disappearance of Pāśupata motifs and the introduction of

new forms of Śiva in the side niches and of *dikpālas* (guardians of the directions) on temple corners in the eleventh century mark a definite change in temple iconography. Yet, a few examples of Ekapāda serving as a secondary deity in this expanded iconographic program may still be found. The most notable of these occur on the Brahmeśvara and Valukeśvara temples at Bhubaneswar and on the Somanātha Temple at Ghorodia. The image is placed on the south side of the Brahmeśvara and Somanātha shrines. All three representations of the god display the standard iconographic features (figs. 17–19). Ekapāda holds the trident and skull-cup in his major hands, and the uplifted back hands hold the drum and rosary. In addition to the conventional body ornaments, he wears a skull garland and his hair is matted in a tall crown. He is flanked by standing attendants who may appear on only one or on both sides of the base. A prostrate corpse is placed either beneath his foot or on the pedestal.

A damaged image of Ekapāda in the Orissa State Museum probably dates to the eleventh century. Although both the head and the uplifted hands of the figure have been broken away, the surviving attributes appear to be typical (fig. 12). A trident and skull-cup are held in the major hands. An attendant stands on either side of the base holding a trident and skull-cup. A prostrate corpse is carved on the pedestal; its head is raised to look up at Ekapāda while a jackal gnaws at its feet.

A memorial stone (*vīragal*) in the Orissa State Museum may also be dated to the eleventh century (fig. 25). The plaque is divided into three registers. The lowest and largest section depicts the hero in the process of slaying his enemies on the battlefield, his royal status indicated by the parasol held above his head by an attendant. The hero's figure appears to lunge forward. A shield is held in his outstretched left hand, and the uplifted right hand brandishes a sword. On the ground between the hero's feet can be seen the sword and shield discarded by an enemy warrior, who kneels before him begging for mercy. A second kneeling warrior still holds his weapons and appears to be engaged in battle. Two small figures appear in the borders of this register. The lower figure, which has its right hand on its head, faces away from the battle. The figure above it stands on a lotus cushion and appears to be watching the fight. The middle register depicts the slain hero being carried to heaven in a palanquin by two female celestials. Escorting the palanquin on either side is a female *vidyādharaṇī* holding a fly-whisk in one hand and an offering or garland in the other. The top register represents heaven. The hero kneels before a typical eleventh-century representation of Ekapāda.

He is four-armed, ithyphallic, wears a garland of skulls, and holds the trident, skull-cup, drum, and rosary. A female figure holding a fly-whisk stands to the god's right. Images of the sun and moon, placed in the upper corners, serve as eternal witnesses of the heroic deeds of the slain warrior.

The Pūrṇeśvara Śiva Temple at Bhillideuli dates to the early years of the twelfth century. The upper niche on the south side of the *deul* bears an image of Ekapāda; the corresponding niche on the east, or back, side holds one of Śiva Andhakāsuramardana. The image on the north side has been obscured by the addition of a small shrine constructed for the worship of the Devī image occupying the major niche on the *rāhā*, the central vertical projection on each side of the *deul*. The iconography of Ekapāda varies slightly from eleventh-century images. For example, the major left hand here holds a mace, while the uplifted back left hand holds the skull-cup; the rosary has been eliminated (fig. 23). The right hands hold the trident and drum. Ekapāda is flanked by two dancing figures at the base. The female image has been placed to the god's right, the *gaṇa* to his left. The Megheśvara Temple dates to the last quarter of the twelfth century. A two-armed Ekapāda has been carved on the thin *pratiratha* on the south side of the *deul*. Although the figure is considerably eroded, it is still possible to identify the trident and skull-cup held in the right and left hands, respectively. On the contemporary Śobhaneśvara Śiva Temple at Niali, an image of Ekapāda is placed in the upper niche on the corner *pāga* (vertical projecting wall division) on the south side of the *deul*.

In addition to a tendency to secularize the decorative program of the temple, the thirteenth century witnessed a growth in popularity of Vaiṣṇava cults. Images of Ekapāda become increasingly rare. The Gaṅgeśvarī Temple at Beyālisbāṭī is a Śākta shrine. A small image of Ekapāda has been placed within the *toraṇa* frame carved above the southern entrance; the corresponding images on the east and west are of Kārttikeya and Pārvaṭī. Ekapāda is two-armed and holds the skull-cup. The base of his trident rests on the head of a corpse lying beneath his foot. Another image of Ekapāda appears in the upper niche of the intermediary *pāga* on the east side of the *deul*. Here he accompanies the Mahāvidyās, who occupy all of the other niches except for those on the corner *pāgas*; these house the *dikpālas*. On the small Śākta shrine in the Buddhanātha Śiva compound at Garuḍipāñchana, a diminutive image of Ekapāda serves as an attendant for an emaciated, dancing Bhairava worshipped here as one of the *pārśva-devatās*, or primary deities (the others are Vārāhī and Gaṇeśa).

Ekapāda is two-armed; his attributes are once again the trident and skull-cup. A similar image appears on the façade of the Grameśvara at Bīrpratāppur, a temple which has a *khakhārā*, or semicylindrical member, as its crowning device. It is carved on the central baluster of the south window of the *jagamohana*; the flanking balusters are decorated with female figures. Ekapāda can be identified as one of the Ghaṇṭākaraṇa Bhairavas originally placed in the lower terrace of the pyramidal roof on the west side of the *jagamohana* of the Sūrya Deul. The image has not survived.⁸ The companion image, that of Gaṇeśa, represented the benign aspect of the deity, just as Bhairava symbolized the god's ferocity.

That the worship of Ekapāda did not completely die out is suggested by two late images from Kosaleśvara and the Pāpanāśinī Temple at Bhubaneswar. The Kosaleśvara example functioned as a companion piece to a dancing Bhairava which was also placed in the *jagamohana*. Ekapāda holds a rosary and a skull-cup in his major hands. The uplifted right hand holds a dagger. The back left hand is extended down and holds the shaft of the trident, which is cradled against the shoulder by the major left arm (fig. 20). The god wears a garland of skulls. A serpent appears at the base of his coiffure, which consists of tiers of coiled curls which rise like flames. A *kīrtimukha* is placed at the top of the back slab and a lotus rosette is carved on each of the slab's upper corners. A prostrate corpse, its head twisted to look up at Ekapāda, is placed on the pedestal beneath the lotus cushion. On the right side of the pedestal are two kneeling female devotees holding vases. On the opposite side, a seated female performs *liṅga-pūjā*. Ekapāda is no longer ithyphallic. His chest is broad and his body squat, virtually without a waist. His proportions are, in fact, similar to those of early images of Puruṣottama/Jagannātha appearing in Liṅga-Puruṣottama-Durgā trinities on the Sūrya Deul at Koṇārak. This god is also represented with one foot.⁹ The Kosaleśvara figure dates to the fourteenth century.

The image of Ekapāda has been placed inside the *jagamohana* of the Pāpanāśinī Temple. It appears to be contemporary with the temple, thus datable to the mid-fifteenth century (fig. 21). Although the figure's arms are broken off at the elbows, it is evident that the right hand held a trident, while the left hand probably held a skull-cup. The attendant figures also hold skull-cups. The god, who is, again, not ithyphallic, wears an ornate girdle edged with tassels, a jeweled band encircling his calf (an additional ornament), and a badly damaged garland of skulls. His face displays the conventional terrifying features; his coiffure is matted in a tall crown.

A lotus rosette appears on each of the upper corners of the back slab, and a recumbent Nandī is carved on the pedestal.

To summarize, then, the early images of Ekapāda generally depict him as a secondary deity placed in a side niche on the north side of the *deul*, close to the image of Mahiṣamardinī, who serves as the *pārśva-devatā* in the central niche. His major right hand is extended, palm out, in the gift-bestowing gesture; it frequently holds a rosary or an offering. The left hand holds a water jar. One or both of the attendants are depicted kneeling, with hands folded in adoration. Despite the terrifying appearance and demeanor of Ekapāda, the god's image suggests, rather, severe asceticism, the granting of wishes or boons, and absolution. With the growth in popularity of the Śakta cult in the tenth century, evidenced by the construction of Chausat Yoginī *pīṭhas* and the proliferation of Saptamāṭṛikā shrines, attributes suggestive of terror and sacrifice were introduced. Ekapāda began to serve primarily as a protector of these female figures. The major hands now hold a weapon and the skull-cup, which, together with the garland of skulls and the corpse added beneath the god's foot, suggest the idea of human sacrifice, a major feature of many of the Tāntric rituals. The attendants are no longer depicted as paying homage to Ekapāda himself but have been reconceptualized as diminutive Bhairava figures either dancing or holding a skull-cup and a weapon. The eleventh century produced a variation in the iconographic program of the temple. The image of Ekapāda was shifted to the south side of the *deul*. With the increased secularization of temple iconography, deities occupying the side niches were gradually replaced by amorous couples (*mīthuna*), *gurus*, or royal figures. For this reason, and perhaps also because of the increasing popularity of Vaiṣṇavism, Ekapāda has disappeared as a secondary deity in these niches. On later temples his image appears sporadically. It is most often found in connection with Śakta shrines or on temples permeated with Tāntric motifs (Bhillideuli, Beyālisbāṭī, and Bīrpratāppur, for example).

In all of the Orissan examples, Ekapāda displays terrifying aspects which suggest his Bhairava nature, even though he does not conform iconographically to textual descriptions of Aja-Ekapāda as one of the eleven manifestations of Rudra. He is the most popular form of Bhairava to be found on Orissan temples. His image occurs more frequently than any other Bhairava form of Śiva, particularly on early temples. Since most of these early temples contain images of Lakulīśa, it is probable that the popularity of the Ekapāda form of Śiva was due to the

predominance of the Pāśupata sect at Bhubaneswar. In the absence of inscriptional evidence, it is difficult to ascertain why this peculiar form of Bhairava was so popular. In the system of dual complementary symbolism which dominates the iconographic program of early Orissan temples, Lakulīśa represents the teaching aspect of Śiva. His image is generally placed on the south. Ekapāda's pose, which shows the god balanced in pillarlike rigidity on a single foot, suggests the utter immobility of *tapas-yoga*.¹⁰ In this respect, it resembles the rigid *padmāsana* pose assumed by Lakulīśa.

As the major Bhairava form of Śiva, Ekapāda not only serves as a guardian deity for Mahiṣamardinī on the north but also functions as a complement to Lakulīśa on the south. Iconographically, however, the image of Ekapāda does not stress Śiva's terrific aspect (seen in the fighting or dancing images of Bhairava) as much as that element of intense asceticism which is equally part of Śiva's personality.¹¹ The water jar and the extended right hand suggest the possibility of atonement and rewards. Severe asceticism or penance is further indicated by the presence of a kneeling or pious devotee as one of the god's attendants. At least one example of these subsidiary figures was intended to represent Bhagīratha. Bhagīratha assumed a *tapas-yoga* pose, standing on one foot, to gain the grace of Śiva. His boon was granted, and Śiva allowed Gaṅgā to descend to the earth, cushioning her descent with his matted hair. Orissan Gaṅgādharamūrti scenes depict Bhagīratha as kneeling rather than standing on one foot, as in South Indian examples at Mahamallapuram or Ālampur.¹² It is therefore probable that the kneeling devotee flanking Orissan Ekapāda images represents Bhagīratha.¹³ In addition to his Bhairava aspect, Ekapāda serves as a model for severe asceticism and *yoga*, just as Lakulīśa serves as an expounder of *dharma*, Naṭarāja as the master of dance, and Śiva playing the *viṇā* as the teacher of music. On the other hand, the god's Bhikṣāṇamūrti form, by encouraging and stimulating ribald episodes, stresses his erotic aspect, and the Gaṅgādharamūrti motif exemplifies his *anugrahamūrti* nature in the act of bestowing wishes and boons.

On a popular level, the pillarlike form of Ekapāda may have been favored because of its resemblance to pillar deities worshipped by tribal peoples throughout Orissa. The form may also have been intended to counter the equally popular contemporary *ugra* aspect of Viṣṇu, who, as Nṛsiṃha, burst from a pillar to defeat Hiraṇyakaśipu.¹⁴ On a symbolic level, the adoption of the ithyphallic pillar form of Ekapāda may have been influenced by the Pāśupata practice of setting up *liṅgas* to represent their dead teachers.¹⁵

The apparent decline of the Pāśupata sect in the late tenth century is suggested by both the gradual elimination of Lakulīśa images from temples and the growing popularity of Śaktism and Tāntrism. The ascetic, yogic character of Ekapāda is replaced by a more terrifying image, which stresses action rather than immobility. Ekapāda not only functions as guardian of the shrine of the Yoginīs, or Saptamātṛikās, but, in the manner of a Bacchanalian *herma*-pillar to which his form may be visually related, he appears also to officiate in rituals that incorporate both the expiatory wandering and erotic nature of Śiva (previously expressed in the Bhikṣāṇamūrti motif).¹⁶ These ritualistic and Bacchanalian aspects are particularly evident when the flanking attendants are depicted drinking from a skull-cup and dancing. The corpse beneath the god's foot and the skull-cup held at his chest suggest that the sacrifice has taken place and that the rituals—the drinking of blood and eating of flesh—have begun. Many of the esoteric rites of the Pāśupatas, intended to celebrate the terrific aspect of Rudra-Śiva, were antisocial and bizarre.¹⁷ The adoption of the Ekapāda form of Bhairava by these sects is, therefore, understandable.

In the eleventh century, his placement on the south side of the *deul* served to emphasize further Ekapāda's terrifying aspect. The south is the direction governed by Yama, the god of death and sovereign of the infernal regions. On the Brahmeśvara Temple and at Ghorodia, for example, Ekapāda occupies a niche on one of the intermediary *pāgas*, while the Śiva Andhakāsuramardana motif fills the niche of the other *pāga* (each image represents a Bhairava aspect of Śiva). Gradually, however, the Ekapāda form of Bhairava is replaced by an even more sinister aspect of Śiva. The god is shown trampling or dancing on a corpse, holding a severed head in one of his hands and brandishing a weapon over his head. This form of Śiva is referred to as Vāmadeva in the *Śilpa Prakāśa*.¹⁸ The god's terrifying aspect is further heightened by his skeletal body, serpent headdress, and flaming hair. By the thirteenth century, this extreme Bhairava form had surpassed Ekapāda in popularity, even on Śakta shrines. The small shrine in the Buddhanātha Śiva compound at Garuḍipāñchana shows a diminutive Ekapāda serving as an attendant to Vāmadeva, who is now one of the shrine's *pārśva-devatās*. The latest images illustrated here, which date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, reveal his further eclipse. Figures of *liṅga-pūjā* and the bull Nandī have been placed on their respective pedestals. The addition of this seemingly didactic anachronism is actually intended to ensure Ekapāda's identification, and worship, as an aspect of Śiva.

Notes

1. V. S. Agrawala, "The Religious Significance of the Gupta Terracottas from Rang Mahal," *Lalit Kala*, no. 8 (1960), p. 67; pl. 24, fig. 15.
2. J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1956), pp. 50–51.
3. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 vols. (n.p., 1914; reprint ed., Varanasi, 1971), vol. 1, pt. 1, introduction, pl. F.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 386–88.
5. Agrawala, "Gupta Terracottas," p. 67.
6. Banerjea, *Hindu Iconography*, p. 495.
7. Mahapatra identifies this weapon as the backbone of a fish. However, a handle is visible at the base, suggesting that it is, in fact, a trident. See K. N. Mahapatra, "A Note on the Hypaethral Temple of Sixty-Four Yoginis at Hirapur," *The Orissa Historical Research Journal* 2, no. 2 (1953): 32.
8. See Alice Boner, Sadāśiva Rath Śarmā, and Rajendra Prasad Das, *New Light on the Sun Temple of Koṇārka* (Varanasi, 1972), pp. 225–26.
9. According to von Stietencron, the image of Jagannātha is based on the image of Ekapāda. His theory is not totally convincing. See H. von Stietencron, "The Śaiva Component in the Early Evolution of Jagannātha," in *The Cult of Jagannātha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, ed. Anncharlott Eschmann, Hermann Kulke, and Gaya Charan Tripathi (New Delhi, 1978), pp. 120–23.
10. See Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York, 1962), pp. 116–18.
11. For Śiva's penances, see Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 30; and B. Masthanaiah, *The Temples of Mukhalingam* (New Delhi, 1978), pp. 59, 63.
12. See P. R. Ramachandra Rao, *Alampur* (Hyderabad, 1977), fig. 10.
13. An exception would be the image on the Madhukēśvara Temple of a kneeling devotee on either side of Ekapāda.
14. For references to tribal deities and the relation of Nṣimha to Śaivism, see Anncharlott Eschmann, "Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa: The Śakta and Śaiva Typology," and "The Vaiṣṇava Typology of Hinduization and the Origin of Jagannātha," in *The Cult of Jagannātha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, ed. Eschmann et al., pp. 79–117. Although Ms. Eschmann compares Nṣimha to the Liṅgodbhavamūrti motif of Śiva, the latter motif is rare in Orissa. In the single example from the Śimhanātha Temple, Śiva does not burst from the *liṅga* (flaming pillar). The pillarlike Ekapāda form of Bhairava would seem to be a more apt comparison because of the frequency of its occurrence as a major iconographic motif.
15. The practice of setting up *liṅgas* to represent dead teachers, and also, possibly, the posting of an "auspicious pillar" at the time of the erection of a new structure, appears to be related to the ancient Greek practice of setting up Agueus pillars before the door. Votive wreaths were frequently placed near the top of the pillar and images of Apollo sometimes decorated the base. A *hekate*, or semihumanized column, with maidens at the base on three sides (representing phases of the moon), may have been set up as a companion pillar at the entrance to the home. For illustrations and more information on the Agueus pillar, see Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis* (Cleveland, 1962), pp. 406–12.
16. The Bhikṣāṇamūrti disappears as a major motif after the tenth century.
17. See Banerjea, *Hindu Iconography*, p. 452.
18. Rāmacandra Kaulācāra, *Śilpa Prakāśa*, trans. Alice Boner and Sadāśiva Rath Śarmā (Leiden, 1966), p. 78.



FIG. 1. Tāleśvara Temple, Bhubaneswar.
Eighth century.

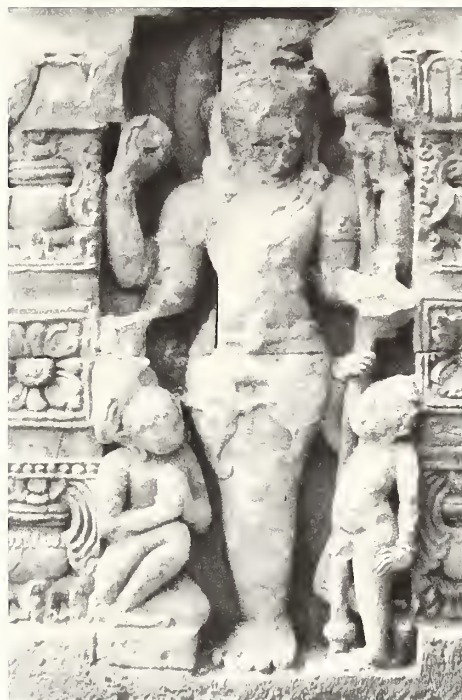


FIG. 2. Mārkaṇḍeyaśvara Temple,
Bhubaneswar. Eighth century.



FIG. 3. Śiśireśvara Temple, Bhubaneswar.
Eighth century.



FIG. 4. Madhukēśvara Temple,
Mukhalingam. Ninth century.



FIG. 5. Dakhinesvara Śiva Temple, Badgaon.
Mid-ninth century.



FIG. 6. Mallikēśvara Temple, Paikapada.
Late ninth century.



FIG. 7. Patalesvara Temple, Paikapada. Late
ninth century.



FIG. 8. Śiṃhanātha Temple, Śiṃhanātha.
Late ninth century.



FIG. 9. Mallikeśvara Temple, Padmapur. Ninth century.



FIG. 10. Mallikarjuna Temple, Jayati. Tenth century.



FIG. 11. Khejūreśvara Temple, Shergarh. Tenth century.



FIG. 12. Damaged Aja-Ekapāda relief, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Eleventh century.



FIG. 13. Someśvara Temple,
Mukhalimam. Tenth century.



FIG. 14. Chausat Yoginī *pīṭha*,
Hirapur. Tenth century.



FIG. 15. Sanctum of buried shrine,
Kuṇḍeśvara. Tenth century.



FIG. 16. Aja-Ekapāda relief,
Koinsārigarh. Now in Baripāda
Museum, Baripāda. Tenth century.



FIG. 17. Brahmeśvara Temple,
Bhubaneswar. Eleventh century.



FIG. 18. Valukeśvara Temple,
Bhubaneswar. Eleventh century.



FIG. 19. Somanātha Temple,
Ghorodia. Eleventh century.



FIG. 20. Kosaleśvara Temple,
Kosaleśvara. Fourteenth century.



FIG. 21. Pāpanāsinī Temple,
Bhubaneswar. Fifteenth century.



FIG. 22. Durgā Temple, Baideswar. Ninth century.



FIG. 23. Pūrṇeśvara Śiva Temple, Bhillideuli. Twelfth century.



FIG. 24. Vaitāl Deul, miniature *rekhā*-shrine, Bhubaneswar. Tenth century.



FIG. 25. Memorial stone, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Eleventh century.

BĪṬHŪ: INDIVIDUALITY AND IDIOM

BY MICHAEL W. MEISTER

A ŚIVA TEMPLE IN THE VILLAGE OF BĪṬHŪ, PĀLI District, Rajasthan, provides important evidence for the process of differentiation and diffusion of architectural and artistic styles in western India in the early eighth century A.D. For the purposes of this discussion, I have accepted M. A. Dhaky's identification of two broad stylistic groupings in western India in this period. These groupings, which Dhaky calls "Mahā-Māru" and "Mahā-Gurjara," correspond to specific geographic regions; Bīṭhū occupies a border between the two.¹ While the primary purpose of this article is to document a neglected monument, I will also try to illustrate how the temple contributes to our understanding of the interaction of style and idiom in India.

"Style" is defined here as an accumulation of general characteristics that reflect a broad cultural grouping; in India, "styles" generally coalesced as the result of political hegemony, changing with political power. "Idiom," by contrast, represents local traditions rooted in the work of local artisans, traditions which endure even as political authority shifts or declines. If the term "style" generally describes an average of local idioms, it can also denote a generative force in art, one which affects and influences the craftsmen responsible for idioms; and though idioms may absorb the general characteristics of a style, they remain essentially cumulative and self-defining. I see idiom and style as independent rather than dependent variables, however much they may interact. Both are embodied at Bīṭhū in a monument whose artisans and architect have been idiosyncratic in their appropriation of style to idiom. This process of appropriation, which transforms idioms and stimulates the development of new styles, can best be seen in a monument whose craftsmanship is of a high order, but that is geographically isolated from the centers of different styles. Such a monument is the Śiva Temple at Bīṭhū.

D. R. Bhandarkar, deputy superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, visited Bīṭhū in 1912.² In his report he suggested a date for the temple, the tenth century, with which I disagree. Two photographs taken by Bhandarkar in 1912 show the temple already in ruins (figs. 2, 3). They record evidence that has subsequently been destroyed. In Bhandarkar's day, broad, open porches on the north, west, and south faces of the structure, leading into an ambulatory path surrounding the

interior sanctum, were still intact (figs. 1, 2). On the east, a vestibule with two rows of pillars in front of the inner shrine connected the main temple (*mūlaprāsāda*) to the remains of a closed, pillared hall (*gūḍhamanḍapa*), identified by Bhandarkar as a larger fourth porch. The masonry walls of this *gūḍhamanḍapa*, visible in Bhandarkar's 1912 photograph, have since vanished; a slab, set in the wall and apparently ready for an inscription, can be seen to the left (fig. 3). Mouldings uncovered since Bhandarkar's visit to the temple show that the transition from the main shrine to the closed hall was marked by replacement of the semicircular (*kalaśa*) moulding of the main shrine with a *vedikā* pattern of small pillarets with niches between (fig. 6).

The temple as it stands today shows no signs of a superstructure. In 1912, however, fragments of the superstructure still survived (fig. 3). Some of these pieces show the ornamental web pattern (*jāla*) typical of Nāgara, or North Indian, architecture. These represent either part of a *latina* (banded, curvilinear) Nāgara tower or part of a *śiṃhakarṇa* (complex mesh) pediment, such as can be seen on the faces of the *phāṃsanā* (tiered, pyramidal) superstructure of the ninth-century temple at Auwa.³ Corner *āmalakas* (ribbed stones) visible in figure 3, however, suggest the presence of a *latina* tower for the temple at Bīṭhū, probably with corner *śṛṅgas* (miniature sub-towers) over the corner piers of the temple's ambulatory wall.

Since Bhandarkar's visit, the porches have been destroyed and the broad openings on the south, west, and north filled in, obscuring the open, light-filled nature of the original shrine (compare figs. 2 and 4). Framing these openings were narrow slablike segments of wall set against the corner piers of the shrine, two pilasters, short segments of a low *vedikā*-fence, and the central projecting four-pillared porch (figs. 1, 2). The porch projections, except for a partially preserved segment on the west (fig. 5), are no longer in evidence, and it is not possible to determine whether these were used as entries or functioned as balconies opening from the interior. In other surviving examples of *sāṃdhāra*, or enclosed ambulatory temples, however, such openings were walled in with a low *vedikā*-fence that acted as support for seat slabs and a seat back (in some cases the openings are closed in above with a perforated *jālī*-screen).⁴

The configuration of these openings links the temple at Bīṭhū to a small group of other *sāndhāra* temples in western India ranging in date from the seventh through the ninth century. That temples in this group can be included in both Mahā-Māru and Mahā-Gurjara style groups suggests that this mode of construction, while apparently characteristic of western India, was not limited to use in a single style. (By “mode” I refer to a type or configuration of building—*latina* and *phāṃsanā* are other examples—that can be used by an architect regardless of the style in which he works.) Characteristic are the narrow segments of wall which frame the broad openings, the open space between the side pilasters and the central *catuṣkī* (four-pillared projection), and the *catuṣkī* itself. *Sāndhāra* temples elsewhere in western India do not display this configuration; they have instead a projection four pillars wide, with no framing wall segments to set the balcony off from the masonry corner piers.⁵

This sequence of related *sāndhāra* temples in western India begins with the shrine to Śiva at Kusumā, Sirohi District (ca. 636), and includes the Mahāvīra Temple at Osiāñ, Jodhpur District (ca. 775); the Sūrya Temple at Varman, Sirohi District (ca. 875); and the Viṣṇu Temple at Khed, Barmer District (ca. 900). Two other temples, the Sun Temple at Varman and the Mahāvīra Temple at Ghanerao (dated 954), represent developments within the Mahā-Gurjara style of the type first found at Kusumā.⁶ The two early *sāndhāra* temples at Chittorgarh in eastern Rajasthan, the Kālikā and Kumbhaśyāma (ca. late seventh and early eighth centuries), do not fall into this group; they follow separate conventions—for example, the four-pillared porches noted above.⁷

All of the later *sāndhāra* temples named above have square interior sanctums (*garbhagrha*) that have central niches on the faces of their outer walls (fig. 1). Only the late temple at Khed has abandoned this feature for the more typical, offset plan of a Nāgara shrine. Kusumā, Bīṭhū, Osiāñ, Varman, and Ghanerao also share a certain abruptness in the transition between *mūlaprāsāda* and *gūḍhamanḍapa*.⁸ In these temples, the path for ambulation surrounding the square sanctum is enclosed by corner masonry piers, offset, with niches on the exterior and with porches or balcony openings set between (figs. 1, 3, 4). At Kusumā, the *mūlaprāsāda* is attached directly to a truncated *gūḍhamanḍapa*, rectangular in plan. At Bīṭhū (fig. 1), a very short *kapilī*-wall connects the *mūlaprāsāda* to the *gūḍhamanḍapa*. At Osiāñ, the *gūḍhamanḍapa* is square, with projecting balconies blocked off into subsidiary shrines; it has a *mukhamanḍapa* (single-aisled, open porch) with a

mukhacatuṣkī (four-pillared entry porch) in front. At Varman, the *gūḍhamanḍapa* is again rectangular with offset corner piers; it too has both a *mukhamanḍapa* and *mukhacatuṣkī*. The tenth-century Mahāvīra Temple at Ghanerao, like the seventh-century Śiva shrine at Kusumā, truncates the *gūḍhamanḍapa*; the front corners of the *mūlaprāsāda* act as the transition to the projecting porches of the rectangular *gūḍhamanḍapa*, and the plan again shows the presence of both *mukhamanḍapa* and *mukhacatuṣkī*. At Khed, the *gūḍhamanḍapa* is square, but the corners of the *mūlaprāsāda* and *gūḍhamanḍapa* are attached directly to each other with no *kapilī* transition whatsoever. The porches on either side of the *gūḍhamanḍapa* at Khed mimic those on the *mūlaprāsāda*; both employ wall slabs set against the corner piers to frame the central openings, side pilasters, and the central projecting *catuṣkī*.⁹

Though the ground plans discussed above show variations as well as developmental consistency, this group of *sāndhāra* temples represents a single, stylistically flexible “mode.” Idiosyncratic and regional, limited to the western portion of western India, this mode of *sāndhāra* temple is found in both of the styles common to that region. Kusumā and Varman are Mahā-Gurjara; Osiāñ and Khed are Mahā-Māru. Varman continues Mahā-Gurjara features found a century and a half earlier at Kusumā; and both temples represent a Sirohi idiom. Bīṭhū, on the other hand, shares stylistic traits with some Mahā-Māru temples (those at Osiāñ, for example) but is only idiomatically linked with the ninth-century temple at Auwa in the same district.¹⁰

The *mūlaprāsāda* mouldings at Bīṭhū (fig. 7) consist of *khura*-hoof, tall, sharply vertical *kumbha*-foot, pot-shaped *kalaśa*, and crowning *kapotapālī*-hood (the latter ornamented with *candraśālā*, “cow’s-eye”-like motifs, and with *lūpa*-buds beneath). The absence of a broad recess between *kapotapālī* and *kalaśa* is characteristic of Mahā-Māru, as opposed to Mahā-Gurjara, temples. The *gūḍhamanḍapa* mouldings replace *kalaśa* with a bold *vedikā* pattern of small pillarets with arched niches between (fig. 6).

The masonry corner piers of the ambulatory walls of the Bīṭhū temple have central *bhadra* projections with a small niche on each face (figs. 1, 4). A band carved in the *ghanṭāmālā* (garland-with-bells) pattern survives only in fragments at the top of these piers. The definition of the corners of the piers as pilasters, set off from the projecting *bhadrās*, is unusual (figs. 1, 4). Note the separation of the corners of the piers from the central projections;

because of the damaged state of the outer walls, these pilaster forms are not immediately apparent. Also eccentric is the way in which the *khura*-hoof of the wall mouldings on the corners slopes out to form a square basement for each pier (figs. 4, 7; fig. 1, left side). This is a feature which, to my knowledge, can be found on only one early brick structure in western India.¹¹

The small niches set on the *bhadra* faces of the corner piers have broad lotus-petal bases (figs. 4, 8–10). The three surviving niches contain images from a set of *dikpālas* (guardians of the directions): on the northwest corner, facing west, is a standing image of Varuṇa, noose in hand (fig. 8); on the northwest corner, facing north, is Vāyu, with a gazelle behind him and a billowing scarf around his shoulders (fig. 9); on the northeast corner, facing north, is a much mutilated image of Candramā, the moon god (fig. 10). The stocky but essentially graceful style of these images is helpful in establishing an early eighth-century date for the Bīṭhū temple, as are some of the iconographic features they display. For example, the scarf, a sign of Vāyu, the wind god, appears also on the image of the water god Varuṇa, suggesting that iconographic conventions known from later sets of images were not yet fully fixed. Candramā does not form part of the standard *dikpāla* set known from the mid-eighth century onward (Kubera replaces Candramā on the northeast corner in such sets). The moon god's image is, however, found associated with *dikpāla* sets on the walls of seventh-century temples at Ālampur in Andhra Pradesh and on the late seventh-century Kālikā Temple at Chittorgarh in eastern Rajasthan.¹²

The broad central openings at Bīṭhū incorporate the *vedikā*-fence pattern between the framing pilasters and the projecting porch (figs. 2, 5). A seat slab and sloping seat backs would have originally appeared above this fencing. The *vedikā*-slabs rest on top of stone blocks that are ornamented with double-volutes at top and bottom, with an octagonal neck in between (it is interesting to see actual blocks here, since these are transformed into a decorative pattern on later structures). Projecting beam ends ornamented with elephant busts support the broad *kapotapālī*-edged slabs that form the floor of the central projecting porches (fig. 2). Large *udgama*-pediments decorate the *kumbha*-front beneath the *vedikā*-fencing (fig. 3).

The porches at Bīṭhū face, and once allowed light to illuminate, large niches set into broad central projections (*bhadrās*) on the wall of the inner sanctum (figs. 1, 14, 15). These projections are framed by wall pilasters, as on the *karṇa* (corner) piers of the outer

enclosing walls. In his report, Bhandarkar commented that these are

too large . . . to be strictly called a 'niche' and [give] rise to the suspicion that they were originally three doors closed up afterwards and that the temple like many Jaina Chaumukhas was composed of four doors with four corresponding porches. But a careful inspection has failed to detect any signs of such closing up.¹³

These large niches, which act almost as subsidiary shrines, are typical of this series of *sāndhāra* temples.

All three of the niches are now empty but show elaborate and fanciful framing bands of ornament. At the base of these bands are small groups of attendant figures (fig. 14), usually female, positioned beneath a parasol held by a dwarf attendant, and a *dvārapāla*, or male door-guardian. The three bands that frame these doorways consist of an inner band of foliate swirls; a band of *nāgas* (snakes), whose heads form hoods over the heads of the female attendants below and whose bodies appear as a series of buds; and a final, enclosing band of creepers springing from the navels of small creatures at the base. At the center, over each niche's doorway, a small figure of Viṣṇu rides on Garuḍa, his bird-mount. Garuḍa holds the tails of the two snakes which form the *nāga* band.¹⁴

Above these major niches, broad *udgama*-pediments of interlocking *candraśālās* frame small projecting niches on each side (figs. 15–17). Beneath each pediment are beam ends decorated with lion busts (separated by a checker pattern), a lotus-petal support, and a band of *mālā* (garland) loops that enclose half-lotuses. The niches preserve images of Lakulīṣa, Sūrya, and Śiva/Pārvaṭī. On the south, Lakulīṣa, a Śaivite saint of the second century A.D., is shown seated with two attendants, his hands in a teaching gesture. He holds a staff in the crook of his right arm, is ithyphallic, and his knees are supported by a *yogapaṭṭa*-band (fig. 17). On the west, the sun god Sūrya, depicted with a vest and cape, drawn-up knees, and lotuses in both hands, sits above his charioteer (fig. 15). Two large female figures representing dusk and dawn stand to either side. Tiny figures of his attendants, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, sit on either side. Below, a diminutive figure of Sūrya's charioteer drives seven horses, which act as a base for the image. On the north, Śiva sits on Nandi, his bull-mount, with his wife Pārvaṭī seated on his left knee (fig. 16). His two upper hands hold staff and trident, while his lower hands embrace Pārvaṭī. In the pediment above, two geese pecking at a lotus mimic the curve of the *candraśālās* behind them. This exuberant ornamental conceit is typical of the

playful mastery found throughout the Bīṭhū shrine.¹⁵

The ceiling of the ambulatory path has beams that cross from the corners of the inner shrine to the corners of the enclosing wall. Other beams cross from above the pilasters on either side of the shrine-wall niches to the two inner porch pillars. These beams are supported by elaborate brackets (figs. 11, 12). Above the central porch pillars (fig. 12), bold four-armed *kumāra* figures hold up a series of architectural elements. An ornamented cushion supports a small pavilion made up of a *kapotapālī*-edged base and roofing slabs, with pillarets set in front (the latter are now missing, but their sockets are visible). Above these pavilions, simple roll-brackets and a lotus-edged slab hold up the crossing ceiling beams. Inside the pavilions, noble atlantid figures crouch in twisted tension, taut yet seemingly unburdened (figs. 12, 13).

Lintels above the broad ambulatory openings leading to the porch projections are also decorated with small niches supported by tiny flying figures (fig. 12). These niches are occupied by a variety of unidentifiable celestial couples. Piled-pot pillars support the pediments above these niches.

The bold, simple order of pillar found throughout the temple can best be seen in the double row of pillars that stand at the main, or eastern, entrance to the shrine (fig. 18). Square, with set-in corners, these represent a very early type of offset pillar. Each pillar stands on a simple base consisting of *kumbha* and *kalasa* mouldings. The lower part of each pillar's shaft had been left undecorated, but many now show pilgrims' graffiti. On the upper part of each shaft a lotus roundel appears, stenciled in a way that is reminiscent of similar patterns on pillars from the temple at Kansuāñ near Kota (dated 738).¹⁶ Above this roundel, a band of half-lotuses supports a heavy vase with overflowing foliage; long pearl chains at the corners fall well below the bottom of the vase in a manner reminiscent of pearl-decorated pillars inside the Śaivite *matha* (monastery) at Menāl.¹⁷ At the top of the pillar, an octagonal necking, with leaf-drops forming the edges of the octagon, supports a block decorated with foliate volutes. A *bharaṇa* (fluted member) supports a heavy bracket-capital above. The lintels over these pillars, facing into the *gūḍhamanḍapa* (fig. 18), show atlantid figures holding up brackets which once supported beams that spanned the *gūḍhamanḍapa* ceiling (fig. 3). These lintels carry a series of small niches with paired figures, as do the lintels in the ambulatory (fig. 13).

The ceiling of the area just in front of the sanctum

doorway is particularly remarkable (fig. 19). Its pattern of crossbeams is suggestive of wood workmanship; the beams' surfaces are covered with foliage and the points of juncture marked by open lotuses. The coffers formed by these crossbeams frame *gandharva* musicians and garland-bearers on the sides, lotuses at the corners, and a large panel with a flying *vidyādhara* couple at the center (fig. 19). Though now covered with unsightly paint, these figures remind one of figures from Ajanta—fleshy but still buoyant—and other examples of figural sculpture from the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period. The wooden quality of this ceiling, the crossbeams in the ambulatory, and several other references to wooden construction are commonly found in temples dating to the seventh and early eighth centuries. It should be noted, however, that they are not found in temples dating from later periods.

On the east, the shrine door (fig. 21) helps to define and distinguish the sacred entry without overweighing or trivializing it. Bold blocks ornamented with now quite mutilated lions support the jambs. The doorsill shows *nāgas* holding water pots to either side of a central floral block. Bands surrounding the door occur in this order: first a thin foliate band; a *bhūṭamālā* (garland of dwarfs dancing and playing musical instruments); a *rūpastambha* (pilaster ornamented with tall niches containing loving couples); and finally a thin floral band. An additional *rūpaśākhā* has niches containing actively engaged loving couples (fig. 20). The lintel supported by the *stambhaśākhās* shows a series of niches with superstructures made up of cornice layers and crowned by *āmalakas*. These niches house divine couples (fig. 23): Brahmā with his consort (left), Śiva with Pārvaī (center), Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī (right), Gaṇeśa and his consort (far left), and Kubera with his consort (far right). The recesses between the niches are also filled with a miscellany of fighting, conversing, and loving couples. The upper band of the outermost *rūpaśākhās* shows *gandharva* couples interspersed with *kīrtimukha*-masks. A central panel shows two figures lustrating a Śiva *liṅgam*.

Angularly posed females and *dvarapāla* couples under lotus umbrellas stand at the base of the doorjambs (fig. 21). To either side of the doorjambs are two pilasters with large images of female attendants set against them (fig. 22).¹⁸

At the very top, over the doorway (fig. 23), sit nine figures against a plain background. These are the nine planets (*navagrahas*), presented in a sequence that begins with Sūrya and ends with Rāhu and Ketu (one is shown as a mask, the other with a snake's body). Few other doorways so carefully draw atten-

tion to these figures, though the set of planets does become a standard feature on the doorways of a number of later western Indian temples.

The sculptural elegance of Bīṭhū belies the temple's current isolation. When first constructed the temple must have been an important shrine. The political history of this region in the early decades of the eighth century—the probable period of the temple's construction—has not been fully worked out.¹⁹ The Pratihāra rulers of Mandor (near present-day Jodhpur) had been a regional power of some consequence for over a century and a half, but they were shaken by the onslaught of Islamic forces from Sind early in the eighth century. "Gurjara"-Pratihāras, a clan originally from the Jālora region, came to prominence in this period by rallying a confederation of regional princes to throw back the Islamic invasion. Although an inscription informs us that they were once forced by marauding Rāṣṭrakūṣas to flee into the desert, the clan rose to a position of regional power in the eighth century and to imperial power in the next century, when they ruled northern India from Kannauj.

The Mandor Pratihāras seem the most likely patrons for the temple at Bīṭhū. Bauka's Jodhpur inscription of v.s. 894 records that his ancestor Śīluka, of the Mandor line of Pratihāras, "had a tank excavated, a city established, and the lofty temple of Siddheśvāra Mahādeva constructed at the holy place called Trētā."²⁰ This temple cannot be identified, but the construction of the temple at Bīṭhū is probably contemporary with Śīluka's reign. Another possibility for patronage is, of course, the Gurjara-Pratihāras themselves. We have seen that they extended their power into the Māru region of Rajasthan soon after their defeat of the Islamic invaders. But it should be noted that the Mandor Pratihāras remained as feudatories in the region into the next century.

Stylistic parallels for the Bīṭhū temple can be seen in the early eighth-century subshrines at Menāl; the first Sūrya Temple at Osiāñ (that located on the

Sacciyamātā Hill, which is probably early eighth century); temple fragments from Mandor itself; the Kālikāmātā Temple at Chittorgarh (ca. late seventh century); and the dated (738) but plain temple at Kansuāñ.²¹ The Bīṭhū temple shares a number of particular features with the Mahāvīra Temple at Osiāñ, said to have been constructed in the time of Vatsarāja Pratihāra (ca. 775); it seems, however, less fully developed in all respects.²² These temples fall within Dhaky's Mahā-Māru stylistic category, to which the Bīṭhū temple can also be linked. Its "idiom," however, seems to relate only to the ninth-century temple at Auwa, which is also in the Pāli District. Bīṭhū and Auwa share a quality of craftsmanship more frequently observed in some of the Mahā-Gurjara temples to the south.²³

It seems to me that mutation is a feature of idioms, not styles. Change occurs at the microlevel of craftsmen working on specific monuments. We can rarely approach that level in our analyses of Indian architecture. We more frequently deal with averages—"periods," "period styles"—in our attempts to provide dates for monuments. A monument as individual in its formulation as that at Bīṭhū, however, must raise questions of gradation. How are characteristics combined, and how are they transmitted? What is the function of region, and how subtly can regional gradations be determined? If the temple at Bīṭhū shows certain architectural features that link it to other Mahā-Māru temples, it also shows sculptural and decorative qualities that reveal Mahā-Gurjara characteristics known from southern Rajasthan and northern Gujarat. Such characteristics also appear at other Mahā-Māru sites (Osiāñ, for example), but in particular temples only; and the structural and decorative relationships differ from those at Bīṭhū. The balance of characteristics at Bīṭhū represents a particular, localized idiom. How that idiom may have been linked to idioms surrounding it, and through them to broader styles, has been the primary focus of this analysis.

Notes

1. M. A. Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. Pramod Chandra (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 114–65. See also the map on p. 119. I would particularly like to thank the Thakur and Thakurani of Bīṭhū, who have taken care of the Mahādēva Temple over the years, for their hospitality during my visit to Bīṭhū in 1972.
2. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, For the year ending 31st March 1912*, pp. 56–57. Bhandarkar took several photographs of the temple "dedicated to Akalnāth" and one of a memorial stone dated V.S. 1330 A.D. 1273 (neg. no. 3838). A report on the latter takes up almost half of his brief discussion of the site. M. A. Dhaky, "Genesis and Development," pp. 150–51, briefly refers to the temple on the basis of one of Bhandarkar's photographs. He calls the temple the "Viṣṇu temple, Bīṭhū," dates it to ca. 900, and classifies it "Mahā-Gurjara style, Arbuda school" (but "with Mahā-Māru inflexion").
3. M. A. Dhaky, "The Old Temple at Lamba and Kāmeśvara Temple, Auwa," *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta* 8 (1966): 145–48. Michael W. Meister, "Phāṃsanā in Western India," *Artibus Asiae* 38 (1976): 184–85, figs. 27, 28.
4. At Ālampur, in Andhra Pradesh, the earliest of the seventh-century *sāndhāra* temples there, the Kumāra Brahma, has cardinal openings in the ambulatory wall that are framed by half-pillars, with two central pillars and with perforated screens between; no porch projects. (See Odile Divakaran, "Les Temples d'Ālampur et de ses Environs au Temps des Čālukya de Bādāmi," *Arts Asiatiques* 24 [1971]: 76, figs. 3, 4). Later in the seventh century at Ālampur, some temples place images between the central pillars, in front of the perforated screen, and project a two-pillared porch in front of these (ibid., figs. 7, 8, 17, 22, 27, 35, 64). The Padma Brahma (fig. 36) projects porches that are four pillars wide. At Chittorgarh, in eastern Rajasthan, the Kālikā and Kumbhaśyāma temples have projecting open balconies, four pillars wide (O. Viennot, *Temples de l'Inde centrale et occidentale* [Paris, 1976], figs. 204, 209). The ninth-century Mālade Temple at Gyāraspur in central India uses solid projections simulating a broad balcony (Michael W. Meister, "Jaina Temples in Central India," in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky [Ahmedabad, 1975], p. 237, fig. 3; Viennot, *Temples de l'Inde*, fig. 227). Khajurāho temples in the tenth and eleventh centuries project broad balconies, with four supports beneath the seat slabs but only two pillars at the corners above (Krishna Deva, "The Temples of Khajuraho in Central India," *Ancient India* 15 [1959]: pls. XXV, XXX).
5. Plans of the Kālikā and Kumbhaśyāma temples will be published in my monograph on "Chittor: Style and Idiom in the Art of Upamāla," still in preparation. For photographs, see Viennot, *Temples de l'Inde*, figs. 204–12. The sanctums of these two temples are offset, in Nāgara fashion, unlike the square sanctums at Kusumā, Bīṭhū, Osiān (Mahāvīra Temple), and Varman. (Square sanctums are also found in the early temples at Ālampur; see Divakaran, "Les Temples d'Ālampur," figs. 3, 17.)
6. Kusumā: Michael W. Meister, "A Field Report on Temples at Kusumā," *Archives of Asian Art* 29 (1975–76): 23–46; Osiān: M. A. Dhaky, "Some Early Jain Temples in Western India," in *Shri Mahavira Jain Vidyalyaya Golden Jubilee Volume* (Bombay, 1968), pp. 312–27; Varman: M. A. Dhaky, "Brahmāṇasvāmī Temple at Varman," *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda) 14 (1965): 381–87; Khed: ASI, WC, *Progress Report*, pp. 55–56; Ghanerao: Dhaky, "Some Early Jain Temples," pp. 328–32.
7. See n. 4 above.
8. For ground plans of Kusumā, Osiān, Varman, and Ghanerao, see the articles cited in n. 6 above.
9. The Khed temple is remarkably archaistic, as if this type had particular significance to the builders. The temple has yet to be published in detail; see Dhaky's brief comments in "Genesis and Development," pp. 155–56 and fig. 91.
10. See n. 6 above. Dhaky, "Genesis and Development," pp. 150–51, links Bīṭhū with Kusumā and Varman.
11. I know of such battering elsewhere only in the mouldings of a brick temple, possibly of the sixth or seventh century, recently excavated at Kaivan near Baroda in Gujarat.
12. George Michell, "The Regents of the Directions of Space: A Set of Sculptural Panels from Ālampur," *aarp* 4 (1973): 80–86; the full set appears on the Śiva Temple at Indor, in central India (mid-eighth century), and on the Harihara Temple no. 1 at Osiān (about the same period).
13. Bhandarkar, ASI, WC, *Progress Report*, p. 56.
14. Gauḍa, enemy of the *nāgas*, also acts as Viṣṇu's vehicle. In this instance, the *nāga*-band has led to the use of Garuḍa and Viṣṇu as a decorative motif on this Śaivite temple. Such a seemingly incongruous usage is seen also above the doorways of two clearly Śaivite, early eighth-century subshrines at Menāl, Chittorgarh District (O. Viennot, "Un Type rare de Temple à trois Chappelles au Site d'Āmvān (Rājasthān)," *Arts Asiatiques* 26 [1973]: 125–56, fig. 18).
15. Such expressive and playful plastic ornament is seen also on the Menāl subshrines.
16. Michael W. Meister, "Forest and Cave: Temples at Candrabhāgā and Kansuān," *Archives of Asian Art* 34 (1981): 56–73 and fig. 18e.
17. Ibid., fig. 16.
18. Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture* (Calcutta, 1933), comments on the "Westernmost School" of medieval sculpture that "a strained motion . . . in its nervy elegance overstresses the curves, so that they have a tendency to become angular. Limbs and body are bent with the tension of a bow from which an arrow is just about to fly off" (p. 106). With reference to an early sixth-century panel from Nagarī, near Chittor, she comments that "the decisive linear accent [and] a concave stiffness, of the legs, with knees stretched [is] distinct from contemporary sculpture in other parts of the country" (p. 172).
19. The controversies concerning this period can be found in R. C. Majumdar, ed., *The Age of Imperial Kannauj and The Struggle for Empire*, History and Culture of the Indian People, vols. 4 and 5 (Bombay, 1955 and 1957); and Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages* (Bikaner, 1966). I accept the latter's association of the Gurjara-Pratihāras with Jālor rather than Ujjain.

20. *Epigraphia Indica*, 18:98, v. 20.
21. See references given in nn. 6, 14, and 16 above. At Mandor, the capital of the Brahman-descended line of Pratihāras, fragments of monuments from several periods survive (D. R. Bhandarkar, Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report, 1905–1906* [Calcutta, 1906], pp. 136ff.). One pillar, now in the Mandor Museum, shows an atlantid which particularly resembles those at Bīṭhū.
22. Osiān: see n. 6 above. An inscription of v.s. 1013/AD 956 attributes the Mahāvīra Temple to Vatsarāja's reign (Puran Chand Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions*, pt. 1 [Calcutta, 1918], pp. 192ff.). The *Harivamśa*, dated 783–784, provides a fixed date for the reign of Vatsarāja.

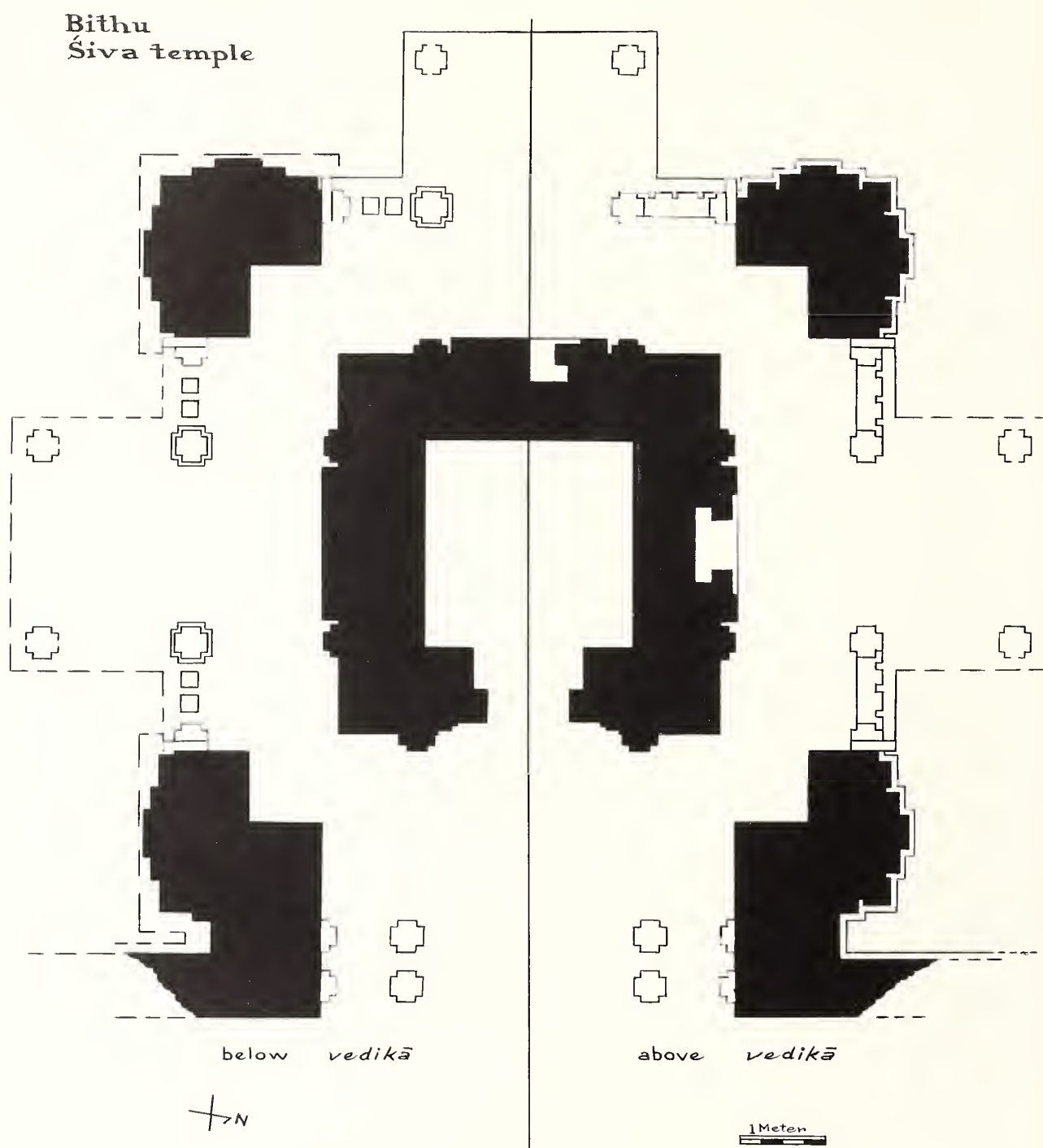


FIG. 1. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū, Pāli District, Rajasthan. Ground plan. (Author's drawing.)



FIG. 2. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. North view in 1912. (Photograph, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, neg. no. 3866.)



FIG. 3. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. East view in 1912. (Photograph, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, neg. no. 3836.)



FIG. 4. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. North view in 1972. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 5. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. Remains of the west porch, view from northwest. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 6. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. North wall, *vedibandha* mouldings, juncture between *gūḍhamanḍapa* and *mūlaprāsāda*. (Author's photograph.)

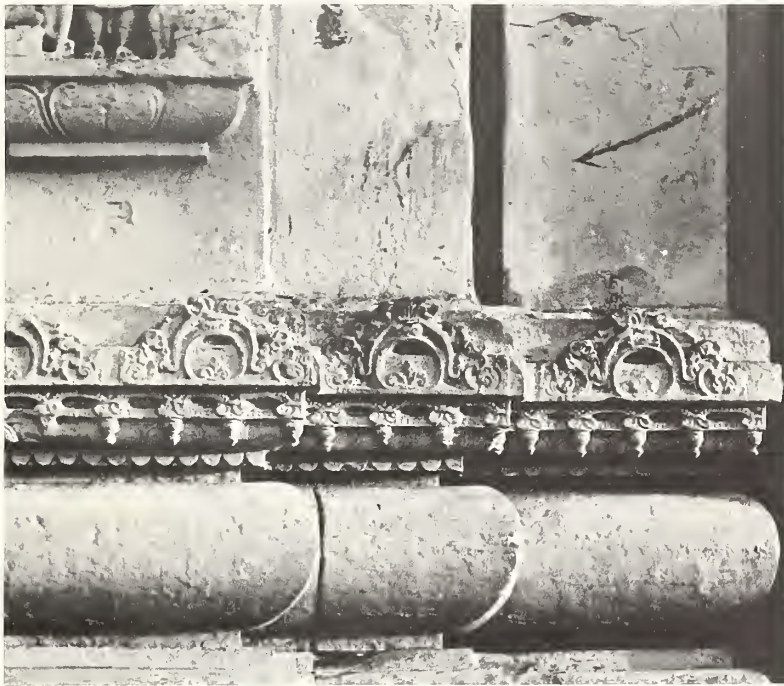


FIG. 7. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. Northeast corner, north wall, *vedibandha* mouldings. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 8. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū.
Mūlaprāsāda, west wall, northwest corner.
Image of Varuṇa in niche. (Author's
photograph.)



FIG. 9. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū.
Mūlaprāsāda, north wall, northwest corner.
Image of Vāyu. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 10. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū.
Mūlaprāsāda, north wall, northeast corner.
Image of Candramā. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 11. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. *Mūlaprāsāda*, interior ambulatory path, north side. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 12. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū.
Mūlaprāsāda, north ambulatory. *Kumarā*
bracket and atlantid. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 13. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. *Mūlaprāsāda*, north ambulatory. Atlantiid figure and niches on lintel. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 14. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. *Garbhagṛha* niche facing into west ambulatory. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 15. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. *Garbhagṛha* niche facing into west ambulatory. Detail of pediment enclosing image of Sūrya. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 16. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. *Garbhagṛha* niche facing into north ambulatory. Detail of pediment enclosing image of Umā-Maheśvara. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 17. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. *Garbhagṛha* niche facing into west ambulatory. Detail of pediment enclosing image of Lakulīṣa. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 18. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. East entrance. (Author's photograph.)

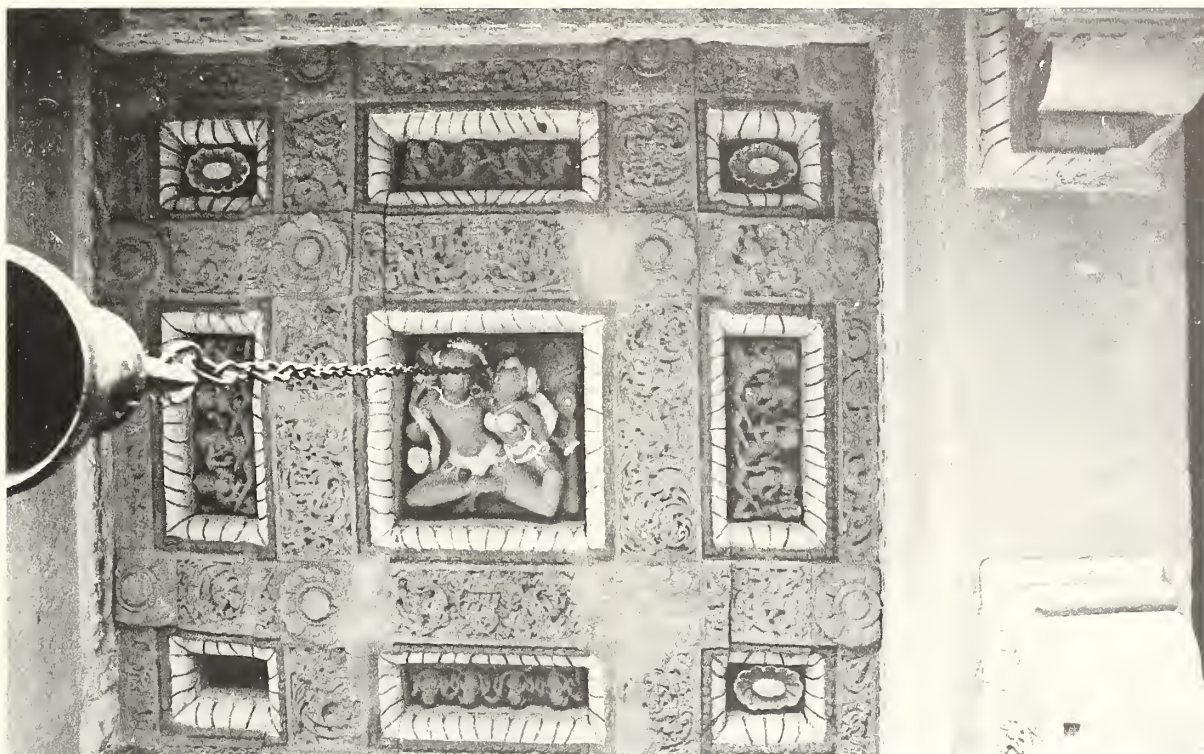


FIG. 19. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. East entrance, ceiling over *antarāla*-space in front of sanctum doorway. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 20. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. Detail of sanctum doorway. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 21. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. Sanctum doorway, detail of figures at the base of right-hand doorjamb. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 22. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. East entry, female figure on pilaster to right of sanctum doorway. (Author's photograph.)



FIG. 23. Mahādeva Temple, Bīṭhū. Sanctum doorway, detail of overdoor. (Author's photograph.)

BOOK REVIEWS

Die Madrasa des Kalifen al-Mustansir in Baghdad: Eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung der ersten universalen Rechtshochschule des Islam. Mit einer Abhandlung über den sogenannten Palast in der Zitadelle in Baghdad. By Hansjörg Schmid. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad, Bagh-dader Forschungen, vol. 3. 124 + xii pp., 18 plans, 157 figs. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1980. DM 180.

As one of Abbasid Baghdad's few extant buildings, the Madrasah al-Mustanşirīyah, formally opened in 1234 by the Caliph al-Mustanşir, is of the foremost importance. It represents the last stages of a long architectural development that was centered in Baghdad but which must now be studied through its reflections in the architecture of the eastern provinces of the Caliphate. As an institution, the Madrasah al-Mustanşirīyah was the first religious college founded for all four of the canonical Sunni schools of law, and it is primarily for this reason that Dr. Schmid has chosen it for an architectural study of great technical value.

The building underwent a brutal reconstruction between 1945 and 1960, confronting Schmid with an edifice whose original details are very difficult to ascertain. Undaunted, he prepared carefully measured plans and elevations of the entire building *as it now stands* and systematically compared the dimensions of corresponding parts of the structure in order to minimize errors introduced by the reconstruction and to determine how the plan was transferred from paper to reality. Given the present state of the Mustanşirīyah, this was an ingenious and elegant method of investigation, and its results are thoroughly documented in the many drawings and photographs reproduced in this volume.

No less valuable than the documentation is Schmid's detailed reconstruction of the process of planning and construction, in which he shows how the plan and elevation were generated. The impatient reader may chafe at the author's recurring methodological commentary and his passion for description, but he cannot but thank him for the clarity with which he has presented his architectural evidence.

Schmid is interested principally in the possibility that the building's novel function influenced its planning, and he demonstrates that the *madrasah* was designed specifically for four groups of occupants that shared certain common facilities. But a misguided attempt to identify the use of every chamber has led him to some strange conclusions, especially regarding the difficult northern quadrant. According to Schmid's description, the kitchen would have vented smoke into a vaulted hallway and a stairwell (pp. 59–60), and there is simply no way of determining the precise function of the rooms in the area he identifies as the hospital (pp. 60–61). Schmid over-interprets the Arabic texts that describe caliphal visits to

the *madrasah* and mistakenly identifies Room 2a, for instance, as a caliphal chamber. The caliph is far more likely to have observed events within the *madrasah* from the curious niche in the second-story back wall of the northwest iwan-hall, which Schmid would have us believe was a storage cabinet. And Schmid has assigned the four schools to the four quadrants of the building in an order (pp. 51ff.) that defies the obvious meaning of the texts.¹

The author's belief that the original plan was altered because of new caliphal requirements also leads to some curious arguments (pp. 62, 92–93). None of these objections undermines his architectural analysis or his general conclusions about the *madrasah*'s internal organization. But Schmid uses these conclusions to exhume the old controversy over the origin of the four-iwan *madrasah* plan, whose point of departure was the simplistic notion that *madrasahs* were given four axial iwan-halls in order to serve the four legal schools, or, in modified form, the idea that a building with axial iwan-halls must have been so designed for functional reasons.² The four-iwan problem is irrelevant to the Mustanşirīyah, which occupies an unusually narrow site and was designed accordingly, as Schmid shows. A better formal and functional analysis of *madrasah* plans would make more convincing Schmid's identification on formal grounds of the so-called Abbasid Palace in the Citadel of Baghdad as the Madrasah al-Bishrīyah. Further textual and topographic proof is needed on this point. Could it not have been a *ribāṭ* (hostel) or a *khānaqāh* (convent)?

Dr. Schmid might better have extended his perceptive but all too brief analysis of the Mustanşirīyah's decoration and aesthetic effects (pp. 33–34, regarding surfaces that appear to have been reconstructed almost entirely). All the photographs of the *madrasah* reproduced here show the building after its reconstruction, which has left it with a lifeless appearance. Schmid provides no critique of the reconstruction, nor does he reproduce any prereconstruction photographs, which show how badly damaged the building was before it was rebuilt.³ The architect's use of volume to offset the basically planar conception of the building's façades is apparent, and as Schmid shows, the appearance of the building was as important to its design as were its functional constraints. But how was the Mustanşirīyah meant to be seen? Was it a routine product of its age? Here the decoration of the Abbasid "Palace" is undoubtedly relevant. But these are matters for another book, and for such research Dr. Schmid's documentation and architectural analysis are likely to remain indispensable.

Notes

1. Correctly interpreted in K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1952–59), 2:126.

2. Ibid., pp. 104–34; cf. Janine Sourdel-Thomine, “La mosquée et la madrasa,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 13 (1970): 97–115, esp. pp. 114–15. The plans of buildings at Bust, Afghanistan, are also relevant here. See Daniel Schlumberger, Janine Sourdel-Thomine, et al., *Lashkari Bazar: Une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, vol. 18 (Paris, 1978).
3. Prerestoration photographs of the Mustansiriyyah are to be found in: Gurgis Awad, “The Mustansiriyyah College, Baghdad,” *Sumer* 1 (1945): 12–25 and plates; L. de Beylié, *Prome et Samara: Voyage archéologique en Birmanie et en Mésopotamie* (Paris, 1907), figs. 19, 20; Nāḥi Maʿrūf, *Al-madrasah al-mustansiriyyah* (Baghdad, 1345/1935); Louis Massignon, “Les medreschs de Bagdad,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 7 (1910): 77–86 and two plates (not useful); Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1911–20), vol. 4, pls. 129, 130; and H. Viollet, “L’architecture musulmane du XIII^e siècle en Irak,” *Revue Archéologique*, 4th ser. 21 (1913): 1–18 (the best source).

TERRY ALLEN

Siraf III: The Congregational Mosque and other mosques from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. By David Whitehouse. 58 + viii pp., 33 line drawings including folding plan and section, 12 plates. London: British Institute of Persian Studies, 1980.

Siraf lies on the Gulf coast of Iran, 240 kilometers southeast of Bushire. Now occupied only by a village (Tahiri), in the eighth to eleventh centuries Siraf was the principal entrepot of the Persian Gulf. In the tenth century it was nearly as large as Shiraz and boasted the richest merchants and the finest houses in the Gulf region. The British Institute of Persian Studies surveyed and excavated the ruins of Siraf and its vicinity in seven seasons between 1966 and 1973. In this fascicule, the first of a projected series of seventeen, David Whitehouse, the director of the excavations, presents the religious architecture of the site in the clear and handsome format familiar to readers of *Iran*, in which the preliminary reports appeared.

Siraf may well be the most carefully excavated and recorded Islamic site in Iran, and the Congregational Mosque provides some of the most important pieces of archaeological evidence for early Abbasid Iran yet discovered—not perhaps for its architecture, but certainly for the enormous deposit sealed in the raised platform on which the mosque was constructed. Because of the care with which the building has been excavated the ceramic evidence from this deposit is most valuable, and while the present fascicule does not touch on the ceramics, it revises the dating of the deposit proposed in previous publications.

The original congregational mosque was a rectangular structure, 51 m. long and 44 m. wide, built on a platform 2 m. high. The plan consisted of a square *ṣaḥn* surrounded by a single *riwāq* on three sides and with a sanctuary three bays deep. The earliest *miḥrāb* was a shallow niche or a plaque; later a rectangular salient

was added, presumably for a larger niche. The mosque had an axial entrance at the NE end, on one side of which stood a minaret. (p. 8)

It was built of rubble and cut sandstone and is likely to have been flat-roofed. This original mosque (Period 1) was torn down and rebuilt in an expanded form, in the same technique. From the rebuilt mosque (Period 2) several decorated stucco merlons survive, of particular interest for the historian of architecture. (A drawing of other fragments, which appears as fig. 10, is at the scale of 1:40, not 1:20 as labeled.) The Period 2 mosque underwent later repairs and alterations that did not change its basic form. Almost certainly it did not have columns of teak, as reported by the geographer Yaqut (see p. 23 for the plausible solution to this puzzle).

The Period 1 and Period 2 mosques are dated by coins found in their respective foundation deposits, which totaled nearly 3,500 cubic meters and were carefully examined by the excavators. In an earlier article, Whitehouse dated the construction of the Period 1 platform to 825–850 on the basis of a preliminary stylistic analysis of the “numerous” lead coins contained in it.¹ These coins have now been studied more closely, and Whitehouse reports that according to Mr. Nicholas Lowick, who will publish them in a future fascicule,

the legible examples included 15 coins struck in the names of two officials, Maṣṣūr and Bū Ḥasan, some of which bear the date 188 803–4. These, however, are not necessarily the latest lead coins from the original filling, and the rubble core of the steps by which one entered the mosque yielded a *dirham* of al-Maʾmūn, minted in 199 814–5. . . . While a flight of steps undoubtedly existed in period 1, it was not certain that the surviving steps were original. In any case, given the uncertainty about the date of the latest lead coins, we suggest that the congregational mosque was completed c. 210 825, although others may prefer a date closer to c. 200 815. (pp. 8–9)

The Period 2 mosque is dated by the deposit underlying the expanded platform and the new floor, which yielded no coins later than those of Period 1. Apparently, the Period 1 mosque was rebuilt almost as soon as—or even before—it was completed. Whitehouse with good reason suggests that faulty preparation of the foundations and their subsequent shifting required the reconstruction (p. 9); it would be interesting to know if an earthquake may have hastened the original building’s presumed structural failure.

A good deal rests on the dating of Period 1. The history of Islamic architecture will not be greatly affected by a change of a few decades in the dating of the Period 1 mosque, but for the chronology of Islamic ceramics, addressed in Whitehouse’s earlier article on glazed pottery, the date of construction is crucial, since some of the wares found at Samarra appear in the foundation deposit and others do not. Two points may be added to Whitehouse’s discussion of this matter. First, with regard to the sherds counts and absence of certain wares, remarked in Whitehouse’s essay on glazed pottery, the platform fill need not have been composed of material contemporary with the

construction of the mosque. A building superintendent or contractor faced with the necessity of procuring 3,500 cubic meters of fill—presumably relatively clean fill—may well have directed his workers to mine rubbish heaps that were several decades old and therefore suitably decomposed. Second, the fact that the latest datable coins are all of the lowest denomination and all of the same year suggests, to me at least, that they were dropped by the workmen and that they may be taken as indicating not a *terminus post quem* but a *terminus ad quem*. The platform of the Period I mosque could then be dated to within a few years of 188/804, with a reconstruction (including the steps?) not long thereafter. If the foundation fill was deposited in 804, Whitehouse's chronology of "Samarra" ware would have to be put back by twenty to forty-five years. These matters surely will be addressed at greater length in future fascicules dealing with ceramics and numismatics, and if the present volume is any indication, they will be dealt with fully and accurately.

The small mosques published along with the Congregational Mosque form an interesting and (because the site seems to have been surveyed thoroughly) presumably typical set. The mosque at Site F (pp. 38ff.) is notable because it is set in a residential block at a skew to the neighboring buildings, its standard plan intact. These mosques may be compared with similar contemporary structures recorded in Arabia.² Siraf's smaller mosques are described with the same conscientious attention to detail that makes the report on the Congregational Mosque of such value.

Siraf III sets a high standard for the series it introduces and justifies the method of publishing extensive preliminary reports and a comprehensive and largely descriptive final report. It presents the evidence bearing on the subject at hand and leaves other issues to their appropriate fascicules, which are anticipated keenly.

Notes

1. David Whitehouse, "Islamic glazed pottery in Iraq and the Persian Gulf: the ninth and tenth centuries," *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 39 (1979): 45–61.
2. Reports of the Darb Zubaydah survey, by different authors, in various numbers of *Atlat: the Journal of Saudi Arabian Archaeology* 1–4 (1977–80). On Site F, see also David Whitehouse, "The House of Siraf, Iran," *Archaeology* 24 (1971): 255–62.

TERRY ALLEN

Kalādarśana: American Studies in the Art of India. Edited by Joanna G. Williams. 182 pp., diagrams, plans, plates, index. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., in collaboration with the American Institute of Indian Studies, 1981. Rs. 150.00.

The seventeen essays that constitute this volume were solicited, we are told, from American scholars with a record of publication and a Ph.D. degree. They are broadly

analyzed by the editor, Dr. Joanna Williams, in an introduction which includes her own thoughts on the "state of the discipline" of Indian art history. Dr. Williams characterizes as novel the authors' "concern with the circumstances of the image as a means of understanding it in the terms of the period" (p. vi), and she appears to contrast this attitude with that of Indian scholars, who "often prefer to stress some virtue other than innovation" (p. vii). While stressing the desirability of studying art in its context, she at the same time concedes that Western writing (is it permissible to speak in these terms anymore?) may reflect ideas about a work of art not necessarily "shared by much of the ancient Indian audience that we seek to understand" (p. vii). "Ultimately," she goes on to say, "the study of Indian art by Americans tells us about ourselves and our own assumptions" (p. vii). It is not quite clear whether she considers this an unfortunate shortcoming requiring realization by scholars before work can progress or a goal worthy of realization in and of itself.

I also note with some concern the editor's statements that "it is easier to describe where the discipline [the study of Indian art] might go than where it has been" (p. v; is it easier to foretell the future than to recount the immediate past?); that "these essays involve at least some looking at the images and buildings considered" (p. vii; is just "some" looking enough for the study of art?); and that "some received ideas may possibly be correct" (p. vii; does this mean that most of them are probably wrong?). One is not so much faced with the question of agreeing or disagreeing with the purport of these editorial comments outright as with discovering what the author's point of emphasis with respect to any one of them is. I yield to none in my conviction that it is extremely important to understand art in its context—practical, sociological, metaphysical, or otherwise—but I am also equally certain that it is obligatory for the historian of art to attempt a full and intrinsic understanding of the work of art itself before attempting to place it in a meaningful relationship with other branches of knowledge. The desire to be original is worthwhile, but innovation for its own sake is likely to throw us into grievous error.

As for the essays themselves, within the space of a review I can do little more than note the majority of them briefly, singling out a few for somewhat more detailed examination in order to communicate my general views about the kinds of scholarship which are found in other essays of the volume. Dr. Frederick Asher, in the opening article, considers Pañcāyatana *liṅgas*, not as expressions of a harmonious relationship between the worshippers of Śiva and those of other divinities, but as expressions of Śaiva dominance. Among reasons adduced is the positioning of Śiva's heads over those of other divinities. The author is struck in particular by the fierce head of the god placed above that of Viṣṇu in two images, this to him being a sure indication of the sculptor's intention to underscore "the rivalry between the devotees of the two principal deities" (p. 2). No reasons are given for this conclusion, and it seems to me to be quite unconvincing. The assumption that the placing of one image above another *ipso facto*

implies a relationship of superiority and inferiority cannot be accepted unless proof is produced, and this is not done. Conclusions of this kind, proceeding from unwarranted premises, I am sorry to say also mar otherwise fine essays in the volume. While on the one hand giving art objects considerable weight in proving Śaiva dominance, Dr. Asher disregards what they may have to say in other respects. Thus, a variety of the Pañcāyatana *līṅga* from eastern India, according to him, is not to be connected with Smārta worship as J. N. Banerjea originally thought. The reason Asher adduces is that Smārtas are not known to have flourished in that part of the country. I would tend to think, on the contrary, that the very existence of these images should go far in proving the prevalence of this or similar cults in the area where these images are found. At least the student of art, it would seem to me, must give primacy to the concrete evidence of the object rather than to the presence or absence of textual or other evidence.

In another iconographic study, Dr. Doris Srinivasan attempts to make a significant connection between what she calls early "kinship triads" (images of Balarāma-Ekānaṁśā-Kṛṣṇa) and "brahmanic reverence to ancestral spirits" (p. 131). That Gaya was the most holy center for the performance of *śrāddha* does not, however, explain the occurrence of a single image of this type from Devangarh, about forty miles away. Dr. Susan Huntington attempts to identify an image on the Arjuna Ratha at Mahabalipuram as that of Śāstā-Aiyanār. Here the procedure seems to be one of presenting an *omnium gatherum* of every conceivable argument, some of which border on the frivolous, such as "in relation to the Pallavas, it is also interesting that apparently one of Śāstā's attributes is the *pallava* ('sprout')" (p. 63). Dr. Hiram Woodward makes a welcome attempt to understand some aspects of Buddhist symbolism in the context of Vedic literature. This kind of work was brilliantly developed by Ananda Coomaraswamy and Paul Mus but has not been seriously pursued since, probably because scholars with their vast command of every kind of relevant learning (including history, art, religion, literature, and languages), so necessary for such an undertaking, are nowadays so very few and far between. Dr. John Huntington's cautious explanation of the interior arrangements of Cave 6 at Aurangabad, by recourse to Shingon Buddhism, illustrates the manner in which Buddhism outside India can help one to understand Indian monuments when indigenous sources are of little help.

In his study of Karnatak sculpture of the later medieval period, Dr. Robert Del Bonta makes the interesting observation that the exquisite bracket figures of the Cennakeśava Temple at Belur are not part of the original decorative scheme. He then forces the evidence of the inscriptions which identify the sculptors and their places of residence to suggest, implausibly, that artists did not travel to work at kingdoms other than their own. Dr. Walter Spink, in an eloquently worded account of the caves at Ajanta, buttresses his previously established short chronology (ca. A.D. 460–480) by reference to an obscure struggle between the Vākāṭaka feudatory chiefs of Ṛṣika

and Aśmaka, a struggle he resurrects from a brief reference in an Ajanta inscription. I am unable to judge if he is correct or not, but it does seem to me that on the whole he overly subordinates the production of art to political circumstance. The death of a king, the occurrence of a battle, the fall of a dynasty, all are seen by him to have an immediate negative impact, which is not always as certain as it may superficially seem. One need only recall the young emperor Akbar, who had just inherited a weak, fragmented empire recaptured by his father after years of exile, proceeding to fight a succession of great wars in the early part of his reign but able, nevertheless, during the same period to build the great fort of Agra and the city of Fatehpur-Sikri and to support the painting of the *Hamzanāma*. Given the political circumstances, he should not have been able to do any of these things, but there is irrefutable proof that he did.

Among studies of southern Indian art, the interesting and reasoned account of the *dhūlīcītas* of Kerala by Dr. Clifford Jones helps us greatly in understanding some aspects of southern Indian painting. Dr. Gary Schwindler contends that southern Indian sculpture developed in a "dynamic, non-linear manner" (p. 93), but the preliminary evidence presented is admittedly sketchy. The existence of local idioms in the south, very much in the manner of the schools of northern India, is generally accepted.

Among those who devote themselves in this volume to architectural problems is Dr. Michael Meister, who studies the plan of the Muṇḍeśvarī Temple on the basis of what is on his own admission an *ad hominem* and in my view an extraordinarily speculative manner. To explain types of temple plans, he not only makes capricious geometrical analyses but also resorts to superficial ideas about the Indian view of the universe—as a square and subsequently a circle under the influence of Western astronomy. Dr. Donald Stadtner, on the other hand, gives a sensible, straightforward account of temples of Kosala with a stellate plan, an account free of needless theorizing and flights of fanciful geometry. Though Kosala was supposedly a relatively isolated area, it would be well to remember that the country straddled one of the main roads from north to south. Dr. Gary Tartakov argues carefully, forcefully, and with precise documentation against the existence of flat-roofed temples and the commonly predicated line of evolution from such temples to those with *śikharas*. Dr. Thomas Donaldson suggests a plausible development for the various elements of the axial plan of the Orissan temple, but his attempts to explain these in terms of the history of the *devadāsī* establishment and temple ritual are not satisfactory. Dr. Joanna Williams proves that timber architecture did not have a basic role in shaping the Gupta stone or brick temple as it has survived to us, a proposition to which there should be no opposition.

Dr. Wayne Begley, in the only article on architecture of the Islamic period, analyzes inscriptions of three mosques of Shāh Jahān, the placement of which he feels was "undoubtedly authorized" by the emperor. Dr. Begley does

not give us any reasons for this assertion, however. The emperor's "overweening vanity," "personal psychological makeup," and mysticism are seen as the source of an attempt to create a "literal paradise on earth." Fortunately, Dr. Begley emphasizes the tentative nature of his findings, all the evidence not yet being in.

In the single article on Indian painting, aside from Dr. Jones's contribution, Dr. Ellen Smart argues that the emperor Akbar was a dyslexic, the victim of a malady that renders one unable to transform writing into words and vice versa. Be that as it may, she proceeds to the startling assertion that the large number of pictures produced during his reign were compensation for Akbar's inability to read or write. I do not see the connection at all; one does not need to be a dyslexic in order to be fond of pictures. One may as well argue that Akbar must have been deaf, the pictures being visual compensation for an inability to hear. Even more fantastic is the assertion that the portraits painted during his reign were also due to Akbar's inability to read or write, for with their help he could, with his extraordinary memory, recall "any required information when making decisions about posting men at various positions throughout the empire" (p. 104). If he had an extraordinary memory, he would surely have been able to judge competence and character without portraits or "a file of written records." Truly, this kind of scholarship tells us more about ourselves, our assumptions, and our times than it does about Akbar, his period, and its paintings.

The various essays in the book often contain information likely to be of use to students of Indian art. Photographic documentation of objects not previously available is always welcome, even though the reproduction here is often poor. The attempt, however, of many of the authors of this book to force their evidence to yield some "original" or innovative conclusion vitiates the quality of their contributions. James Burgess, writing in the opening years of the twentieth century, cautioned us against antiquaries of the "Meurice or Stukeley type, who first formed theories more fantastical than natural and then tried to make both fact and inscription support them."¹ It seems that the warning bears repeating. We must be on guard against ourselves and our times as well.

Notes

1. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, extra no. for 1905, p. 133.

PRAMOD CHANDRA

Barabudur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument. Edited by Luis O. Gómez and Hiram W. Woodward, Jr. Berkeley Buddhist Series, no. 2. 253 pp., 32 plates, 6 text figures, maps, plans, bibliography of textual sources, index. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1981. \$20.00.

This book is a stimulating collection of essays by nine

eminent scholars of religion and art. The result of the International Conference on Borobudur, held 16–17 May 1974 at The University of Michigan, the papers are solid and scholarly, and if the variety of opinions they express inclines the reader to despair of ever reaching a definitive conclusion about the meaning of Barabudur, he can nonetheless console himself with the fact that the effort is so pleasurable and that he has learned so much from the profusion of fact and speculation these papers offer.

The volume opens with a useful introduction by the editors summarizing European knowledge of Barabudur, beginning with its discovery and concluding with suggestions for future research. The footnotes contain excellent bibliographical information.

The first two articles are the only ones concerned exclusively with matters that normally preoccupy the art historian, dating and style. The first, "The *Dvārapāla* of Barabudur: New Evidence for the Date of the Foundation of the Monument," by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, is a tightly constructed argument about the dating of the earliest work at Barabudur, based on the dating of the single extant *dvārapāla* from the monastery (now in the National Museum, Bangkok). On the basis of stylistic comparisons, the author argues that the image dates from A.D. 765–775. Assuming that the monastery to which the *dvārapāla* belonged must have preceded the main monument, she concludes that the date of the *dvārapāla* is an indication of when preliminary work was begun at Barabudur. This dating is well in keeping with the chronology recently proposed by Dumarçay for the various stages of construction at Barabudur.¹

The second article, "The Date of Barabudur in Relation to Other Central Javanese Monuments," by Joanna Williams, is an attempt—based on a consideration of certain architectural details—to establish a relative chronology for a number of Javanese monuments. While specifics may not interest the general reader, the results are clearly presented in a summary table. As the author notes, they remain to be tested by other similar studies.

The remaining seven articles all deal with the religious meaning of Barabudur. For purposes of discussion it is easiest to begin with Jan Fontein's article, "Notes on the *Jātakas* and *Avadānas* of Barabudur," because in contrast to the other articles, which concentrate on the monument as a whole, it discusses the meaning of specific relief scenes. Fontein begins with an acknowledgment of the limitations of any study that endeavors to relate given reliefs at Barabudur to specific texts; there always seem to be gnawing discrepancies between the written and sculptured records. Fontein argues that closer cooperation between philologists and art historians is needed. He then reviews the conclusions of P. S. Jaini (in a 1966 article) regarding one relief sequence and details his own unsuccessful efforts to locate exact written models for other reliefs. He raises two points which suggest to me another theory, namely, oral transmission—a possibility acknowledged only by Gómez among the authors of this volume (p. 194, n. 48). Fontein notes that later local texts are often useful in studying earlier monuments (p. 92) and that the repertoire

of *jātakas* at Barabudūr has parallels at other sites as distant as Ajanṭā, Qyzil, and Chula Pathon in Thailand (pp. 101, 103). Oral transmission could explain both these facts; it would also explain Fontein's observation that written and sculptured records differ, the sculptured record often appearing to draw on two different traditions in the written texts. Later written material would apply to earlier monuments because it preserves earlier oral tradition. Different sites would follow similar patterns but diverge in detail, and written and sculptured records would differ precisely because an oral corpus of stories would be far more fluid than any written document. The stories would be laid down in bold outline but would be protean in detail and submotif. The quest for the single written text—or even multiple written versions—underlying Barabudūr, and the attempt to draw conclusions about the religious affiliations of the monument from such information, would be in vain. A more fruitful question would concern the process of story selection: given the large number of tales, why was only a small fraction of the total ever depicted in art?

Among the papers dealing with the overall significance of the monument, that by veteran scholar of Indonesian art A. J. Bernet Kempers is a brief discussion of the "Mystery" of the monument, of Barabudūr as meeting place of the Holy with Man. The concepts expressed in the article—Barabudūr as the three *dhātus*, as *stūpa*, and as *yantra*—will be familiar to readers from Gómez and Woodward's introduction. Woodward's article, "Barabudūr as *Stūpa*," expands the oft-held opinion that Barabudūr is a variant of the ancient *stūpa*. In a stimulating discussion it explores the meaning of the *stūpa* from three viewpoints, cosmological, philosophical, and memorial, drawing on the *Avatamsaka* material treated in greater detail by Gómez and on some conclusions of Wayman in this same volume.

J. G. de Casparis, in "The Dual Nature of Barabudūr," proposes yet another interpretation. The article is a restatement of ideas the author put forth in 1950, relating Barabudūr to a *Kamūlān i bhūmisambhāra* mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 842. He admits that the etymology *bhūmisambhāra-bhūdharma*: Barabudūr is not without problems and then goes on to connect the monument with the inscription of Ratubaka, A.D. 792. There is a problem with all of this: de Casparis is misreading the Ratubaka inscription. He asserts (p. 69) that the first verse of the inscription praises the "'Cosmic Mountain of the Perfect Buddhas' (*samvuddha-sumeru*)."¹ In fact, the verse is a perfectly conventional benedictory verse involving a complex metaphor. The verse praises the Buddha, who is like Sumeru, the cosmic mountain. This error leads to others. The word *dhātu* does not refer to relics, and thus to a *stūpa*, as de Casparis contends (p. 70); it refers to the mineral deposits conventionally associated with mountains in Sanskrit literature. The compound *sadvākyadhātūjjvala* in verse one thus means something like "glowing with mineral deposits in the form of truthful pronouncements." Similarly, verses two and three are also conventional images in Sanskrit literature. That

these are common images and not specific allusions to Barabudūr can be seen from comparison with Buddhist and Jain texts, in which extended metaphors in benedictory verses are common and the specific comparison of the Buddha or Jina to Sumeru is amply attested.² Despite these problems, there is much in de Casparis's article that is of interest, and the possibility that the monument represents in fact the body of the Buddha as the cosmic mountain, complete with all the images de Casparis describes, remains intriguing.

Luis Gómez's article, "Observations on the Role of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* in the Design of Barabudūr," and Alex Wayman's "Reflections on the Theory of Barabudūr as a *Maṇḍala*" are both detailed accounts that rely closely on texts. Gómez is admirably restrained and aware of the limitations of his theory; at the same time he offers an explanation that is stimulating and reasoned. Wayman's article is the most complex in the volume; it is impossible to do it justice here. It offers several suggestions for identifying the *maṇḍala*, pointing out the possibility of sub-*maṇḍalas* as well. Wayman utilizes Vajravarman's commentary to the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*. Unfortunately, though his account is tantalizing, full details of the exact correspondences of the *maṇḍalas* of that text to Barabudūr are not always provided. Wayman also draws on the two Shingon *maṇḍalas* of Japan, and it is not entirely clear why he chose the text he did over the texts commonly associated with Shingon and treated as relevant to Barabudūr by Ryusho Hikata.³ Wayman draws on a variety of other sources, making his article a veritable encyclopedia of certain Buddhist concepts. Lewis Lancaster's article, "Literary Sources for a Study of Barabudūr," suggests further texts to be explored in the quest for the meaning of Barabudūr.

There is only one final comment I would make. Despite the divergence in their views, all our authors seem agreed that there is an overall conception to Barabudūr and that continued search for the text that explains it will prove fruitful. They do not seem to entertain the possibility that Barabudūr, constructed, as it was, in stages, is not governed by any single religious conception. This is in fact the conclusion Dumarçay has reached, urging us to reject all hypotheses that the monument follows some pre-arranged scheme.⁴ Dumarçay also returns to the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyanikan*, the Javanese text that our authors reject as irrelevant but which earlier writers utilized. And so it seems we have come full circle. Barabudūr remains as mysterious and provocative as ever.

Notes

1. Jacques Dumarçay, *Borobudur* (Kuala Lumpur, 1978), p. 4.
2. Benedictory verses in Candrakīrti's commentary to the *Madhyamakaśāstra*, *Avadānakalpalatā*, v. 2; for the Jina as Sumeru, see *Sthavirāvalīcarita* of Hemacandra, 1.32; and *Bhaktāmaraśtotra* of Mānatūṅgasuri, v. 30.
3. Ryusho Hikata, "On the Significance of Barabudūr Edifice," *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda) 15 (1965): 8–33.

4. Dumarçay, *Borobudur*, p. 42.

PHYLLIS GRANOFF

The Great Bronze Age of China: An Exhibition from the People's Republic of China. Edited by Wen Fong. 401 pp., 120 color plates, 130 figures in text, 10 maps, 2 tables. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980. £20.

This substantial catalogue is the record of a major exhibition of early Chinese art which traveled to five American cities in 1980 and 1981. Included among the bronzes and jades of extraordinarily high quality were many newly excavated pieces. The exhibition benefited particularly from its focus on a limited period of time, the Shang and Zhou dynasties, though it also incorporated significant works of the Qin and Han periods. The Shang bronzes and jades from the tomb of Fu Hao, the censer and lamp from the Han tombs at Mancheng, and the terracotta figures from the tomb of Qin Shi Huangdi are among the most important recent archaeological finds to be made in China. The catalogue not only describes these objects but provides a valuable assessment of the contribution they have made to our understanding of the Bronze Age.

The catalogue is lavishly produced, with a color illustration for each piece and in many cases black-and-white illustrations as well (though it is a pity that the photographs of a number of major pieces are spread across two pages). The discussion throughout the text is admirably enriched by maps, diagrams, supplementary photographs of excavation sites, and rubbings and transcriptions of inscriptions. The Metropolitan Museum must be congratulated for supporting so ample a presentation of the material exhibited.

The organization and cataloguing of such a major exhibition called for contributions from a number of scholars whose collaboration is recorded in the many-sided text of *The Great Bronze Age of China*. Because the catalogue proper is preceded by a set of four introductory essays, the volume falls quite naturally into two separate parts. In the catalogue, descriptions of the individual items—often with useful notes on technical features—are accompanied by ten chapters introducing the corresponding periods. These chapters provide a valuable and in many ways original guide to the Bronze Age of China.

The four introductory essays provide a background against which the material is to be viewed. The first essay, by Ma Chengyuan, curator in charge of bronzes at the Shanghai Museum, helps to place the recent archaeological finds in historical perspective. Combining a traditional reliance on textual sources with new archaeological information, his approach is factual and direct. The chronological terms set forth here and employed in the remainder of the book are primarily—but not entirely—archaeologically based. The first half of the Bronze Age, formerly simply equated with the Shang dynasty, is subdivided into the Erlitou phase, the Erligang

(or Zhengzhou) phase, and the Yinxu (or Anyang) period. This division by site allows for the possibility that the Erlitou phase may correspond to the Xia dynasty. The Yinxu period is divided into four successive stages, defined in terms of the reigns of kings. As the phases rest in practice on distinctions in pottery typology, however, it is regrettable that the discussion did not more specifically address the archaeological evidence.¹

In his survey of the bronze vessels, Ma Chengyuan brings up the issue of the content of their ornament, a subject discussed at several points in the volume. Referring to later texts in which such decoration is described and given a meaning, he takes a traditional position that seems to leave unresolved certain questions raised by the last few decades of excavation. Though it may well be that the motifs used on bronzes of the Anyang period at some stage acquired a religious significance, religious interpretations seem unable to account for the emergence of the motifs from ambiguous early patterns, a process eloquently described by Robert Bagley, the author of the Shang and Western Zhou sections of the catalogue. And the view that these motifs had an important symbolic role is difficult to reconcile with the fact of their demise in the abstract patterns used in the latter half of the Western Zhou.

The question of the content of the decoration is but one aspect of the debates that took place between the 1930s and the 1960s on the nature and chronology of the bronze ornament, debates that enlivened but did not always advance the study of the subject. Surveying the controversies with interest and detachment, the editor of the volume, Wen Fong, seeks in the second essay to explain the different methodologies that informed the work of Bernhard Karlgren on the one hand and Ludwig Bachhofer and Max Loehr on the other.

Chang Kwang-chih's contribution is also concerned with theory. In addition to providing a brief survey of the period, Professor Chang sets out a framework of institutions that in his view shaped the development of society during the Bronze Age. His knowledge of anthropology endows Professor Chang's work with a perspective otherwise little represented in the catalogue. The essay also provides welcome translations from the *Book of Odes*.

The author of the last of the four introductory essays, Robert Thorp, meticulously describes the tombs in which many of the bronzes were found and summarizes much information pertinent to the objects in the exhibition. In the face of such a generous provision of diagrams and maps, it is perhaps churlish to express a wish that fuller plans of sites at Zhengzhou, Panlongcheng, and Anyang had been included to show the physical relationship of the burials to the city remains. The chapter offers interesting comments on the different forms of burial, describing changes that coincide with the Zhou conquest of Shang and noting the introduction of burial mounds in the Warring States period, the latter an innovation recognized by Sekino Takeshi as a borrowing from the nomads of the northern steppes.

Dr. Thorp's review of the burials leads logically into the main section of the catalogue. Here the objects have been

divided chronologically into ten groups; the first six are treated by Robert Bagley, the next three by Jenny So, and the last, focusing on the terracotta army of the Qin emperor, by Maxwell Hearn. The catalogue concludes with comments offered by the Chinese committee that supervised the preparation of the exhibition. These were added after most of the work was printed and contain certain major disagreements with the contents of the catalogue.

The exhibition opens with material from the Erlitou phase, a period securely defined archaeologically but not historically. The sites of the Erlitou phase illuminate the crucial transition from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age civilization of the Shang and have yielded the earliest bronze vessels known to date—like the dynamically balanced, if slight, bronze *jue* (no. 1). More impressive are the magnificent jade blades, striking in outline and painstaking in detail (nos. 2, 3). These are important indications of the Erlitou culture's debt to Neolithic cultures of the east coast, where jade working played a prominent role from a very early time.

The catalogue next focuses attention on successive stages of the Shang period, represented not only by the well-known late site of Anyang (chap. 4) but also by Zhengzhou and Panlongcheng (chap. 2). It thus brings to life a stage long known but little appreciated and firmly demonstrates that the achievements of the late Shang must be viewed from a wider chronological and geographical perspective than has been generally acknowledged. The excavations at Panlongcheng are particularly revealing, all the more so because this site, situated on the Yangzi near Wuhan, is so remote from the other major Shang centers in the Yellow River basin. The similarity of the Panlongcheng bronzes to those from Zhengzhou is further proof of the close ties of this distant city with the center of the Shang state.² The explanation for this intimate connection may be that Panlongcheng lies near main waterways across central China and, moreover, is not far from the great copper mines of Tonglūshan. Although there is not yet evidence to show that these mines were worked earlier than Zhou times, the possibility certainly exists, and copper mining in this region would alone have guaranteed a strategic role for the city of Panlongcheng.

In his wide-ranging and informative discussion of bronzes from regional centers in the third section, Robert Bagley has put forward a most far-reaching proposition. Drawing together bronzes with common characteristics from widely scattered sites in Hebei and Anhui provinces, among others, he suggests that these belong to an intervening stage of development between the archaeologically defined Erligang phase and the historical Anyang period. Despite emphatic rejection by the Chinese committee, the merits of this analysis should not be underestimated. Lacking from Zhengzhou and Panlongcheng are the bronzes illustrating the progressive refinement of Erligang-phase designs that would be necessary to connect these with the ornament characteristic of Anyang. Dr. Bagley suggests that the immediate forerunners of Anyang designs are supplied by such bronzes as those from

Gaocheng County in Hebei Province (no. 13) and from Feixi County in Anhui (nos. 15, 16). The likelihood of such an intermediate phase has also lately been recognized by an eminent scholar from the People's Republic. Li Xueqin has drawn attention to the same gap and has noted that such sites as Gaocheng Taixicun might belong in the interval.³

The fourth section deals mainly with the greatest find from the Anyang site of recent years, the tomb of Fu Hao. Thirteen bronzes and jades represent this unprecedented discovery, which shows the remarkable sophistication of early Anyang bronze casting and thereby increases the need for a theory that would allow for further developments between the Erligang phase and the Anyang period. The somewhat overstated Fu Hao bronzes (nos. 28–33) are counterbalanced by the discreet yet striking jades (nos. 34–40), many carved in the round. The only other excavated pieces comparable in size or presence were found at Luoyang.⁴

The Chinese authorities must be especially thanked for allowing the most extraordinary of excavated inscribed Western Zhou bronzes, the *Li gui* and the *He zun* (nos. 41, 42), to be shown outside of China. The *Li gui*, whose inscription refers to the conquest of the Shang by the Zhou, is an object of outstanding documentary significance. More dramatic in appearance is the *He zun*, which bears a long and important but much-debated inscription; epigraphers are generally agreed that it concerns the founding of the secondary Zhou capital at Luoyang.⁵ Both inscriptions provide contemporary evidence for historical events previously known only from later texts.

The inscription of another vessel in the Western Zhou section, the *Zhe guang* (no. 45), is notable for its connection with other inscribed bronzes. The large cache in which it was found (at the village of Zhuangbo in Fufeng County) included the now famous *Shi Qiang pan*, with its inscription of 284 characters recording the history of the Wei family.⁶ Other vessels from the cache, including the *Zhe guang*, were cast by older generations of the same family. It is therefore possible to place the vessels in a secure sequence that helps to resolve some of the most long-standing chronological problems. Since the *Shi Qiang pan* can be dated to the middle Western Zhou, earlier items like the *Zhe guang* can be assigned to the second half of the early Western Zhou.⁷ This assignment in turn resolves the dating of a whole group of related bronzes, including the Freer Gallery's much-discussed *Ling fang yi*.⁸ The author spares the reader the details of the chronological arguments, and in so doing he has perhaps not given an important vessel quite the emphasis it is due.

After these highlights from the early Western Zhou, the exhibition shows the second half of the period in a less flattering light, not quite doing justice to the occasional fine bronzes and fertile inventions that save the period from artistic insignificance. With a different choice of exhibits it would have been possible to make a stronger case for the middle and late Western Zhou, and, indeed, it seems more accurate to regard the decline of bronze casting

as a phenomenon whose impact was more severe in the early Eastern Zhou. This period is unrepresented among the exhibits, allowing Jenny So to begin her section of the catalogue with the products of a late seventh- or sixth-century revival.

Dr. So's presentation is, to a large extent, an account of regional developments. The diversity of this period is at its most striking in two very recent finds, the fifth-century tomb in Sui County and the tombs of the fourth-century Zhongshan kings in Pingshan County, both in Hebei Province. The bronzes from these two sites alone have dramatically expanded the known range of bronzes of the Eastern Zhou. Although these discoveries were too recent to be adequately represented in the exhibition, Jenny So has taken account of both sites in her discussion. The Zhongshan finds in particular are pertinent to one of her most interesting suggestions, namely, that Eastern Zhou bronzes show influences from the northern steppes. This is another argument contested by the Chinese committee, whose position in this case seems particularly difficult to defend. One of the most striking bronzes from the Zhongshan find, an inlaid stand in the shape of a tiger attacking a deer, illustrates the introduction into China of a theme popular among the northern nomads (p. 310) and deriving ultimately from the earliest civilizations of Mesopotamia. Burial mounds, later such a familiar feature of China, were also adopted from steppe practices. One of Jenny So's most acute observations indicates the influence of steppe motifs on the art of Chu in the early second century B.C.: in the decoration of a Mawangdui coffin she has detected a horse with its hindquarters rotated through 180 degrees in the familiar fashion so popular in the Altai (pp. 326-27).⁹

The influence was not all in one direction, however. Some of the animal motifs popular among the nomads from the seventh century onwards, such as the crouching tiger seen in profile, seem to have far earlier precedents in China. Similar tigers are seen, for instance, on the handles of large bronze *ding* in the late Shang and early Western Zhou.¹⁰ Intermittent exchanges between China and her northern and western neighbors must be reckoned with over many centuries; earlier evidence includes the appearance of the chariot in the late Shang¹¹ and the sort of realistic animal motifs found on an early Western Zhou *zhi* from Luoyang¹² and on a *you* of the same period in the Pillsbury Collection.¹³ Dr. So's documentation of such contacts in the Eastern Zhou period thus touches upon a subject of wide-ranging significance.

Among the handful of outstanding bronzes of the Han period included in the exhibition, the hill censor and the lamp in the shape of a kneeling girl show a new interest in realistic representation (nos. 94, 95). The same concern with depiction of the human figure is seen at a slightly earlier and supremely enthusiastic stage in the terracotta figures from pits near the tomb of the first Qin emperor. Maxwell Hearn has managed to avoid most of the superlatives that dog other descriptions of the much-publicized figures. His careful outline of the historical background and his guide to the excavation are supple-

mented by plans taken from the Chinese reports. Especially interesting are the photographs showing details of the figures.

Exhibitions on the scale of *The Great Bronze Age of China* can only be brought into being through the efforts of many individuals whose long hours of work often seem to melt away unrecorded when the exhibit closes. On this occasion the catalogue both enshrines the memory of the exhibition and provides an enduring record of the archaeological and scholarly achievements that it represents.

Notes

1. This fourfold division of the Anyang period is used in the dating of the tombs in the western sector of Anyang, *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 1 (1979), pp. 27-146.
2. Robert W. Bagley, "P'an-lung-ch'eng: A Shang City in Hubei," *Artibus Asiae* 39 (1977): 210-13.
3. *Wenwu*, no. 12 (1979), pp. 72-73.
4. *Wenwu*, no. 12 (1965), p. 37.
5. Li Xueqin, "He zun xin shi," *Zhongyuan wenwu*, no. 1 (1981), pp. 35-59, esp. p. 45.
6. *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1978), pp. 1-18.
7. Li Qiyi, "Wei shi jiazuo tongqi yu Xi Zhou tongqi duandai," *Kaogu*, no. 5 (1978), pp. 314-20, 337; Li Xueqin, "Xi Zhou zhongqi tongqi de zhongyao biaoqi," *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guan kan* 1 (1979): 29-36.
8. Chen Mengjia, "Xi Zhou tongqi duandai" (pt. 2), *Kaogu xuebao* 10 (1955): 86-91; Tang Lan, "Xi Zhou tongqi duandai zhongde 'Kang Gong' wenti," *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 1 (1962), pp. 15-48.
9. *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu*, 2 vols. (Peking, 1973), vol. 2, pl. 33.
10. Rose Kent, "The Tiger Motif: Cultural Transference in the Steppes," in *Arts of the Eurasian Steppelands*, ed. Philip Denwood, *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia*, no. 7 (London, 1978), pp. 75-86.
11. Stuart Piggott, "Chariots in the Caucasus and China," *Antiquity* 48 (1974): 16-24.
12. *Kaogu*, no. 3 (1972), pp. 35-36; pl. 4, fig. 2.
13. Bernhard Karlgren, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred E. Pillsbury Collection* (Minneapolis, 1952), no. 15.

JESSICA RAWSON

Chūgoku kaiga-shi 中國繪畫史 [History of Chinese painting], pt. I. By Suzuki Kei 吉川弘文館. 2 vols., 337 pp., 203 plates, chronology, index. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1981. 18,000 yen.

This is the first part of a three-part history of Chinese painting by the leading Japanese authority of his generation, Suzuki Kei, recently retired from the Institute of Oriental Culture at Tokyo University. It is the first

comprehensive history of Chinese painting to be attempted since Naitō Konan's *Shina kaiga-shi* (1938) and represents a major advance, not only in regard to that book (scarcely a competitor, based, as it was, more on readings of Chinese texts than on serious consideration of paintings), but also in regard to most other earlier Japanese writing in the field. Suzuki properly criticizes some of his predecessors for their faulty connoisseurship and sinological, rather than art-historical, approaches; he himself is pursuing, he writes, the development of expression as well as style in Chinese painting—in this first part, for the periods up to the end of the Northern Sung.

This is not an introductory survey for the general reader; the price alone would frighten off such a reader, and Suzuki's conception of the book as a series of detailed studies, virtually monographs, might be forbidding to those only mildly interested in early Chinese painting and the controversies that surround it. To advanced students or other serious readers, on the other hand, the book offers a great deal that is of value. Suzuki, with scholarly modesty, often opens his treatment of each subject with an account of previous scholarship or some particular recent study. The writings of his students and other younger specialists—Hironobu Kohara, Teisuke Toda, and others—as well as of the commanding figures of the generation that preceded him, Shūjirō Shimada and Yoshiho Yonezawa, are cited and summarized. The book is, then, among other things, a useful guide to recent Japanese scholarship. Suzuki is not so respectful of his elders and youngers as to be uncritical; he can argue for a narrower interpretation of the *i-p'in*, or untrammelled, category of painting than Shimada's famous one or engage in professorial chiding, as when he suspects that Kohara's "head is too filled, recently, with the American scholars' attitudes" of skepticism toward old, established master-works (p. 106). Nevertheless, one senses too often in Suzuki's judicious balancing of viewpoints an excess of caution, a self-effacement that may leave the reader wishing for a strong, consistent, and continuous voice telling us, even in a partial and partisan manner, what really happened in early Chinese painting.

The book opens with a survey of the Chinese literature on painting through the Yüan dynasty and continues with detailed treatments of the early masters and monuments. The basic difficulty in dealing with the early periods, that of reconciling textual evidence with the surviving pictorial material, including recent archaeological finds, Suzuki recognizes and attempts seriously to resolve. At times he seems more concerned with the scholarly issues and arguments than with the paintings, but he subjects some works to careful analysis of a kind rarely found in general histories. His long and detailed discussion of the *Portraits of the Emperors* handscroll attributed to Yen Li-pen is a good example: he reaches the unorthodox but well-argued conclusion that it is a Sung copy, dating prior to the Chia-yu era (1056–1064), of an early T'ang work, originally uncolored but extensively retouched and colored in modern times. His treatment of the several versions of the *Nymph of the Lo River* scroll ascribed to Ku K'ai-chih is

equally thorough, but it arrives (in this reviewer's opinion) at the wrong conclusion: he sees the Liaoning Museum version (convincingly) as a Southern Sung court copy but is disturbed by some "naturalistic" features in it and believes the version in the Freer Gallery, which displays more "antique awkwardness," better preserves the character of the Six Dynasties original. A strong body of opinion has arisen recently which would accord that honor to the Liaoning copy and regard the Freer version as based on the one in the Peking Palace Museum (considered only in passing by Suzuki) and echoing its charming, if anachronistic, Sung archaisms.

Suzuki is at his strongest in those areas of early painting in which he has done original research and publication, such as the landscape tradition of Li Ch'eng and his followers or the growth and organization of the Sung court academies, especially that of Hui-tsung. This first part concludes with a consideration of Northern Sung flower, bird, and animal painting, a section on Li Kung-lin, and treatments of the *Night Revels of Han Hsi-tsai* scroll in Peking (oddly introduced here out of its customary Five Dynasties context) and the Seiryōji *arhat* series. The final section, on the "ink-plays" of the late Northern Sung scholar-artists, is surprisingly brief for a development that would prove so momentous and suffers further from Suzuki's reluctance to accept as genuine any but a very few works of the type. A note at the end apologizing for the hasty completion of the book under pressure of time may account for this brevity of treatment, and we can hope for fuller consideration of the theme in the second part of the work.

The illustrations, all in black and white, which together with the text notes comprise the second volume, are small but on the whole clear and adequate. Most of the choices are familiar, and there are few surprises. The selection reveals the great breadth of Suzuki's acquaintance with collections in China and the United States as well as Japan, the benefit of his frequent travels and especially of the photographic forays he has organized and led to all parts of the world in recent years. The result of these efforts has been the establishment at his institute in Tokyo of the largest photographic archive of Chinese painting in the world. The same breadth informs his text throughout and points up his familiarity with the writings and approaches of foreign as well as Japanese scholars. To this striking expansion of view, which makes a great deal of earlier Japanese writing (however admirable otherwise) seem narrow, the book is a monument. Or rather, one third of a monument; we enthusiastically await the remainder.

I should like here to acknowledge Hiromitsu Kobayashi's valuable advice in the formulation of this review.

JAMES CAHILL

Hōryū-ji: sekai saiko no mokuzō kenchiku 法隆寺：世界最古之木造建築 [Hōryū-ji: the world's oldest timber-frame building]. By Nishioka Tsunekazu 西岡常一

and Miyakami Shigetaka 宮上茂隆, with illustrations by Hozumi Kazuo 穂積和夫. 95 pp., black-and-white line illustrations. Tokyo: Soshisa, 1980. 1,500 yen.

Architecture in the Shoin Style—Japanese Feudal Residences. By Hashimoto Fumio. Japanese Arts Library, no. 10. Introduction and translation by H. Mack Horton. 220 pp., 210 illustrations and plans, color and black-and-white illustrations, bibliography, glossary, index. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1981. \$16.95.

The study of Japanese architecture has been neglected in the West for the last twenty-five years. Despite an almost universal fascination with Japanese buildings, the professional study of this tradition has lagged far behind in the burgeoning expansion of East Asian studies. These two books by Japanese authorities may provide a needed stimulus. They are concerned with fundamental Japanese building forms, and the insight and information they contain have hitherto been hidden behind the language barrier or in the realm of customary, and hence unwritten, building practice.

Hōryū-ji: sekai saiko no mokuzō kenchiku is a collaborative study by a hereditary master carpenter, a doctor of engineering, and a graphic designer. It is a study of the process of constructing Hōryū-ji, the oldest extant Buddhist temple complex in East Asia and a unique exemplar of the principles of early Buddhist architecture. Nishioka, the principal author, belongs to a family of master carpenters which has been employed since the fourteenth century to maintain and rebuild Hōryū-ji. Now seventy-four years of age, Nishioka himself has worked for much of his life on the buildings of Hōryū-ji and on other noted landmarks of the Nara area such as Yakushi-ji. He thus brings to this book incomparable experience in temple construction.

Nishioka notes in the introduction to another work that "for the carpenter the worksite is the best classroom. His skills will not develop with words and textbooks alone. Without experience of good worksites he will not excel as a carpenter."¹ The same comment applies to the student of Japanese architecture, but few have an opportunity to experience a good worksite. Now, however, it is available vicariously through this publication. The only things missing are the sawdust and the sweat.

Nishioka's study is written in Japanese, but the primary language is visual. It features bold technical and narrative illustrations on each page, in the same vein as David Macaulay's award-winning series on such subjects as *Castle*, *Cathedral*, and *Pyramid*. The drawings depict the entire process of establishing the temple, from the selection of the site and the felling of the timbers in the distant mountains to the actual erection of the principal buildings, the *kondō*, or main hall, and the five-story pagoda. Based on Nishioka's immense experience, these drawings reveal the procedures which transform concept to reality and which are determinants of building form that are frequently overlooked or underestimated by

architectural historians because they lack written documentation. If you have ever wondered how a pagoda fits together or how the bracket sets under the eaves work, this book provides the answer. It shows the procedures involved in shaping and assembling the parts of the buildings. At the same time it effortlessly imparts fundamental principles of structure, space, and aesthetics: in the pagoda, the structural primacy of the trabeated wall frame, not the central pillar; the "space-emanating," or sculptural quality of the finished structure; and the particular proportions of roof and wall needed to create the desired visual rhythms.

This book, like those of Macaulay, is written ostensibly for children (the inside jacket information recommends it for sixth-grade elementary and above; I obtained my copy in the children's section of Maruzen) but has the same broader professional and scholarly interest. It is a salutary experience to be made to explain complex or esoteric problems in language that children will understand and to satisfy their innate desire to see how things are put together. In meeting these requirements, the authors have produced a study of Japanese architecture that is more thorough and useful than many works of scholarly repute. The text itself is easy to read and includes phonetic readings for technical terms and place names. The final six pages are devoted to a detailed examination of building materials, structural principles, and the religious purpose of Hōryū-ji; written by Miyakami, this section is a useful supplement to the body of the book.

Hōryū-ji: sekai saiko no mokuzō kenchiku is the first volume of a series entitled "Nipponjin wa dono yō na kenzōbutsu o tsukutte kita ka?," or "What Sort of Buildings Have the Japanese Made?" Forthcoming titles include the *Daibutsuden*, or *Great Buddha Hall*, of Tōdai-ji and a two-volume work on the development of the city of Edo, the forerunner of modern Tokyo. They are eagerly awaited.

Architecture in the Shoin Style is a very different type of book. It is a carefully compiled, smoothly translated study of the primary residential mode in Japanese architecture. Of course, the features and examples discussed should be informed by awareness of building practice as explained in Nishioka's book. The *Shoin Style* forms part of the Japanese Arts Library, a series that makes available in English basic Japanese studies from the journal *Nihon no Bijutsu*. This volume has been translated and adapted for the non-Japanese reader under the general editorship of John M. Rosenfield of Harvard University and includes a general introduction, glossary, and annotated bibliography not contained in the original Japanese publication. Hashimoto's book follows the publication last year of the translation of Suzuki Kakichi's *Early Buddhist Architecture in Japan*, which, together with this book and others in preparation such as *Castle Architecture*, will make possible for the first time adequate college-level study of Japanese architecture using English-language materials.

Hashimoto is a noted specialist on *shoin* architecture who has had a long career associated with the Architecture Department of the Bunka-chō, the Cultural Affairs Agency

of the Japanese government, which is responsible for the study and preservation of historically important buildings. In this book, Hashimoto's in-depth analyses of major examples of the *shoin* mode are set against the pattern formed by the broader evolution of architectural style.

"*Shoin* architecture" is the generic term applied to a wide range of building types which share features that are regarded as "typically Japanese" in the West. These include *tatami* mats, *fusuma* and *shōji* sliding screens, the *tokonoma*, or decorative alcove, and the *chigaidana*, or ornamental shelving. Hashimoto shows that, far more than being simply a collection of these features, the *shoin* is a coherent yet flexible idiom of style expressed with different materials and different nuances of design, an idiom that ranges from the rhetorical bombast of the public audience chambers of the Nijō-jō Palace to the rarified aestheticism of Katsura Detached Palace, from the bucolic rusticism of *minka*, or farmhouses, to the dignified residences of prelates.

The text includes sustained description and analysis of important examples of *shoin* architecture, ranging from early buildings to the masterworks of the Momoyama and early Edo periods. Each section is accompanied by photographs and large, clearly labeled plans conveniently proximate to the relevant portion of the text. Hashimoto reaches sensible conclusions about building dates and provenance. The Audience Hall, Shiroshoin, and Karamon of Nishi Hongan-ji, for example, are reputed to have been moved from Fushimi Castle in the early seventeenth century. Hashimoto points out that "in light of recent research and repairs" these structures are "now believed to have been constructed for the first time at their present location in 1632" (p. 126). It is helpful to find this level of intellectual penetration of problems shrouded in traditional interpretations. It should be pointed out, however, that even more recent research and restoration work on the Karamon, carried out after Hashimoto wrote his original text in 1972, has established that this gateway was originally located at another site and is not a new building of 1632.²

The twenty-page introduction to Hashimoto's text, written by H. Mack Horton, is a model of a scholarly preface aimed at a nonspecialist audience. Horton sketches in the broader background of history and custom while adding important interpretive insights of his own. He points out, for example, that several major monuments traditionally associated with the Momoyama period (1576–1615) belong, in fact, to the Kan'ei era (1624–1644) of the Edo period, which sheds different light on their significance. His translation of the text itself is fluent and accurate. He visited many of the sites himself during the preparation of the translation, and there is little which invites criticism. (Maybe "decorative lintel" would have been a more helpful rendering of the term *uchinori-nageshi* than "frieze rails" [p. 3]; and if the Chinese origin of the *karakafu*, or cusped gable, is suspect [p. 233], why beg the question by translating it "Chinese gable" instead of retaining the original term?)

Both books under review thus offer new insights into

Japanese architecture, its principles and practice, and should be a part of every library and course reading-list on the subject.

Notes

1. Nishioka Tsunekazu and Kohara Jirō, *Hōryū-ji o sasaeta ki* (Tokyo, 1979), p. 12.
2. Kyōto kyōiku iinkai, eds., *Kokuhō Nishi Hongan-ji Karamon shūri hōkokusho* (Kyoto, 1980).

WILLIAM H. COALDRAKE

Nabeshima. By Motosuke Imaizumi. Famous Ceramics of Japan, vol. 1. 40 pp., 51 color plates. Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd., 1981. \$14.95.

Agano and Takatori. By Gen Kōzuru. Famous Ceramics of Japan, vol. 2. 40 pp., 51 color plates. Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd., 1981. \$14.95.

Folk Kilns I. By Hiroshi Mizuo. Famous Ceramics of Japan, vol. 3. 40 pp., 51 color plates. Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd., 1981. \$14.95.

Folk Kilns II. By Kichimon Okamura. Famous Ceramics of Japan, vol. 4. 40 pp., 51 color plates. Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd., 1981. \$14.95.

Kakiemon. By Takeshi Nagatake. Famous Ceramics of Japan, vol. 5. 40 pp., 51 color plates. Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International Ltd., 1981. \$14.95.

In the 1970s, Japanese publishers undertook an extraordinary number of publications on the subject of Japanese ceramics. In retrospect, the impulse for this burst of activity seems to have been twofold, and the series (leaving aside the equally abundant monographs) that were planned and produced responded on the whole to either one aspect or the other. On the one hand, the steady labor of archaeologists and historians had uncovered material that gave rise to extensive revisions of earlier views on ceramic history, and scholars were eager to circulate the revised views to a general audience. On the other hand, unprecedented leisure time and popular interest in travel, particularly to places associated with production of a traditional handicraft—among which ceramic centers are by far the most numerous and accessible—gave rise to a demand for guidebooks. Though the distinctions are not always clear-cut, the scholarly series tended to be text-weighted (although the color plates were sometimes of a high standard), while the guidebook series gave importance to the plates and to practical details of how to get there and what to look for, with the historical text reduced to a simple outline. One prominent series of

the latter type was *Nihon no Yakimono*, conceived by the late ceramic historian and potter Koyama Fujio (1900–1975) and published in twenty-six volumes by Kodansha during the years 1975–1977. It is this series that is now being issued in an English-language version as *Famous Ceramics of Japan*. In a review of the first five volumes of the English-language series, it seems not only appropriate to scan the Japanese-language publications that form the context in which the Kodansha series first appeared but also essential to do so, in order to explain what the English-language version can and cannot be expected to do. Further comments are, unhappily, necessary regarding what the English-language volumes might have done had more effort been expended.

On the scholarly side, a significant number of the series that appeared in the seventies were reissues, in dramatically revised and expanded form, of virtually all the existing series that had comprised the basic texts for research in ceramic history. Thus, in 1980 one found oneself using largely the same sets that one might have had in 1960—except that the altered contents reflected the extensive primary research that had gone on in the intervening years. (The exception is one of the earliest such series, *Tōki Zenshū*, edited by Ono Ken'ichirō, first appearing in 1931–1933 in thirty volumes and reissued in facsimile in four volumes by Shibunkaku in 1976.) The major prewar series, *Tōki Kōza*, originally issued in twenty-six volumes, reappeared under the same title in thirteen volumes, with texts by a new generation of scholars.¹ The series that had been considered the standard reference on ceramics, *Sekai Tōji Zenshū*, published in 1955–1958 in sixteen volumes, started to reappear in 1975 in considerably expanded form. The new *Sekai Tōji Zenshū*, planned to consist of twenty-two volumes, incorporates as much as possible the data supplied by recent research and is certain to become a classic of ceramic history.² (Fortunately, it is supplied with lists in English of contents and captions; unfortunately, it has not followed the original practice of including English summaries of the articles as well.)

These research-directed series have been complemented by the reissuing of the two standard dictionaries for the field: the six-volume *Tōki daijiten*, appearing as a facsimile reprint of the 1934 original,³ and the single-volume *Genshoku tōji daijiten*, an expanded, colorful version of the 1937 *Tōki jiten*.⁴ At the same time, the newly constituted Tōyō Tōji Gakkai (Japan Society of Oriental Ceramic Studies) continues the work that was begun by the prewar Tōjiki Kenkyūkai (Institute of Oriental Ceramics). Whereas the earlier association published the valuable journal *Tōji* from 1927 until 1943, *Tōyō tōji* has been appearing as the annual publication of the new society since 1970. With its English summaries of the major articles, it provides the most direct glimpse of current scholarship for readers unfamiliar with the Japanese language.

Each volume in *Sekai Tōji Zenshū* deals with a historical period and is a composite of essays by various specialists. A more common format, demanding less

editorial coordination, has been the series comprised of volumes in which one expert relates the history of a particular ware. Early prototypes for this format were the thirty volumes of *Tōki Zenshū* issued by Heibonsha in 1957–1963—slimmer and more affordable than *Sekai Tōji Zenshū* for readers with specific interests—and the eleven somewhat less rigorous volumes of *Nihon no Yakimono* produced by Tankō Shinsha between 1963 and 1970. The former series was rewritten and expanded as the forty-eight volumes of *Tōji Taikai*, while the latter metamorphosed into *Karā (Color) Nihon no Yakimono*, with four additional volumes.⁵

Other ceramics-related publications falling within the scholarly category were newly conceived: *Chūō Kōronsha* was notably prolific, producing not one but two thirty-volume series, *Nihon no Tōji* (a popular version of an earlier, deluxe set), outstanding for its color plates, and *Nihon Tōji Zenshū*, with greater emphasis on text.⁶

Another series whose chief merit is its illustrations is Kodansha's *Tōyō Tōji Taikan*, a joint Japanese-English publication, recently reissued in a popular version.⁷ At the opposite extreme, the tiniest series must be the pocket-sized books on ceramics issued from time to time by Hōikusha in its ongoing Color Books series.⁸ A different format was developed by Yūzankaku in its series, *Tōji Senshō*, wherein each of the seven volumes covered a different geographical region of Japan.⁹

Unlike the more or less scholarly series mentioned above, many of which represent new metamorphoses of well-known standard sets, the series oriented more specifically toward the casual viewer and traveler were new concepts, responding to a new kind of mobile readership. Forerunners of the guidebook approach were no less than three sets written by Kuroda Ryōji, an influential ceramics critic, for Kōgei Shuppan.¹⁰ All three are directories of contemporary potters, together with addresses and telephone numbers (the most recent version includes an unprecedented number of professional women potters). Other series of this type are not as comprehensive, but typically they combine color plates of both early and contemporary objects and a lightweight historical text with anecdotal essays, black-and-white snapshot views of potters and workshops, and a sketch-map of the area.

This brings us back to Kodansha's *Nihon no Yakimono* series. The Japanese originals appeared about once a month as oversized, slender, soft-cover volumes that sold for 840 yen (the equivalent of about \$4.40 in those days). They were worth acquiring for the sake of the excellent color plates, about fifty to a volume, which appeared to good advantage in the large format. A short text, written by a specialist, outlining the history of the kiln or ware in question, was preceded by a one-page personal appreciation by a popular figure, in one case a literary critic, in another a sculptor. Following the main essay was a fold-out page of smaller, stiffer paper, marked with dotted lines showing where to cut for removal. This page contained a sketch-map, an outline of what to do at the pottery center, and even a list of other sights to see in the area.

In preparing the English-language version, the editors

chose to trim away most of the anecdotal or "how-to" material, probably with good reason; it is the sort of rambling, personal writing virtually impossible to render into sensible English. Nevertheless, not a little of the charm of the originals lay in the mood imparted by the excised material, and the failure to produce an English version of the tear-sheet guide seems a shame. What remains are only the color plates and the "serious" text. They are now presented in the same size format but within a hard cover, complete with dust jacket, and for a price roughly three times that of the original. These editorial decisions seem to indicate an aim to turn a group of pleasant introductions into a weightier series of the "scholarly" sort. While the appearance of such a series would have been welcomed—in many cases, the books in this series will offer the first detailed discussions in English of a given ware—it is a cause for legitimate complaint that the editors and translators did not brace themselves for the extra work required to make this series live up to the needs and expectations of the purchaser, whether specialist or generalist.

Such appurtenances as a bibliography or index would be out of place in volumes so slim, but the texts suffer uniformly from a lack of more basic kindness toward the reader, especially the one who may be venturing into the subject for the first time. A properly expanded translation would have given dates after the names of historical personages, identified the modern localities and names of ancient provinces, indicated the location within provinces of cities mentioned, and explained that historical figures with two alternative names (for example, "Hosokawa Tadaoki" and "Sansai") are indeed one and the same person. All of these recommendations are based on problems found on the first page of the text of volume two, *Agano and Takatori*, in which the historical development of the kiln is explained; without clarification, the discussion is confusing even to one familiar with the subject. The Japanese texts had numbers of small black-and-white figures and line drawings for explanatory purposes; a few of these are incorporated into the English versions, but to no benefit; in volume two, the "crescent moon" foot rim is mentioned (p. 7) with no reference to the location of its illustration (appearing on p. 10). The dust jacket of *Agano and Takatori* reproduces the color photo of sherds used on the cover of the original without even bothering to follow the original in identifying them. On page 11, the term "*namako* glaze," a major glaze type at the kilns in question, is used but not described there or subsequently, although the original defined it in a footnote on the same page. On page 6, a historical manuscript is referred to by the title *Manman hikae*; on page 9, it is called *Manmandai hikae*. Such sloppiness might be forgiven in several hundred pages of text, but this text is only fourteen pages long. No figure references are included in the text to guide the reader to the pieces discussed, nor are any references made to the map, which, in any case, is far from adequate for clearing up confusion over place names.

So much for the state of elaboration and coordination

within a single volume. Even more unfortunate is the lack of overall coordination among the volumes. The first five volumes of the English series include three (vols. 1, 2, 5) dealing with kilns or pottery types found in northern Kyūshū, and volume four, *Folk Kilns II*, covering western Japan, also mentions rougher grades of Arita ware. (It is unfortunate that the volume on Arita porcelain production as a whole could not have preceded the more specialized volumes on Kakiemon and Nabeshima porcelains.) Yet the reader, especially one new to the subject, will have to work hard to see how the facts presented in one book correlate with those in another. At one level, this is to be expected, since each text is written by a different author with his own particular emphases. Such disjunction is symptomatic of the state of Japanese ceramic history on the whole, which, as the publications of the seventies indicate, is currently in a stage of close scrutiny of evidence relating to specific places. No one has come forth yet—nor, probably, could anyone now—to draw broader conclusions about general regions or periods. Yet the editors of the English version could have done their part to make the fundamental relationships clear by doing something as simple as supplying the same map for all three volumes dealing with the Arita area. The maps that do appear, and the place names on them, are all quite diverse. "Iwayakawachi" kiln in volume one becomes "Iwayagawachi" in volume five; the Nangawara district, discussed at length in volume five as the location of the Kakiemon kilns, never appears on the map in that volume, although it is shown (as "Nangawara-yama") on the map for volume one. Volumes three and four present the folk kilns of eastern and western Japan, respectively, yet they are not even united by a common typography.

If the editors had so little concern for the consistency of the texts, it is a pity they did not publish the English versions in the original, less expensive format, wherein the color plates could still have offered pleasure if not illumination. Indeed, in such an inflated format, even the plates become subject to criticism; for some reason, it was not possible to reverse completely the order of the plates so as to follow the English text in a book opening from the left rather than the right. Indeed, volume three does not shift from the original right-opening order, so that while the text progresses geographically from north to south, the plates progress in the reverse order, leaving the reader to put the two together.

It should be evident that the bulk of my criticism is directed, not toward the texts, but toward the editorial standards applied to their publication in English. A word should be said about the texts as such, however. For the most part they are written by local expert-historians (Nagatake Takeshi and Imaizumi Motosuke), or even a potter (Kōzuru Gen). The two folk-pottery volumes are written by gentlemen associated strongly with the Folk Art Movement started by Yanagi Sōetsu rather than with a specific area. As a result, the texts are quite idiosyncratic. Those by local scholars tend to deal in *medias res* with ongoing debates about chronology and so forth, especially since the authors have also supplied texts to numbers of

other series. Those on the folk kilns suffer from a fondness for generalities. The least satisfactory text is Mizuo's; it is scarcely more than a list of kilns, interlaced with invocations of Folk Art Movement aesthetics. All acceptable pots are "healthy," "robust," or "wholesome." Despite the emphasis on "beauty of utility," scant explanation is provided of how the illustrated pots were used. Okamura's text takes more care to distinguish among various kiln types in terms of both technique and economic scale (those that served entire regions, those that were extremely local, etc.), but it does repeat the patronizing observation beloved by Folk Art Movement writers that the glazes on Okinawan pots "harmonize well with the deep blue of the south seas skies."

Speaking of patronizing, I would like to close with a plea for an end to a custom followed in this series: that of writing Japanese names in European order, surnames last. Surely it is time for this ethnocentric practice to stop. After all, no one has ever (to my knowledge) felt obliged to write about "Tse-tung Mao."

Notes

1. Nagasaka Kaneo, ed., *Tōki Kōza* series, 26 vols. (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1934-39); and *Tōki Kōza* series, 13 vols. (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1971-76).
2. Okuda Seiichi and Ozaki Nobumori, eds., *Sekai Tōji Zenshū* series, 16 vols. (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1955-58); Mitsuoka Tadanari, ed., *Sekai Tōji Zenshū* series, 22 vols. (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1975-).
3. Ono Ken'ichirō, ed., *Tōki daijiten*, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Hōunsha, 1935; reprint ed. in 6 vols., Gogatsu Shobō, 1980).
4. Katō Tōkurō, ed., *Tōki jiten* (Tokyo: Kōgyō Tōshō, 1937); Katō Tōkurō, ed., *Genshoku tōji daijiten* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1972).
5. *Tōki Zenshū* series, 30 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1957-63); *Tōji Taikei* series, 48 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973-78); *Nihon no Yakimono* series, 11 vols. (Kyoto: Tankō Shinsha, 1963-70); *Karā Nihon no Yakimono* series, 15 vols. (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1974-75).
6. Tanikawa Tetsuzō and Kawabata Yasunari, eds., *Nihon no Tōji* series, 30 vols. (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1974-76); Tanikawa Tetsuzō, ed., *Nihon Tōji Zenshū* series, 30 vols. (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1975-77).
7. Koyama Fujio and John Pope, supervisors, *Tōyō Tōji Taikan* series, 11 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1974-78).
8. *Nihon no Tōji* series (Osaka: Hōikusha, 1974-).
9. *Tōji Senshō* series, 7 vols. (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1973-76).
10. Kuroda Ryōji, *Kamabetsu gendai no tōgei*, 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1963); Kuroda Ryōji, *Gendai tōgei zukan*, 5 vols. (Tokyo, 1967); Kuroda Ryōji, *Shōwa tōgei zukan*, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1978).

[REVIEWER'S NOTE. Since completing this review, another recent, important series on ceramics has come to my attention. It is especially valuable for its inclusion of both complete pieces and sherds from many short-lived, lesser known Edo-period kilns. It is known as *Nihon Yakimono Shūsei*, 12 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980).]

LOUISE ALLISON CORT

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IN MEMORIAM: JOHN ALEXANDER POPE

WHEN JOHN ALEXANDER POPE DIED ON 18 SEPTEMBER 1982 after a long illness, the news was experienced as a great loss to his many friends and colleagues around the world. With his passing, the museum profession lost a distinguished scholar and renowned authority in the field of Asian art. For the better part of his long professional career he was associated with, and in later years directed, the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., one of this nation's most prestigious institutions dedicated to the knowledge and appreciation of the arts of Asia. John Pope will be sorely missed, but his leadership as a successful museum director, noted scholar of Asian art, and connoisseur of Chinese and Japanese ceramics, which were his special love and interest, will not be forgotten.

John Pope was born on 4 August 1906 in Detroit, Michigan. He attended private and public schools there and then went to Phillips Exeter Academy, from which he graduated in 1925. He received his A.B. from Yale University in 1930 and enrolled a few years later in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. He received his M.A. from Harvard in 1940 and his Ph.D. in Chinese studies and fine arts in 1955.

While completing his education, John Pope worked at a variety of jobs, including employment at the Chase National Bank in New York from 1930 to 1932 and service as executive secretary of the People's Museum Association of the Detroit Institute of Arts from 1932 to 1934. In 1938 his professional career was given a strong boost when, as a Travelling Fellow of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, he was able to study Chinese art in European collections and enroll for one term at the University of London's Courtauld Institute. A few years later, in 1942, his efforts and increasing expertise in Chinese art were rewarded once again with his appointment as lecturer in Chinese art at Columbia University. He left Columbia the following year to take up an appointment as a research associate at the Freer Gallery of Art.

The move to Washington was to become a turning point in his life, for it launched him upon his long and fruitful association with the Freer Gallery of Art. After serving in a research capacity from 1943 to 1946, he was appointed assistant director in 1946 and director in 1962, fol-

lowing the death of Archibald G. Wenley. John Pope served as director of the gallery for nine years, until his retirement in 1971, when he became director emeritus and research curator of Far Eastern ceramics, a position that he held until his death.

During the years of his leadership the collections of the Freer Gallery developed in many new directions and grew at a rapid pace. Inspired by his scholarship and expert knowledge, major acquisitions were made in all areas. As a result of John Pope's personal interest and expertise in Far Eastern ceramics, important additions were made in this field, especially in the area of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain of the Yüan and Ming dynasties and Japanese porcelain of the Edo period. In addition, publication, travel, and research on the collections were emphasized as important activities of the gallery's professional staff. John Pope continually encouraged his staff in such endeavors, and he himself travelled far and wide in search of new evidence pertaining to his comprehensive study of the history and dating of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain and its role as a major Chinese export commodity. Having successfully accomplished this task, he began to shift the emphasis of his research, devoting himself more and more to the study of Japanese porcelain, especially the dating and proper identification of kiln sites and wares. At the time of his death he was working on an important book on Japanese porcelain, the result of many years of concentrated research and study of kiln sites and other source material in Japan.

John Pope was a prolific writer and his bibliography includes a long list of books, catalogues, and learned articles. To list them all would take up many pages, but foremost among his publications are two major contributions to the study of ancient Chinese bronzes: *A Descriptive and Illustrative Catalogue of Chinese Bronzes* (Freer Gallery of Art, 1946); and *The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, in two volumes (Freer Gallery of Art, 1967–69). The latter was produced with the assistance of Rutherford John Gettens, James Cahill, and Noel Barnard and includes important technical studies carried out by the late John Gettens. These are contained in the second volume.

John Pope's keen interest in Chinese ceramics is reflected in his extensive writings on this subject. In 1952 the Freer Gallery published *Fourteenth-Century Blue-and-White, A Group of Chinese Porcelains in the Topkapu Sarayi Muzesi, Istanbul*. This paper contains important evidence for the dating of Chinese fourteenth-century blue-and-white, based on the large concentration of this material in the Topkapu Sarayi and the evidence contained in the official inventories and palace archives in Istanbul. *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine* was published by the Freer Gallery in 1956. It was the logical sequel to the publication of the Topkapu Sarayi collection and concentrated on a second major source of fourteenth-century blue-and-white in Tehran. Using the same criteria and methodology employed earlier, John Pope succeeded in establishing a clear case for the dating and stylistic analysis of fourteenth-century blue-and-white, based on his in-depth study of the Istanbul and Tehran collections. His pioneering work and the results of his findings provided important new evidence for the dating of early Chinese blue-and-white porcelain.

John Pope worked in close association with the late Professor Fujio Koyama and collaborated with him in the publication of *Oriental Ceramics: The World's Great Collections*, a twelve-volume series published by Kodansha of Tokyo in 1975. Volume 9 of the series is devoted to the Freer Gallery of Art. He had previously coauthored with Fujio Koyama *The Freer Gallery of Art, I: China*, which was published by Kodansha in 1971. In addition, over the years he wrote numerous articles and book reviews that covered many aspects of Asian art, particularly the subject of Chinese and Japanese ceramics.

While the Freer Gallery, in accordance with the conditions set down by its founder, Charles Lang Freer, does not display any travelling or loan exhibitions, John Pope nevertheless was personally involved in a number of important exhibition projects. He served as the American member of the consultative committee for the international exhibition of Chinese art held in Venice in 1954 to celebrate the seven hundredth anniversary of the birth of Marco Polo. When the government of the Republic of China staged the great exhibition of *Chinese Art Treasures* from the National Palace Museum and the National Central Museum, Taiwan, during 1961–1962, John Pope acted as chairman of the selection committee for the United States and chaired the catalogue committee. He was also co-organizer of the exhibition *Chinese Art from the*

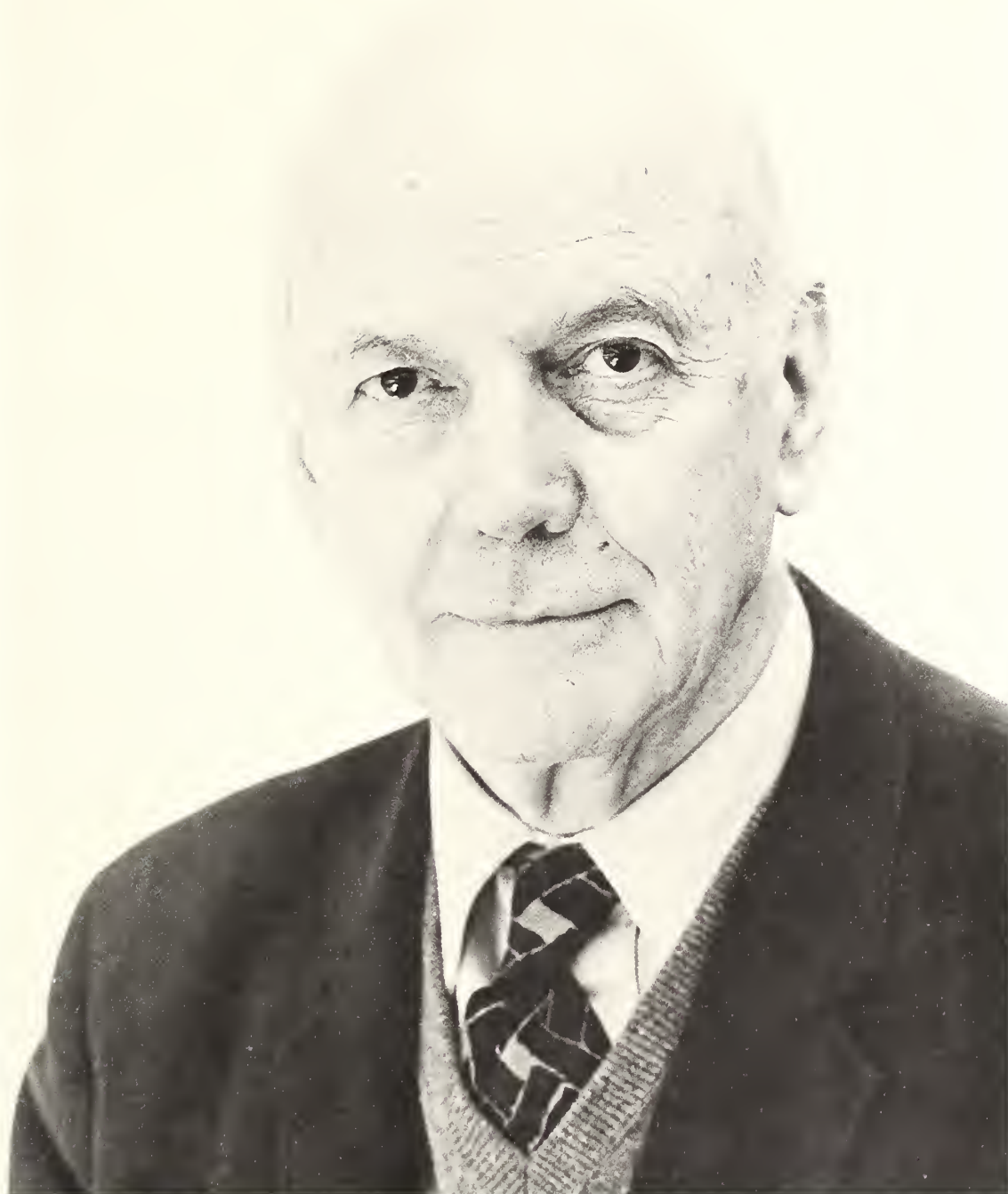
Collection of H. M. King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden, which toured the United States in 1966, and contributed an introductory essay to the catalogue, entitled "The Scope and Quality of the Collection." In 1970, when the St. Louis Art Museum organized the exhibition *2,000 Years of Japanese Porcelain*, John Pope was the natural choice to write the introductory essay, "The Beginnings of Porcelain in Japan." The essay is significant in its attempt to sift through some of the confusion and lack of clear evidence surrounding the early history of porcelain production in Japan. Most of what is contained in the essay was based on John Pope's own findings in the course of his many visits to Japan's Kyushu area, the center of the Japanese porcelain industry.

John Pope was a member of many professional groups, a founding member of the Association of Art Museum Directors, and a member of the Asia Society, Japan Society, and Oriental Ceramic Society, London. He served on the board of the College Art Association from 1962 to 1966, was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, a member of the Committee to Visit the Department of Far Eastern Civilizations (later called East Asian Civilizations), and on the Board of Advisors of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. In addition, he served from 1962 to 1971 as chairman of the Editorial Board of *Ars Orientalis*, then published jointly by the Freer Gallery of Art and the Department of the History of Art at the University of Michigan. In 1972 he became an advisor in Oriental art at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia.

In 1971 the London Oriental Ceramic Society awarded the first Hills Gold Medal to John Pope at the society's jubilee dinner "for distinguished contribution to the knowledge of Oriental art." It was a great honor, bestowed in recognition of John Pope's outstanding scholarship in the field of Asian art.

John Pope had a warm and outgoing personality and readily displayed his wit, charm, and eloquence. He had a keen and penetrating mind and was always eager to examine critically another pot or pursue a new theory. It is these simple human qualities and his many contributions to the appreciation of Asian art that one associates with John Pope and that his friends will remember—and also miss the most.

HENRY TRUBNER



JOHN ALEXANDER POPE, 1906-1982.

PU-TAI-MAITREYA AND A REINTRODUCTION TO HANGCHOU'S FEI-LAI-FENG

BY RICHARD EDWARDS

SMOOTHLY CORPULENT, WEIGHTY YET EASY, RELAXED, not just in a smile but in an ear-stretching, eye-curling, brow-wrinkling, flesh-rolling, open-mouthed laugh, Maitreya (Mi-lo)^a in the form of the enigmatic T'ang sage, Pu-tai,^b is today the most compelling—and certainly the most popular—image at Hangchou's Fei-lai-feng,^c “the peak that flew over.” Maitreya is enclosed in a semicircle of eighteen lohan, much smaller in scale but individually conceived, placed and posed with lively informality so as to provide an appropriate accompaniment to the great central figure (figs. 2–4 and 28–34).

Fei-lai-feng is a hill among greater hills lying to the west of Hangchou and West Lake. It is marked by limestone outcroppings—boulders, irregular grottos, cliffs—that follow a narrow valley-stream, across which is located the great Ch'an temple Ling-yin Ssu.^d The original temple, founded in the fourth century, was destroyed long ago. Little remains of its early glory beyond foundations of building sites, the effort to reaffirm the original scale in reconstruction, and four stone *dhāraṇī* pagodas that date from the tenth century.¹ Exactly opposite its south-facing entrance is the flank of Fei-lai-feng, a northern slope blocking any extended view and thus confronting us directly with a series of precisely carved yet irregularly placed images formed from the living rock. Among these, the exact yet easy quality of Maitreya and his entourage is unique.

With China now more open to the outside world, one of the encouraging developments for art historians is the potential availability of art which has for several decades been unavailable for careful study. I speak especially of sculpture and architecture, which can only truly be understood *in situ*. Uncertain photographs and early reports have not been enough to understand what may be there, let alone make accurate evaluations. It is because of this that a site like Fei-lai-feng returns to importance. “Returns” since its existence, long known in China, was reported early in this century by both French and Japanese scholars—Henri Maspero in 1914 and Tokiwa and Sekino in the 1920s.

Much has happened in our knowledge of Chinese art since those early days. Despite the fact

that there has been further destruction in the intervening years, a great deal is the same and needs reevaluation. It is for this reason that a general assessment is presented here, in hopes that others will pursue it in greater detail.² At Fei-lai-feng, I have begun by citing the most famous image. But to understand it one must understand the site of which it is a part. Its uniqueness can only be grasped within a historical context. Up to and including the Sung dynasty there was very little of what one sees today at Fei-lai-feng. Then, there were simply natural cliffs on a steep hillside covered with trees, undergrowth, and clinging mosses. Doubtless, paths led past rocky outcroppings with, as today, screened prospects down to the valley-temple roofs of Ling-yin Ssu. At the peak was an outward view to far ridges of deep-blue-green-hazed hills (figs. 5–7). As the temple entrance faces south, so the major flank of the steep hillside looks north, the winter sun blocked from its carvings; in summer the site becomes a valley shaded by foliage.

It is only at the eastern end, at the base of Fei-lai-feng, that one could in the Sung have found sculptural embellishment—and this to a high degree concealed. What was carved was not the outer exposed cliff but, rather, at this eastern angle of the mountain base, a series of natural limestone grottos (see map, fig. 1). Sculpture may have discretely spilled out at entrances. There would thus have been glimpses of it from the outside, but little else. The setting for early carving was that of unplanned ceilings and walls, undercut outcroppings of limestone accretions, narrow passages opening to more spacious, irregular rooms, returning to narrow passages. Lighting was through entrances (the brightest from the eastern sun) or from internal breaks in the uncertain cave roof which let in the sky from above.

Time, the physical processes of weathering, moisture, eroding and tumbling of rock, as well as wanton human destruction make it impossible to evaluate completely the nature of this early sculpture. Nor, with a few exceptions, will loss permit an accurate understanding of individual style. There were, however, dedicatory inscriptions, inscriptions carved by visitors, and inscriptions relating to repairs. A few can still be deciphered. Many more are known to us from early recordings. Among these latter are dated inscriptions. Thus, a general

reconstruction of the first phase of sculpture at Fei-lai-feng is possible. There seems to have been no attempt to smooth out the irregularities of nature and create a systematic program, a comprehensive iconography; far from it. Scale is small and dedications indicate individual patronage.

Although there is no apparent preconceived system, there seems to have been a good deal of repetition. Images can be defined and the caves, however rambling, have names. There are three major caves, although their identities have been confused by a variety of openings and a variety of titles. Beginning in the east at the southernmost point, with alternate names in parentheses, they are as follows:³

- (1) Ch'ing-lin Tung,^e "Green-grove Cave" (Chin-kuang Tung,^f "Golden-light Cave"; Hsiang-lin Tung,^g "Fragrant-grove Cave"; She-hsü Tung,^h "Penetrating Dawn Cave"; Li-kung Tung,ⁱ "Master Li's Cave");
- (2) Yü-ju Tung,^j "Jade-nipple Cave" (Pien-fu Tung,^k "Bat Cave");
- (3) Lung-hung Tung,^l "Deep-dragon Cave" (T'ung-t'ien Tung,^m "Cave that Penetrates Heaven"; Kuan-yin Tung,ⁿ "Kuan-yin Cave"; I-hsien-t'ien,^o "Single Thread to Heaven").

The above listing consciously places the three main irregular grotto-caves in a sequence that moves from the east northward to swing sharply west along the main flank of Fei-lai-feng, where it faces the entrance of Ling-yin Ssu (see fig. 2). It is only well along this flank and rather removed to the west from the deep grotto-caves that we find the laughing Maitreya.

Ch'ing-lin Tung

The east-facing, southernmost cave, Ch'ing-lin Tung, holds the earliest certain traces of sculpture. These are not immediately apparent (thus reinforcing their hidden nature), for in the experience of entering the cave a splendid trinity of Vairocana, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra (Lu-she-na,^p Wen-shu,^q Pu-hsien'), high in its deep, semicircular niche, dominates a half-natural, half-carved vestibule open to the sky (figs. 8 and 9). One of the alternate names for the cave—She-hsü, "Penetrating Dawn"—is descriptively appropriate, for it is in the morning light that this entrance is most clearly exposed.

The trinity, impressive in its virtually free-standing three-dimensionality and remarkable for the clarity of its well-preserved detail, is indeed a

dominating presence. However, its cool gray stone was carved at the beginning of the extensive Yüan-dynasty campaign which created the outside cliff-sculpture that is the major feature of Fei-lai-feng as it remains today. The trinity is dated to 1282 by an inscription located below it. Although it is among the first of Yüan dedications, it must be eliminated from our analysis of still earlier beginnings.

Two adjacent carvings are more than two hundred fifty years earlier than the Yüan trinity. These are two low-relief plaques smoothed from the cliff-wall: a single headless Avalokiteśvara, or Kuan-yin (below and to the right of the Yüan trinity) (fig. 10); and, on the right wall as we enter, a larger tableau of seventeen figures (fig. 11). This number is cited in the dedicatory inscription, and it is worth noting that an indication of the number of images carved by a given donor appears important in these early inscriptions, presumably having a direct relation to the merit that would accrue. This group of seventeen figures features a central Vairocana flanked by Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī riding their appropriate vehicles, the elephant and the lion. The subject of both carvings is identified by inscription; the patrons are also mentioned—for Kuan-yin,^s Lu Ch'ing'^t; for the Vairocana trinity, Hu Ch'eng-te.^u The date of both carvings corresponds to 1022 (the first year of Ch'ien-hsing). On the smooth stone beside the Vairocana group can be seen inscriptions of later visitors corresponding to the years 1071, 1072, 1079, and 1222.⁴

The two plaques, however, are themselves intrusive. Not only is their style curiously mannered and linear in execution (fig. 12)—almost as though they might be transferred wood-block prints—they also impinge upon a series of small figures no more than a foot high that form a somewhat scattered yet cohesive group. One especially formalized set consists of eighteen lohan lining the back of a rocky outcropping commonly described as a "bed" (*ch'uang*)^v (fig. 13). Other images are placed below and in the vicinity of the Vairocana plaque of 1022 (fig. 14). The plaque cuts too close to the head of one of these images to permit its predating. A likely date for these small images is the tenth century.⁵

To find undisputed examples of tenth-century sculpture, we need only go a little further into the cave, beyond the "bed" and its eighteen lohan. Here is found the earliest dated carving (figs. 15 and 16). In a smoothed-out hollow at a level slightly higher than the bed, but of dimensions comparable to the lohan, is a trinity of Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, and Mahāstāmapraptā (Mi-lo, Kuan-yin, and Ta-shih-chih^w). Their

identities are spelled out in the inscription, which also dates them to 951. At this time, this area was part of the kingdom of Wu-Yüeh; in North China the date marks the beginning of the Later Chou which, with its capital at Kaifeng, was to lead directly to the establishment of the Sung in 960. Despite damage, elements of this earliest style can be defined. The central Maitreya, with his simple robe, exposed chest, and a touch of cloth lapping over the right shoulder, is seated in *dhyana mudra*. He is taller, simpler, and more slender in proportion than his squat, richly clothed bodhisattva attendants. This trinity still radiates a special flare, placed as it is on tall, double-lotus pedestals, the figures backed by double interlocking auras of light—one framing the body, the other the head—whose edges are curving, active flames.

A somewhat similar, small Amitābha, a damaged but once fully inscribed image, is found in the same cave. It is dated to 959. While the cyclical date, *hsin-hai*, is of the last years of the Later Chou, the inscribed reign date, the first year of Chien-lung, indicates that the inscription was recorded after the political change, in the first year of the Sung.⁶

The grotto interior of Ch'ing-lin Tung follows a northern course whose second eastward outlet (or subsidiary entrance) is almost blocked by a large boulder (see fig. 2). It is along the south wall of this entrance-exit (facing north) that one discovers a whole cluster of small statues, more numerous but similar in scale and deep relief to those associated with the early carvings at the main entrance. Although these are now worn and shadowy in form, a variety of poses are still discernable. Once again we are presented with individual figures modestly worked into, or carved out of, the irregular "natural" wall surface (figs. 17–19). Tokiwa and Sekino, although apparently confusing this location with the next cave, Yü-ju Tung, which has a similar partially blocked or divided entrance, have published the clearest analysis of numbers. They conclude that there is a total of fifty-eight images (there are actually more), suggesting three sets of eighteen lohan (i.e., fifty-four), a Maitreya, a Śākyamuni, and two Amitābha images.⁷

Originally, brief dedicatory inscriptions were carved beside these small figures. Although many have been recorded, few, if any, survive today in decipherable form. So far as one can tell, the dedications were all from the Hsien-p'ing era. This places them at the beginning of the eleventh century (998–1003). They follow a distinct formula: "The clear faith disciple [name], gathering pure wealth,

made [number] lohan in [year] of the Hsien-p'ing era, in [month]." If the disciple was a woman, she was so designated. The lohan is indicated by number, that is, the "eleventh," "thirteenth," "sixteenth," etc. Thus both the donor and the image are thought of in concrete terms. Merit is directed to an individual as the result of the creation of a designated image. Since detail is no longer preserved in these worn carvings, scale and placement give us the closest indication of personal connection between donor and image. Height ranges from about seven or eight inches to two feet.⁸

While further ramblings are possible within the irregularities of Ch'ing-lin Tung,⁹ the most significant spot for additional Sung sculpture at the site lies in the next main grotto complex to the northwest, Yü-ju Tung. Here the most important entrance (because recorded inscriptions were located there), now angled almost directly north, is, in plan, an enlarged version of the complex we have just left (see fig. 2). While I am unable to offer either a detailed plan or an extensive photographic record, a general account of the cave is in order (figs. 20–23).

Yü-ju Tung

A badly damaged inscription at the north entrance is of the T'ien-sheng era (1023–1031). Tokiwa and Sekino, drawing on a text and without specifying location, list two inscriptions for lohan dedications, both to the year 1026.¹⁰ Since the damaged writing is near two of the lohan and the figures are stylistically consistent, it is logical to begin our analysis at this point and to hypothesize that the carvings date to the eleventh century and are a little later than those in Ch'ing-lin Tung.

The style of the images has been generally neglected because they are considered to be poor in quality.¹¹ One can agree that there is little detail or special finesse in these seated lohan (figs. 21 and 22). Lining the cave, often at floor level, they are conceived in very high relief. Undetached from the wall and permitted only a few modest gestures or shifts in their ramrod poses, they are nevertheless not without a certain elemental strength. The squared-off lap (or folded legs) of each figure constitutes a simple base from which rises the vertical block of a rounded torso. Heads are rather like smooth, rounded cubes whose short, thick necks affirm an unbroken link to the body. An arm, a leg, a knee, or a shoulder offer only slight variants to a compact whole.

Carefully spaced grooves, semicircular in cross-section, create ordered, repeated drapery folds. But drapery no more than limbs is given a life of its own.

Meaning is here perhaps too completely reduced to symbol, yet still there is some power, and we must see these lohan as stone cores to which certainly paint and possibly more was added to give them an original detail and surface liveliness that has now vanished. Although not of the same quality, they are at least related to the more impressive lohan found at the other significant extant Five Dynasties/Sung sculpture-site near Hangchou, the tunnel-like cave of Yen-hsia Tung.^x The latter is located in hills to the south, not far from the famous tea center of Lung-ching.¹² All such carvings can be related to the same lohan cult which we know from early painting, most famously in the images attributed to Kuan-hsiu^y (832–912).

Although the lohan in Yü-ju Tung are larger than those of Ch'ing-lin Tung (approximately four feet high), the placement of the figures continues to be unsystematic. In the split northern entrance, the larger western passage has four main images on the left as one enters (figs. 20 and 21) and two on the right (fig. 22). A standing attendant is included in each group. The smaller of the two passages has within it on the right, around a bend, a single lohan holding a brush. Moving south in the cave, we find more lohan. Another single image appears on a nodule of rock, with a worshipping figure descending toward it on a stylized cloud. Across from this figure to the west is a niche grouping three lohan. The one at the left, holding a bowl, is related to a dragon carving on the rock above. To the right there is another lohan, at whose right is in turn a winged demon presenting an offering (fig. 23). As the wall curves further into the cave, lohan images continue down a high, narrowing passage leading to an exit at the back. There are seven lohan in all, and these are answered on the opposite wall of the passage with a total of eight main figures.

It is not difficult to find a standard cluster of sixteen or eighteen lohan—a potential set—within what now emerges as the largest “hall” of the cave, a hall whose main entrance faces northeast and is the opening closest to Ch'ing-lin Tung (see map). Whether these latter lohan can be made to form a group is not yet clear. The very concept of lohan finds reinforcement in placement, a placement which is cohesive in its acceptance of the natural wandering of the cave and the consistency of the unplanned. Such an “arrangement” continues to indicate that the core of the lohan ideal centers on

individual—rather than collective—salvation. It is the hermit world of craggy, unexpected places.

Dedications, judging from the two of 1026 mentioned above, differ little from those at Ch'ing-lin Tung. We have the name of the donor and the name (number) of the lohan. The worshipper creating the image defines a specific sage who in turn, implicitly or explicitly, assures personal salvation or, perhaps more precisely, accumulation of merit.

Lung-hung Tung and the Maitreya Group

Westward, the next cave is Lung-hung Tung. We now enter the heart of Yüan-dynasty dedications. While one or two Yüan cliff-face niches can be found eastward—most notably, the Vairocana trinity of 1282 at Ch'ing-lin Tung—it is only after Yü-ju Tung that the dedications appear in great numbers (figs. 24 and 25). They are not only numerous but, in contrast to earlier sculpture, also more imposing in scale. The most significant interior image is a seated Kuan-yin (poorly restored or overpainted) at the rear south wall of the main section of Lung-hung Tung. To Kuan-yin's proper right, in a square niche, is a small child on a double lotus; this figure identifies the subject as the Bodhisattva in confrontation with Shan-ts'ai^z (the “Talented One”), the prodigy Sudhana from the Avataṃsaka sūtra.¹³ Light from above filters down dimly to illuminate this dark presence. The I-hsien-t'ien (“Single Thread to Heaven”) name associated with Lung-hung Tung comes from a thin opening high in the roof of this natural cave.

Lung-hung Tung also possesses a western entrance (fig. 25); outside this opening the profusion of Yüan sculpture continues. The figures are approached via cliff-side paths leading irregularly westward. An impressive Amitābha trinity, datable to between 1283 and 1292, immediately confronts one (figs. 26 and 27). It is notable for its clean, symmetrical arrangement, which includes the balanced patterning of the lotus stems leading to massive, many petaled, heavily draped lotus seats. The figures, sometimes displaying rich patterns, as in the crowns of the bodhisattvas, present a curious blend of soft, almost puffy fleshiness with a calculated rigid formality. It is beyond the scope of the present discussion to attempt to list the succession of images, much less their iconographic complexities. It is sufficient to point out that they are essentially consistent in style and date. Most appear to fall between the years 1282 and 1292, a decade from which we have important dated inscriptions.

Maitreya and his eighteen lohan are located in the midst of this flowering of Yüan sculpture (fig. 28). But while the other niched figures form a generally coherent group, Maitreya's is a contrasting image. His intrusion confronts us with an easy—if enigmatic—naturalism. He is relaxed to the point of the absurd; the others are rigidly formal. Whereas he and his merry band come toward us, brought, as it were, directly to life from the stone to participate in our more ordinary world of space and time, the others remain aloof, framed by their precise niches, exactly posed, wrapped in inner contemplation through which they communicate to us by studied gesture or occult symbol. Their figures exhibit the subtle dichotomy between precision of surface detail (in the best-preserved examples) and formal plenitude: bold, smooth, three-dimensional shapes which appear to reflect ancient Indian notions of *prāṇa* (breath), here formalized into a statement of esoteric authority. With Maitreya and his attendant lohan, detail is often sketchy in quality (as in the handling of drapery) and blends easily with the three-dimensional form it helps define (figs. 29–32). Form and detail are part of the same transformed rock, the same illusion of life that makes this imagery so relevant to our immediate experience. The body that turns back on itself with a laugh (fig. 33), the hands that clasp a knee while the head tilts upward (figs. 30 and 34), the offering of a sutra or a scroll (fig. 29), or the fingering of a rosary (fig. 31) can in this kind of presentation have no more meaning than the act—possibly indicating some character trait. These figures act as we might act. These gods are like us.

To arrive at an appreciation of the significance of the Maitreya group, it will be necessary to look further into the purposes of Yüan sculpture, especially in Hangchou at the end of the thirteenth century. It is equally important to develop some understanding of the position of Buddhism in newly conquered China. Buddhism, as practiced by the Mongols, was strongly influenced by its Tibetan sources. By 1251 it was firmly established in Yüan China under the guidance of the Tibetan cleric Pags-pa (1235–1280). Pags-pa, thinker, missionary, and politician, was also noted for creating the special phonetic script of the period that bore his name. His theories offered Khubilai, who became the Great Khan in 1260, and his successors the authority of a line descending from Buddhist universal emperors. This was the ancient Indian Cakravartin ideal which, because of its supranational character, gave to the khans “a

sacral kingship that legitimized their dominion over China and the world.”¹⁴

Such ideals received concrete support in a Bureau of Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs, which, after 1288, was called Hsüan-cheng Yüan^{aa} (Bureau for the Proclamation of Government) after the hall where Tibetan envoys were received in the T'ang dynasty. The bureau supervised Buddhist monks in addition to managing the territory of Tibet. To emphasize its importance for Hangchou, a branch (*hsing*)^{ab} Hsüan-cheng Yüan was established in that city in 1291.¹⁵

Buddhist influence in Hangchou had, however, been established earlier under the notorious Yang-lien Chen-chia.^{ac} He was Tibetan (or possibly Tangut); in 1277, one year after the fall of Hangchou, he was made “Supervisor of Buddhist Teaching South of the [Yangtze] River” (*Chiang-nan tsung-shih ch'ang-shih chiao*).^{ad} In Chinese history, Yang-lien Chen-chia can never be forgiven for his desecration of the Sung imperial tombs near Shao-hsing.¹⁶ However, corpses (perhaps even imperial corpses) were treated differently in Tibetan Buddhist rituals.¹⁷ Insensitive to Confucian ideals, Yang-lien Chen-chia nevertheless was not only confirming Yüan power but acquiring Buddhist merit as he worked with apparent missionary zeal in a world of sacralized royal power.

Between 1285 and 1287, Yang-lien Chen-chia restored over thirty Buddhist temples. Both Taoist and secular establishments once again became Buddhist. Wealth derived from Sung imperial structures and property was redirected to their support. Of six Sung palace buildings, one became a stupa and five became Buddhist temples. Taoist priests either converted to Buddhism or returned to secular life.¹⁸

Apparently, however, there were limitations, and when Yang-lien Chen-chia wished to use as a cornerstone a stele engraved with the Confucian classics in Sung Kao-tsung's^{ae} famous hand, other officials intervened to prevent it. In 1291 his activities became the object of a special investigation and a record of his illicit wealth was assembled. This included everything from money and land to gold, silver, jades, pearls, and even beautiful women. The sealing of his disgrace came in 1292.¹⁹

At Fei-lai-feng, major inscribed monuments, as mentioned above, fall within the 1282–1292 decade. Yang-lien Chen-chia was at this time at the height of his power and was closely associated with these projects. It is even possible that his portrait exists among the carvings—the fifth niche to the west of Pu-tai-Maitreya (fig. 35).²⁰ A long

inscription beneath a carving of Amitābha, dated to 1289, provides clear evidence of his involvement.²¹ The statue still exists *in situ* (fig. 36). The badly worn inscription is preserved in texts in the form of a pedantic but revealing poem composed by the abbot of Ling-yin Ssu, Hu-yen Ching-fu:^{af}

"Eulogy for the mountain stone image[s] in the Buddhist realms of Hangchou, the great kingdom of Yüan"

The eternally blessed President Yang
 Revered throughout Chiang-Huai.²²
 The heart of the Vulture Peak
 Erected there on Fei-lai-feng.
 He carved into the ancient cliff-stone,
 Brought forth the golden image.
 The Buddha's name, Endless, Immeasurable.
 With complete reverence
 Planted this pillar of virtuous merit
 Without compare,
 Entered the gate of great charity.
 There is joy for the great prime minister;
 A succession of famed officials, central and local authorities
 All come to praise.
 There, one Buddha, two Buddhas . . .
 Rise as painted images.
 For flowers and trees is a four-season spring
 And so there are offerings;
 Four seasons sound the cries of bird and gibbon
 And merit is given to all living things.
 Sun and moon never exhaust their lamps,
 Mists and clouds forever gather,
 The nation's rains are in plenty,
 The country's winds are gentle,
 Wishing to bless a wise and sagely Emperor
 With Amitābha, Infinite Life, Boundless.²³
 In all the universe of sentient beings
 Gone is the veil of delusion.

I act as proclaimed. These words, then, are not false.
 The sixteenth year of *chih-yüan* [1289], the ninth of the
 ninth. The abbot of Ling-yin Temple, Hu-yen Ching-fu,
 has respectfully written. From the capital [Peking], Hai-
 yün, I-an Tzu-an^{ag} has brushed "the red" [the calligraphy].
 Ch'ien Yung-ch'ang^{ah} from Wu-lin [Hangchou] has done
 the carving.

Statues (some 120 by one estimate)²⁴ were signs and reminders of a utopian world where Buddha and emperor reigned supreme and, of course, forever. Ranks of loyal, reverent ministers were a happy adjunct to a nation-universe where all sentient beings might reach enlightenment. Indeed, the sudden flowering of images during the last decades of the thirteenth century—still visible for the most part on the irregular but exposed cliff-sides of Fei-lai-feng—must have stood as tangible proof of the existence of this newly realized Buddhist world. "The white stones all become buddhas," as a line from the near-contemporary poet and plum-blossom painter Wang Mien^{ai} (1287–1359) confirmed.²⁵

From a Chinese point of view, the unmistakable foreign nature of both the political rule and the sculpture must have been apparent. The Cakravartin ideal, although not unknown, was external to China. In earlier periods of Chinese history, the concept had been important when dynastic succession was not legitimized by clear local authority and support. Most notably, this was the case in the Six Dynasties with the Northern Wei and with Liang Wu-ti in the south; and for similar reasons, it was ideologically important in the Sui and early T'ang.²⁶ The Yüan-dynasty sculptors at Fei-lai-feng—or, more precisely, the Buddhist authorities overseeing the program—were very much aware of their own intrusion and took pains to affirm its historical legitimacy. We find to the right of the entrance of the grotto of Lung-hung Tung, at eye-level, the only example of clear narrative relief at the site (fig. 37). Although the figures are sadly damaged, the subject may nevertheless be securely identified. Unrolling like a short handscroll in stone, to the right we see Hsüan-tsang^{aj} returning with sutras from India in 645. Further to the left, and still further back in time, is the representation of the introduction of Buddhism into China, which shows the white horse carrying the sacred books to Loyang during the reign of Han Ming-ti^{ak} (A.D. 58–75), accompanied by Kāśyapa Mātanga and Dharmaratna.

It is not without interesting parallelism that at the same time the great painters of the day, Ch'ien Hsüan^{al} and Chao Meng-fu,^{am} were looking back to the Six Dynasties and T'ang to legitimize their position in an often alien world, Buddhist sculptors were likewise seeking the authority of Chinese antiquity to affirm their aims.

To carry historicity a little further, the Caesaropapism²⁷ of a cleric like Yang-lien Chen-chia, with its curious implications of destructive temporal conquest wedded to spiritual peace, finds a sympathetic source in the Sui:

With the armed might of a Cakravartin king, We spread the ideals of the ultimately enlightened one. With a hundred victories in a hundred battles, We promote the practice of the ten Buddhist virtues. Therefore We regard the weapons of war as having become like the offerings of incense and flowers presented to Buddha, and the fields of this world as becoming forever identical with the Buddha-land.²⁸

The Chinese view in the Sung was radically different. The power of the emperor was controlled by the strength of an educated elite:

The government heard numerous opinions and decisions were taken only after discussion in which differing opinions were expressed. The emperor only ratified the proposals adopted or in the last resort gave the casting vote.

In no other period in history did the "mandarins" exercise such effective control over the management of the state. . . . [T]he emperors themselves played only a secondary role, leaving the limelight to their ministers.²⁹

While one must be wary of suggesting the direct influence of politics on the style and meaning of art, it is important to characterize the social environment in which both artist and patron find themselves. If we are able to observe a clear contrast between indigenous Sung and alien Mongol ideals of power, our understanding of the sculptural program at Fei-lai-feng will be reinforced.

When considered in the light of what preceded it, Yüan sculpture at the site is both overwhelming and intrusive. Its authoritarian nature is unmistakable. Although many images of buddhas and bodhisattvas such as Amitābha, Maitreya, and Vairocana were not new to Chinese Buddhism and here appear only slightly altered to meet the needs of the Tibetan Buddhist ideal, others speak strongly of the new influence and must be specially noted.

Two of these occur at ground level (fig. 38) before one reaches the easternmost entrance to Lung-hung Tung, just after one passes the late Ming landmark of a stone pagoda, the so-called Li-kung T'a,^{an} dedicated in the Wan-li period to the temple's founder. Kuvera (figs. 39 and 40), fleshy lord of the earth's riches, is seated upon a lotus base, his pendant right leg slanting downward to rest on a conch shell. A lotus stem, its flower supporting a vase, rises behind his right arm. The right hand holds a citron (?). In his left hand is a mongoose (?), from whose mouth spews a stream of jewels;³⁰ Vajrapāṇi, stubby, corpulent, and brandishing a *vajra*, a Dhyāni-Buddha in his crown (fig. 41), is braced in an active standing pose—wide-eyed, the dancing line of a scarf swinging out from his left arm and shoulder. An inscription dates this second image to 1292.

Much further to the west and now protected by a special pavilion, Vaiśravaṇa (fig. 42)—Kuvera as defender of the faith and guardian of the north—is seated on a lion. Although the stone is damaged, the image retains considerable power. Carved in very high relief, both the god and the animal face us; the body of the lion is twisted forward so that its hindquarters present a sharp profile. With its strong head, swelling chest, and widespread, rigidly muscular legs forming a triangle of aggressive power, it is an appropriate vehicle for the crowned warrior on its back. This image, like the Vajrapāṇi, is dated to 1292.

Further west, we encounter a Tibetan stupa as an opened-out, consciously symmetrical setting for a central eight-armed bodhisattva flanked by two attendants and four images of Vajrapāṇi (fig. 43).

Finally, still further west and a bit lost in a high pocket of rock, the high-relief carving of another strange, corpulent intrusion into the thirteenth-century world of Hangchou is identified by inscription with the name of Mi-li-wa-pa^{ao} (fig. 44). Mi-li-wa-pa is attended by two women placed to his right. One holds a pitcher; the other offers a bowl. On the ground is a large jar. It is impossible to see this as anything other than a scene of drinking. Damaged as the Silenus-like figure is, the basic forms, and even surviving bits of fine detail (notably, on the figures of the women), speak of what once was noble carving.³¹

Mi-li-wa-pa must certainly be the Chinese translation of Virūpa-Birvapa, one of the traditional eighty-four siddhas in Tibetan Buddhism, those iconoclastic beings of exceptional powers who attained a transmutation of the body "so that it becomes a veritable 'diamond' [*vajra*] which cuts everything else, itself remaining uncut."³² Virūpa, an eighth-century sage, is recorded to have commanded the sun to stand still, holding it as ransom for ale³³—an act the more understandable in the light of the fact that for the siddha the body itself contained all the forces of the cosmos. Sun and moon were within him.³⁴

However damaged, the idiosyncratic sage is to be seen as the corpulent form in this Fei-lai-feng niche. A meditation belt is across his knees and stomach. The right hand is raised to halt the sun, which rests on a cloud pattern just above the first waiting woman. The relevance of Virūpa's appearance among the Yüan carvings is established in the knowledge that this siddha was particularly connected with the Saskya lineage of Tibetan Buddhism. It was exactly this lineage that was adopted by the Mongol rulers.³⁵ Virūpa's presence thus reaffirms connections between church and state in the late thirteenth century.

We return to the image with which we began: Maitreya in the guise of Pu-tai (figs. 3 and 4), surrounded by his lively band of lohan (figs. 29–34). Only his open massiveness relates him to the images we have just considered. Here, corpulence is part of his legend. He is, in fact, completely Chinese.

Pu-tai was a Chinese monk whose original name was Ch'i-tzu^{ap} ("Congruent with This"). He came from Feng-hua near Ning-po in Chekiang—close enough to make him almost a local figure in

Hangzhou. Of unknown family background, he lived in the Yüeh-lin^{aq} Temple. The earliest accounts state that he died toward the end of the T'ang dynasty, between 901 and 903. He was celebrated as a nonattached soul who wandered about begging and filling his ever-present bag, which he carried on a staff over his back. When he passed wine shops he was given meat and wine to eat and drink—not exactly orthodox Buddhist conduct! Pu-tai could predict the weather. He slept out when it snowed, but no snow gathered on his body. Once he was standing on a great bridge. When asked what he was doing, he replied that he was—like Diogenes—looking for a “man” (*mi jen*).^{ar} Such tales are all found in an early, brief biography in Tsan-ning's^{as} *Sung Kao-seng chuan*,^{at} dating to the late tenth century.³⁶ In this account, Pu-tai is also connected with Maitreya in two lines of a poem: “Maitreya, truly Maitreya/But recognized by none.” After his death he was frequently seen wandering in the Chekiang area, his bag on his back. His likeness was often painted.

It is essentially this account that is elaborated upon in Tao-yüan's^{au} *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*^{av} (Transmission of the Lamp) of the early eleventh century.³⁷ In this later account, the bag is given special, if enigmatic, meaning. Thus, when asked about the Truth, Pu-tai simply put the bag on the ground. When asked why he was called Pu-tai, he also put down his bag. When asked what, after the bag, was important, he picked up the bag and walked away.

On the occasion of his approaching nirvana, Pu-tai took up his seat on a flat stone beneath the eastern veranda of the Yüeh-lin Temple and intoned: “Maitreya, truly Maitreya/Divides his body into ten thousand million parts/From time to time appearing to that time/But recognized by none.” He then departed and, as in the earlier version of his story, was often seen wandering in the area. We are also told that artists competed with each other in painting his likeness.

These accounts suggest that from a very early period Pu-tai existed as a subject for painting. As often occurs in Chinese religion in the transference known as euhemerism, a god is given the character and pedigree of a historical personality.³⁸ Pu-tai fits within the traditions of Ch'an Buddhism. Ling-yin Ssu was a Ch'an temple. Since Pu-tai is said to have died early in the tenth century, his life may not have predated the earliest sculpture at Fei-lai-feng by many years. Although Pu-tai imagery as we know it, either in stone or paint, appears to be a

late Sung phenomenon, the texts indicate earlier roots.

We know of two Pu-tai images from the north which have been preserved in rubbings. One is from a stone engraving that utilizes a design by the Northern Sung painter Ts'ui Po^{aw} (fig. 45). An engraved colophon by Su Shih^{ax} claims he saw the painting in the Hsi-ning era (1068–1078). Since Su mentions Wu (Tao-tzu),^{ay} we are stylistically placed in a tradition of lively expressionism stemming from that famous T'ang artist.

The other Pu-tai image is dated to 1223 under the Chin-dynasty reign date of Yüan-kuang (fig. 46). The iconography is exactly based on that of the earlier image, but the change in style is significant. The figure's proportions are stubbier; detail has been added—lengthened eyebrows, a necklace, a pattern on the lower robe. The easy flow of Ts'ui Po's lines has been transformed. Lines now are more repetitious and more broken. They vary in thickness, following a nail-head–rat-tail form. These changes are important in indicating a less idealized concept, a tendency that is affirmed by the elimination of the halo from the 1223 image.

Although both of these portraits are of standing figures, they can be compared with profit to the Fei-lai-feng reclining Pu-tai-Maitreya. Of the two northern images, the thirteenth-century Chin Pu-tai is closer stylistically. We can note the large head ringed by the fleshy lines of chin and neck; the smile which, while not a laugh, contrasts with Ts'ui Po's version, which is curiously grim and hews more closely to the laconic portrait of Pu-tai given in the earliest biographies; the round corpulence of the exposed breast and belly; the short legs and prominent, thick hands (damaged in the stone image); the drapery that frames this cheerful flesh with easy, repeated curving lines (lines which, when they are brushstrokes, thicken and thin, when carved in stone become varied flowing grooves, less mannered and less repetitious); and, on both carving and rubbing, the half-rejected robe that smiles and laughs in concord with face and eyes.

Although northern images of Pu-tai have been preserved only in rubbings, we are able to turn directly to southern painting as a source for the Maitreya carving. A remarkable Pu-tai head and torso in the Shanghai Museum (fig. 47) bears the cartouche-like signature of the early thirteenth-century painter Liang K'ai.^{az} It is clearly a variant of the Fei-lai-feng image. Here, the bag is to the left, and the robe, instead of being opened wide, is clutched to the chest. The robe creates a dark angle of contrast between the light area of the bag and the

light area of the head and bare shoulders. May we not see here an equation between the meaning of the bag and the meaning of the head? The head, like the bag, becomes the focus for concentration and ambiguous complexity: eyelashes sweeping like long eyebrows, the full laugh—an intricate pattern of curve and angle—taking on an importance similar to the open-mouthed laugh of the Maitreya carving.

A second image of *Pu-tai Stroking His Stomach* exists in an unspecified Japanese collection (fig. 48). This hanging scroll has a traditional attribution to Mu-ch'i.^{ba} There is no bag (despite the bag-like stomach). As with the Liang K'ai painting, the facial features of Pu-tai focus attention on the head. The laughing, U-shaped mouth—teeth, tongue, gums—creates an intricate geometry shadowed by dark touches of beard. And like the Fei-lai-feng image, the robe has been cast aside to expose obesity. We may also note the figure's wide jowls and thick hand. The thick-to-pointed brushstrokes that define the painted drapery could easily be transformed into the pronounced, varied grooves that describe the robe on the stone image. Although the Mu-ch'i attribution is unreliable, the inscription above is that of Chien-weng Chü-ching.^{bb} Chien-weng's identity is uncertain. One hypothesis suggests he was a follower of Wu-chun^{bc} (1177–1249), who was also the teacher of Mu-ch'i.³⁹ Again, we are brought into the ambience of the late Southern Sung, perhaps extending into early Yüan.

We are fortunate in the existence of another stone image of Pu-tai at Fei-lai-feng. This representation is located in the midst of the flowering of Yüan niches in the area of Lung-hung Tung and is, in all probability, a Yüan carving, certainly no earlier (fig. 49). While we encounter again the laughing individual with the rosary in the left hand, the bag is missing and the figure is seated upright. The relaxed corpulence of Pu-tai has been given a more formal interpretation. It is a stylistic compromise which relates the image to figures like Kuvera, clearly identifiable with the decades of the eighties or nineties.

No analysis of the reclining Pu-tai-Maitreya carving can ignore the eighteen lohan which, spilling out at the corners, line the walls of the niche and create a sympathetic accompaniment. Small in scale, they appear, in this respect, not unlike children. Indeed, children have also been associated with Pu-tai.⁴⁰ It is a lively troupe. Positions and gestures vary; grouping and placement differ. The lohan gaze upward, sideways, forward, down. There is a constant sense of shift and change as the eye moves

from one figure to the next. One cannot entirely escape the notion that these are actors performing appointed, enigmatic roles in support of the joyous god on center stage.⁴¹

Textual evidence translated in the T'ang period, the *Fa-chu-chi*^{bd} (Record on the Duration of the Law), suggests that in their own right lohan embodied a meaning that was later connected with Pu-tai. Just as the latter wandered, an unprepossessing spirit, in the ordinary world, so it was with lohan, "who with all their followers according to their task go . . . and appear in all kinds of shapes, hiding their holy attitude and being like the common crowd."⁴²

When Pu-tai is considered to be Maitreya, the *Fa-chu-chi* further secures the lohan presence. Before entering nirvana, the Buddha entrusted the Law to sixteen lohan whose names are listed. Their extraordinary knowledge had the effect of extending their lives until the coming of Maitreya completed their protective task. The *Fa-chu-chi* also lists the place where each lohan resided, and in so doing suggests that, however much informality is present, the group might also be read as a more formal space-time diagram. The increase from sixteen to eighteen indicates that the carving is not a literal interpretation of the text.⁴³

As we have noted, lohan were a popular subject for earlier carving at Fei-lai-feng, and we are not surprised to see them here. But both stylistically and iconographically, the Maitreya group differs from the esoteric Yüan images that dominate the rest of this north-facing cliff. The Yüan blend of authority and secret ritual is a marked contrast to the easy openness of Maitreya and his approachable band.

Even the setting is a clue to such a difference. For while Maitreya's niche is hollowed smooth from the uneven rock, there is in addition an effort to put back, as it were, the weathered cave and grotto idea by pockmarking the newly carved setting with repeated hollow gougings, a conscious rustication that is often to be detected in twelfth- and thirteenth-century painting.⁴⁴ This, too, helps bracket Maitreya somewhere between the earlier (and more symbolic) carvings that antedate the Southern Sung and the different Yüan images that follow it.

Maitreya and his eighteen lohan present Buddhist truths disguised in the form of immediate, realistic physical presences. We have already noted the painted parallel for Pu-tai (Maitreya). It is appropriate at this point to consider painted lohan who are conceived in similar fashion. In something of a

convenient oversimplification, there are two main streams of lohan representation in the late Sung. One depicts a grotesque type, full of expressive distortions, and is related to the style of Kuan-hsiu (832–912)—incidentally, a contemporary of Pu-tai. A calmer, more worldly type of lohan image is said to stem from the late Northern Sung artist Li Kung-lin.^{be} It is to the latter group (at least in the sense that they are not markedly distorted) that the Fei-lai-feng carvings belong.

The closest connections between painted and stone images come, not from the numerous individual lohan portrait scrolls that characterize the work of Liu Sung-nien^{bf} or are often attributed to the late Sung and Yüan periods, but rather from groups of lohan assembled in a single composition. The most significant example of this kind of lohan depiction is the well-known *Five Hundred Lohan*, painted as a series of one hundred scrolls by two Ning-po artists, Chou Chi-ch'ang^{bg} and Lin T'ing-kuei,^{bh} during the latter part of the twelfth century. The idea of five hundred lohan, like that of sixteen (or eighteen) lohan, is apparently rooted in the T'ang dynasty.⁴⁵ Although the set was long preserved in the Zen temple of Daitoku-ji in Kyoto, in 1894 twelve of the scrolls were sold in America. Ten were purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and two made their way to the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

The Daitoku-ji set is securely dated by inscription to 1178. Since two artists are connected with the painting and it has been suggested that their styles were not the same,⁴⁶ one cannot expect exact correspondence when one turns, not only to the work of other artists, but to a work in another medium. General parallels, however, are inescapable (see figs. 50 and 51). The Fei-lai-feng carvings share with the paintings an informal grouping (in the paintings, five to a scroll); a variety of poses; an effort at individual characterization; and placement in a limited natural, often rocky, setting. One can carry parallels further, however: a face that may be either smooth or gnarled, the zigzag folds of a drapery end, the angled wrinkles over an arm, the large ring which helps fasten the robe over the left shoulder.

If brushwork in the paintings projects an expressive line that changes from thick to thin, that delights in sharp angles but can also vary these with curving forms, one can find a ready equivalent in the carvings where the chisel cuts a line-edge at a sharp angle into the rock (almost as though it were a slanting brush) and where length, direction, and variety of "lines" in stone correspond closely to the

shifts and changes in the painter's touch (figs. 31 and 32).

The group idea—whether it consists of five or eighteen figures—is inescapable. In both painting and sculpture it is reinforced by formally connected attitudes and gestures and the sympathetic arrangements of a compact setting. Yet there are strong contending psychological forces, and the final outcome—again, in both media—is the depiction of separated individual consciousness. Each sage remains, as it were, doing "his own thing." An apparent impulse to work for pictorial unity is counteracted by the need to be true to individual characterization. As with Rembrandt in another time and place, it is the universal problem of the group portrait. The reality of separate individual consciousness must triumph here, for it lies at the heart of the lohan's path to enlightenment.

The more one looks at the Fei-lai-feng Maitreya group figures, the more one experiences their physical and spiritual diversity as exact, precise images performing directly before us in a world of space and time that is an extension of our own. This is an attitude about which one might generalize in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To find it at Fei-lai-feng, related to similar images in paint, suggests that the carving belongs to this time.⁴⁷

But despite a clear difference from known Yüan carvings, it remains to suggest the possibility of this "realism" continuing into the Yüan. Could Yang-lien Chen-chia and his craftsmen have embraced it as well? That is to say, could he, too, not only have been responsible for carvings that imported for him familiar images of esoteric Tibetan Buddhism, but also have made an effort (if only as a gesture) to present what were by now indigenous Ch'an ideals?

There are two interesting recordings of how Yang-lien Chen-chia fared in his relations with Ch'an monks. He once summoned the Ch'an monk Yün-feng^{bi} (1219–1293) to court for a religious discussion about Ch'an. On this occasion, a Chinese monk had to be used as interpreter. The second episode goes beyond a division in language and, interestingly, involves an artist. Yang-lien Chen-chia invited Wen Jih-kuan (Tzu-wen),^{bj} the well-known painter of grapes and connoisseur of wine, to taste a famous wine. We are told that Wen refused even a drop and—rather typical of Ch'an stories—shouted "Grave-robber!" In calling our attention to these episodes, Herbert Franke details at some length the inevitable conflicts between powerful Tibetan or foreign Buddhists and the Chinese whom they might readily dominate from their new and privileged status. When Liao-hsing,^{bk} a Chinese

monk, simply bowed slowly instead of grovelling before the Western monks, he defended his action:

"I have heard that the superior person (*chün-tzu*)⁴¹ loves people and he shows this by his politeness. How can one bend one's principles so as to humiliate oneself by flattering others? . . . If I were to bend because of them it would be either flattery or currying their favor. How could a superior person act in such a toadying way?"⁴⁸

Pu-tai as Maitreya, a hero-god from Chekiang surrounded by an informal band of Chinese monks, instructs us in the nature of the Buddha's Way, not

by means of some remote authority, but by virtue of firmly planted local roots, roots which are not just in a subject but are far more concretely affirmed by style itself. It is a style in which the artist's craft and the endurance of the living rock remind us that the gods are close to us because they are like us. This is so completely a late Sung idea that it seems almost impossible to connect it directly with the sculptural program imported into China after the Yüan conquest.

Notes

1. In an early account, Henri Maspero outlines the temple's history. Its origin is attributed to a monk, Hui-li,^{bm} who arrived from India during the Eastern Chin (328). According to the legend, it was he who claimed that the peak in whose vicinity he placed his temple was like the famed Vulture Peak in India and hence must have "flown over." The temple was reconstructed at the end of the sixth century (in 596) and called the "Southern Indian Temple" (Nan T'ien-chu Ssu).^{bn} In the T'ang it was called Ling-yin Ssu. Abandoned as a result of the Buddhist persecutions of 845, its revival dates from the tenth century; it was at that time that four surviving *dhāraṇī* pagodas were carved and inscribed with the *Fo ting t'o-lo-ni ching*.^{bo} Maspero cites major destruction during the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion. The present main hall is a reconstruction from early in this century. Henri Maspero, "Rapport sommaire sur une mission archéologique au Tchö-kiang," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 14, no. 8 (1914): 16–17. Full historical information directly from Chinese accounts is found in Ting Ping, *Wu-lin chang-ku ts'ung-pien*, 12 vols. (1883; reprint ed., Taipei, 1967), vol. 6.
2. I would like here to acknowledge my indebtedness to a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities, administered through the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China, which permitted me to travel and study in China during the year 1980–1981, Fei-lai-feng being among the sites visited and partially photographed. I also want to thank Prof. Wang Po-ming of the Hangchou Art Academy for early discussions about the sculpture there; Kuo Chi-sheng of National Taiwan University for bibliographical suggestions; and Eleanor Mannikka for help with Tibetan Buddhist iconography.
3. The most comprehensive listing of names is found in Sung Yün-pin, *Hsi-hu shih-k'u i-shu* (Hangchou, 1956), p. 8.
4. Ibid., p. 11. Here also is listed and illustrated a much-damaged seated Maitreya and flanking figures as being inside the cave and for whom the patron was also Hu Ch'eng-te. The date is not given. Other references to the 1022 sculpture may be found in: Maspero, "Mission archéologique au Tchö-kiang," p. 20 and pl. VII; Tokiwa Daijō and Sekino Tadashi, *Shina bunka shiseki*, 12 vols. (Tokyo, 1939), 4:85–86, 96; and Ishida Hisatoyo, "Heiai hō no Kegon bukkaizō," *Museum*, no. 194 (May 1967), pp. 2–6.
5. Sung Yün-pin, *Hsi-hu shih-k'u i-shu*, p. 8. The suggestion is made here that they could date to the T'ang, but this seems difficult to prove. If tenth century, they would be connected with the revival of the temple at that time. Some of the figures may be later. Tokiwa and Sekino (*Shina bunka shiseki*, 4:82) indicate eighteen lohan opposite the Vairocana (presumably, those above the "bed") as having an inscribed date, the second year of Huang-yu (corresponding to 1050). I have not found confirmation of this elsewhere.
6. Sung Yün-pin, *Hsi-hu shih-k'u i-shu*, p. 10, pl. 5. The exact location within Ch'ing-lin Tung is not clear. Tokiwa and Sekino (*Shina bunka shiseki*, 4:96) give an abbreviated version of this inscription taken from *Liang-Che chin-shih chih*,^{bp} *chüan* 4. They cite only the reign date of the beginning of the Sung which, of course, is officially equated with 960.
7. Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki*, 4:88. One can be skeptical about such exact numbers, especially for lohan sequences. There has been too much damage, and it is impossible to associate inscriptions from earlier recordings with concrete images to determine whether the lohan number in the inscription was indeed part of a set. However, it is an interesting possibility.
8. Ibid., pp. 86–87. The inscriptions here are gathered from *Yün-lin Ssu hsi-chih*,^{ba} *chüan* 7. Lo Chen-yü, *Lo Hsüeh-t'ang hsien-sheng ch'uan-chi, liu-pien*, 20 vols. (Taiwan, 1976), 3:1291–1301. In the latter, a long list of such inscriptions is given which claim to be from Lung-hung Tung. This is misleading. Apparently, the cave name is used to designate all such carvings, or perhaps the name of the cave has been confused with others. Several of Lo's inscriptions correspond to those given by Tokiwa and Sekino. Lo's inscriptions are not all dated, but when dates do occur, they fall within the period 999–1003.
9. My notes, for example, indicate another small early trinity and six lohan (about 10 in. high) on the north wall (facing south), which is the other side of the irregular rock that blocks the entrance we have just been discussing.
10. Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki*, 4:96; and Sung Yün-pin, *Hsi-hu shih-k'u i-shu*, p. 8. Here the damage is noted so that only the era is confirmed. Sung's plates 25 and 26 show lohan connected with the inscriptions. One of these images (the lohan with fly-whisk and an attendant) is illustrated in figure 18 of this article. The source in Tokiwa and Sekino is a text rather than the original stone. In the cave there are (or were) also Yüan inscriptions telling of refurbishing. At that time there must have been earlier images which were in need of such repair.
11. Huang Yung-ch'üan, *Hangchou Yüan-tai shih-k'u i-shu* (Peking, 1958), p. 2. Here it is said that there are "over twenty" images but that the poses are stiff and show little quality. Maspero ("Mission archéologique au Tchö-kiang," p. 20) suggests the figures are Yüan with recent restoration.
12. Sung Yün-pin, *Hsi-hu shih-k'u i-shu*, pls. 6–16; Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki*, 4:77–79; Shih Yen, "Nan-shan ch'ü tiao-k'o shih-chi ch'u-pu tiao-ch'a," *Wen-wu ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao*, no. 1 (1956), pp. 18–22; and Yü Chien-hua, "Hangchou Wu-tai, Sung, Yüan shih-k'o tsai-hsiang fu-k'an hou ti i-tien i-chien," *Wen-wu ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao*, no. 12 (1956), pp. 28–30.
13. See the well-known embroidery of this subject from the Kyoto Museum. Because of a dated inscription, this work can be no later than 1295. Sherman Lee and Waikam Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols* (Cleveland, 1968), no. 304.
14. Herbert Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton, 1981), pp. 306–7. The ruler's association with Buddhist belief is explicitly defined. Chinggis Khan was born 3,250 years after nirvana. He had a status in history similar to that of Aśoka and the Tibetan holy kings. The crown-prince was addressed as "Bodhisattva Imperial Prince." Khubilai was regarded as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. The present study is indebted throughout to the information provided by this important and fascinating paper.

15. Ibid., p. 312.
16. Ibid., pp. 322–23. Shuen-fu Lin calls our attention to the reaction of a group of scholar-poets to this desecration. Shuen-fu Lin, *The Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition* (Princeton, 1978), pp. 192–93.
17. Friar Odoric of Pordenone, whose travels in China (from 1316 to 1330) postdate Yang-lien Chen-chia's career by only a few decades, reported hearing of corpses cut to pieces by priests and devoured by eagles and vultures, and the use of a father's head for a goblet. Rockhill reported that the bones of a Catholic priest killed in 1881 were later taken from his grave and his skull made into a drinking cup. There was also a ceremonial offering of a skull to Amitābha. See Berthold Laufer, *Use of Human Skulls and Bones in Tibet* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 3, 6–9 (reprinted in *Kleiner Schriften von Berthold Laufer*, 2 vols. [Wiesbaden, 1979], 2:1395–1410). Following William of Rubrick in the thirteenth century, the tale of cutting up the dead received in Europe a more grisly interpretation. A fourteenth-century miniature, *Livre des Merveilles*, depicts humans eating the dead parent. A. t'Serstevens, *Les Précurseurs de Marco Polo* (Paris, 1959), fig. 34.
18. Huang Yung-ch'üan, *Hangchou Yüan-tai shih-k'u i-shu*, p. 3. He is quoting from the Ming source by T'ien Ju-ch'eng,^{br} *Hsi-hu yu-lan chih yü*.^{bs}
19. Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," pp. 323–24.
20. Huang Yung-ch'üan, *Hangchou Yüan-tai shih-k'u i-shu*, pp. 7–8. The niche in question is below and to the west of the laughing Maitreya. It shows a seated monk and two attendants. There is a tradition that during the Ming, in angry reprisal for Yang's excesses, his portrait was smashed. The existence of this niche, however, has led to the speculation that either the wrong image was destroyed or that the incident did not occur at all.
21. The slab below the statue, with only slight trace of writing, is all that now exists, but the text has often been printed in full. Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki*, 4:90; Sung Yün-pin, *Hsi-hu shih-k'u i-shu*, pp. 12–13, pl. 34; and Huang Yung-ch'üan, *Hangchou Yüan-tai shih-k'u i-shu*, pp. 17–18, pl. 46.
22. This gives Yang power over a large area—the territory embracing the Yangtze and Huai rivers.
23. *Wu-liang-shou*^{bt} is a standard term for Amitābha. William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Buddhist Terms* (1934; reprint ed., Taipei, 1962), p. 383.
24. Huang Yung-ch'üan, *Hangchou Yüan-tai shih-k'u i-shu*, p. 1. As far as I know, no one has made a systematic study and record of the site, although Huang assigns numbers to many of the niches.
25. Ibid., p. 3. The source quoted is the work of the sixteenth-century Ming writer T'ien Ju-ch'eng, *Hsi-hu yu-lan chih yü*.
26. Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford, 1959), pp. 50–51, 61–62.
27. The term is applied by Franke: "The order of religion is presided over by the Lama, and the state by the Ruler. The priest has to teach religion, and the Ruler has to guarantee a rule which enables everyone to live in peace. . . . The Lama corresponds to the Buddha and the Ruler to the Cakravartin" ("Tibetans in Yüan China," pp. 308–9). Recent scholarship tends to place Yüan rule in a more favorable light in terms of the flourishing of traditional Chinese ideals. This is not confirmed by the Buddhist experience at Hangchou at the end of the thirteenth century. See Langlois's introduction to *China under Mongol Rule*, pp. 11ff.
28. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, p. 67.
29. Jacques Gernet, *A History of Chinese Civilization*, trans. J. R. Foster (Cambridge, 1982). These two assessments are found on pp. 303 and 305.
30. Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (reprint ed., Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo, 1962), pp. 156ff. The mongoose represents Kuvera's victory over the *nāgas*, guardians of the earth's treasures. Because of damage, it is not certain that the animal is, in fact, represented here, but the idea itself is clear enough and alternate representations exist—for example, a money-bag spewing forth jewels, which sometimes takes on the appearance of a mongoose-head. Getty's plate 48d appears to represent a later but similar image.
31. Maspero, without providing an explanation, makes the curious assertion that the scene depicts Śākyamuni receiving the offering of the milk-rice before enlightenment ("Mission archéologique au Tchö-kiang," p. 19 and pl. VI, no. 9). Mi-li-wa-pa, a term not readily found in standard Buddhist dictionaries, is used in modern accounts, citing the inscription. See Sung Yün-pin, *Hsi-hu shih-k'u i-shu*, p. 13 and pls. 38, 39; and Huang Yung-ch'üan, *Hangchou Yüan-tai shih-k'u i-shu*, p. 18 and pls. 48, 49.
32. S. K. Ramchandra Rao, *Tibetan Tantrik Tradition* (New Delhi, 1977), p. 37.
33. Toni Schmid, *The Eighty-five Siddhas* (Stockholm, 1958), pp. 36, 171, and pl. II. James B. Robinson, trans., *Buddha's Lions, the Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas (Caturaṣṭi-siddha-pravṛtti by Abhayadatta)* (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 27–32, 265–66.
34. Rao, *Tibetan Tantrik Tradition*, p. 42.
35. Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," pp. 304–6. Other representations of Virūpa may be found, but none, so far as I know, as early as this cliff carving, which should logically fall within the decade of 1282–1292, fitting with dated images of this style. For such images, see *Dieux et démons de l'Himalaya, art du Bouddhisme lamaïque* (Paris [Grand Palais], 1977), nos. 63, 100, 150.
36. Tsan-ning, *Sung Kao-seng chuan* (*Kao-seng chuan san-chi* ed.), *chüan* 21, pp. 590–91. Lessing, who has assembled a list of basic texts on Pu-tai, dates this to circa 988. Tsan-ning lived from 918 to 999 (see Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Yung-ho-kung* [Stockholm, 1942], p. 22). Lessing's extensive account of Pu-tai and his legend is the most thorough single source known to me.

37. Tao-yüan, *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (P'u-hui Ta-tsang K'an-hsing Hui ed.). Lessing (*Yung-ho-kung*, p. 22) points out that the author "worked in 1004." Tao-yüan's account of Pu-tai has been translated in full by Helen B. Chapin, "The Ch'an Master Pu-tai," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 53 (1933): 47-52. Tao-yüan's account alters the date of Pu-tai's death to 916-917.
38. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, p. 99. Corpulence and the full bag are, in the earthy Chinese context, direct indications of prosperity; the relaxed reclining position is suggestive of spiritual peace—both represent important Chinese life-ideals. See Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China* (Princeton, 1964), p. 407.
39. Toda Teisuke, *Mokkei, Gyokkan*, Suiboku Bijutsu Taikai series, vol. 3 (Tokyo, 1973), no. 48, p. 167. *Kokka*, no. 802, pp. 18-23. There are two priests named Chien-weng. Suzuki Tetsuo, comp., *Chügoku zenshü jimmei sakuin* (Nagoya, 1975), p. 57. The inscription is also on a separate piece of paper.
40. Following Lessing (*Yung-ho-kung*, p. 24), the bringing of children into the Pu-tai legend does not, in texts, predate the late Sung. The *Fo-tzu t'ung-chi*^{bu} (1258-1269) speaks of sixteen boys chasing him and seizing his bag; a later text written by T'an-o^{bu} (1286-1366) in the Yüan mentions eighteen children. An ink painting, a hanging scroll whose inscription insures a late Sung (thirteenth-century) date, shows a single child on Pu-tai's bag. The painting is in the Tokugawa Art Museum (Toda, *Mokkei, Gyokkan*, pl. 37). An excellent anonymous Ming hanging scroll—very closely following a Sung academic style—is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Unpublished, it shows the saint surrounded by many children. Lessing reproduces two later Tibetan representations, one the detail of a painting, the other a bronze statue showing Pu-tai with children (*Yung-ho-kung*, pl. XIII, nos. 1 and 2). There is also a representation of Pu-tai with two children from the east pagoda at Zayton, an image certainly much later than the thirteenth-century foundations (see G. Ecke and P. Demiéville, *The Twin Pagodas of Zayton* [Cambridge, Mass., 1935], pl. 49). One of the children holds a coin, a reference to the enigmatic phrase found in his biographies, "Give me a cash."
41. The representation of actors in both sculpture and paintings was a subject of some significance in the Sung. Robert J. Maeda, "Some Sung, Chin and Yüan Representations of Actors," *Artibus Asiae* 41, nos. 2-3 (1979): 132-56.
42. M. W. de Visser, *The Arhats in China and Japan* (Berlin, 1923), p. 61. The *Fa-chu-chi* represents the wisdom handed down by the arhat Nandimitra, and hence it bears the full title of *Ta-a lo-han Nan-ti-mi-to-lo so-shuo fa-chu-chi*. It is the earliest authoritative text on the sixteen lohan and was translated by Hsüan-tsang in 654. The idea actually antedates the fifth century. Wen Fong, *The Lohans and the Bridge to Heaven* (Washington, D.C., 1958), pp. 35-36.
43. Sylvan Lévi and Édouard Chavannes, "Les Seize arhat protecteurs de la loi," *Journal Asiatique* (XI série) 8, no. 2 (September-October 1916): 13ff. The authors point out that four—the major directional number—is the square root of sixteen.
44. A convenient and well-known example of this is in the fan-shaped album-leaf *The Palaces of Han* (illustrated in, *inter alia*, James Cahill, *Chinese Painting* [Lausanne, 1960], p. 81). This kind of rock treatment occurs often in painting of the period. The grotto-like depiction in *The Palaces of Han* is extremely suggestive of the limestone formations at Fei-lai-feng and may well be a pictorial parallel to the fact that Fei-lai-feng was reconstructed in an imperial garden during Hsiao-tsung's^{bw} reign. Chu P'eng, *Nan-Sung ku-chi k'ao, hsia*, in *Ch'ien-tao Lin-an chih teng wu-chung* (Taipei, 1963), p. 32.
45. Wen Fong, *The Lohans*, pp. 22-23. In the tenth century, a hall of five hundred lohan was founded at Ling-yin Ssu. Maspero, "Mission archéologique au Tchö-kiang," p. 17.
46. Wen Fong, *The Lohans*, pp. 6ff.
47. The painted cluster of *Eighteen Lohan*, a hanging scroll in a Japanese collection, presents an interesting ink version of the group. A colophon preserved on it is dated to 1348. It is certainly a Yüan painting and, in contrast to the Sung styles, presents a more mannered and summary treatment of both the arrangement and the individual lohan. The Fei-lai-feng carvings give more attention to the individuals and the detail that defines them. Kawakami Kei et al., *Ryokai, Indara*, Suiboku Bijutsu Taikai series, vol. 4 (Tokyo, 1975), pl. 88. An additional point for the date of the carving may be in the composition itself. Ellen Laing has noted of painting that "the spacious circular arrangement of figures must now be added to the corpus of Southern Sung compositional schemes." Ellen J. Laing, "Li Sung and Some Aspects of Southern Sung Figure Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 37, nos. 1-2 (1975): 14.
48. These episodes are recorded in Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," pp. 318 and 325.

Glossary

a. 彌勒	n. 觀音洞
b. 布袋	o. 一線天
c. 飛來峯	p. 盧舍那
d. 靈隱寺	q. 文殊
e. 青林洞	r. 普賢
f. 金光洞	s. 觀音
g. 香林洞	t. 陸慶
h. 射旭洞	u. 胡承德
i. 理公洞	v. 床
j. 玉乳洞	w. 大勢至
k. 蝙蝠洞	x. 烟霞洞
l. 龍泓洞	y. 貫休
m. 通天洞	z. 善財

<i>aa.</i>	宣政院	<i>az.</i>	梁楷
<i>ab.</i>	行	<i>ba.</i>	牧谿
<i>ac.</i>	楊璉真伽	<i>bb.</i>	簡翁居敬
<i>ad.</i>	江南總攝常釋教	<i>bc.</i>	無準
<i>ae.</i>	宋高宗	<i>bd.</i>	法住記
<i>af.</i>	虎巖淨伏	<i>be.</i>	李公麟
<i>ag.</i>	海雲，易菴子安	<i>bf.</i>	劉松年
<i>ah.</i>	錢永昌	<i>bg.</i>	周季常
<i>ai.</i>	王冕	<i>bh.</i>	林庭珪
<i>aj.</i>	玄奘	<i>bi.</i>	雲峯
<i>ak.</i>	漢明帝	<i>bj.</i>	溫日觀（子溫）
<i>al.</i>	錢選	<i>bk.</i>	了性
<i>am.</i>	趙孟頫	<i>bl.</i>	君子
<i>an.</i>	理公塔	<i>bm.</i>	慧理
<i>ao.</i>	密理瓦巴	<i>bn.</i>	南天竺寺
<i>ap.</i>	契此	<i>bo.</i>	佛頂陀羅尼經
<i>aq.</i>	岳林寺	<i>bp.</i>	兩浙金石志
<i>ar.</i>	覓人	<i>bq.</i>	雲林寺續志
<i>as.</i>	贊寧	<i>br.</i>	田汝成
<i>at.</i>	宋高僧傳	<i>bs.</i>	西湖遊覽志余
<i>au.</i>	道原	<i>bt.</i>	無量壽
<i>av.</i>	景德傳燈錄	<i>bu.</i>	佛祖統記
<i>aw.</i>	崔白	<i>bv.</i>	曇噩
<i>ax.</i>	蘇軾	<i>bw.</i>	孝宗
<i>ay.</i>	吳（道子）		

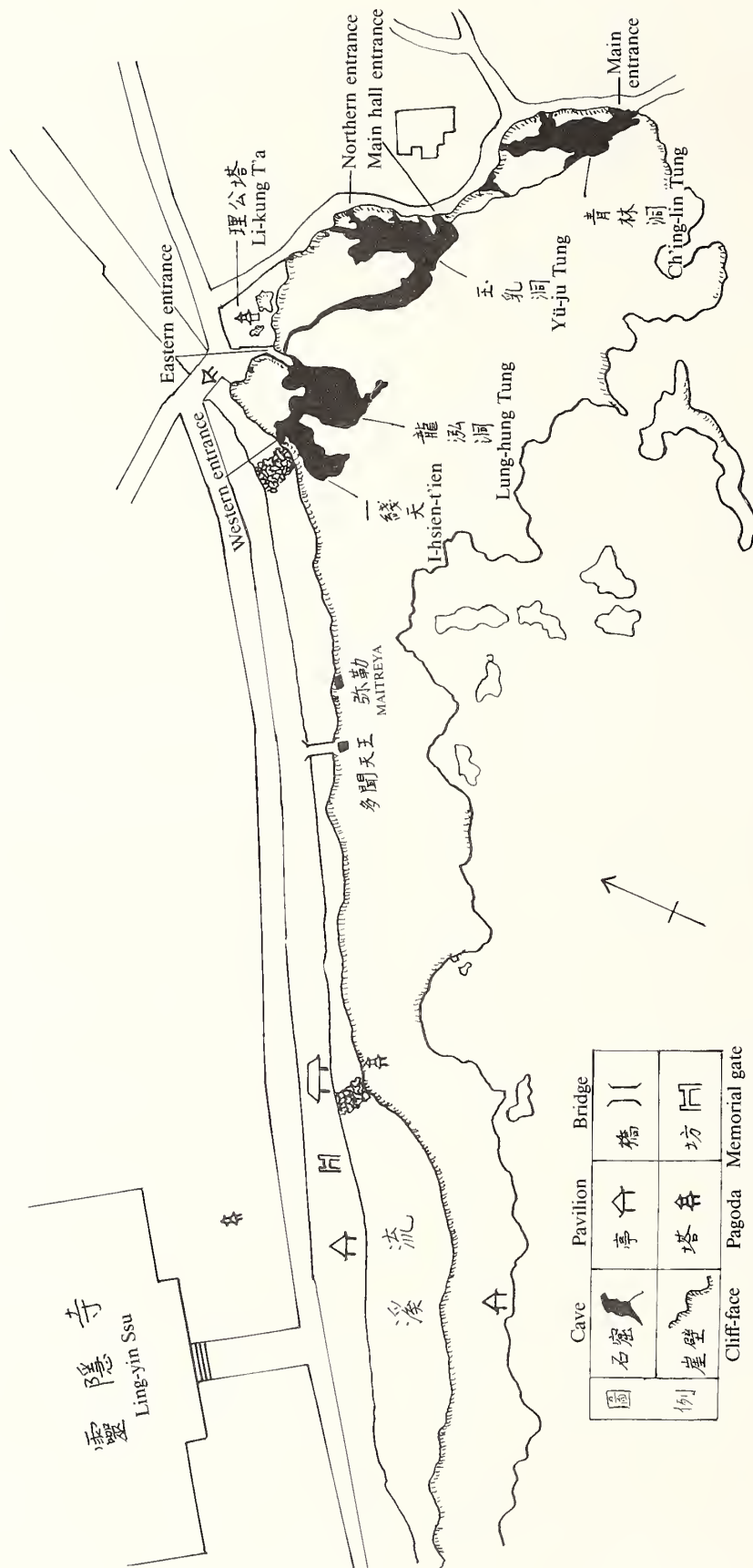


FIG. 1. Map of Fei-lai-feng grottoes. (After Huang Yung-ch'üan,
Hangchou Yuan-tai shih-k'u i-shu.)



FIG. 2. North slope of Fei-lai-feng, area of Pu-tai-Maitreya, seen from the direction of Ling-yin Ssu.



FIG. 3. Maitreya in the guise of Pu-tai, Fei-lai-feng.



FIG. 4. Head of Maitreya (detail of fig. 3).



FIG. 5. Rocky outcropping near peak of Fei-lai-feng.



FIG. 6. Distant roofs of Ling-yin Ssu (modern reconstruction), seen through trees on Fei-lai-feng.



FIG. 7. View southward from peak of Fei-lai-feng.



FIG. 8. Ch'ing-lin Tung, view of cave's main entrance.



FIG. 9. Trinity over entrance to Ch'ing-lin Tung: Vairocana, Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra. Dated 1282.



FIG. 10. Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-yin),
below and to the right of figure 9
(head now missing).



FIG. 11. Vairocana trinity, plaque and surroundings,
Ch'ing-lin Tung entrance, north wall. Dated 1022.
(After Tokiwa Daijō and Sekino Tadashi,
Shina bunka shiseki, vol. 4, pl. 65.)



FIG. 12. Vairocana, Samantabhadra, and attendants (detail of fig. 11).
Inscriptions by earlier visitors below.



FIG. 13. Eighteen arhat (lohan) over the "bed," limestone outcropping, Ch'ing-lin Tung.



FIG. 14. Carvings below Vairocana plaque of 1022.



FIG. 15. Trinity of 951 (right), showing its relation to eighteen lohan and the "bed," Ch'ing-lin Tung.



FIG. 16. Trinity of 951 at Ch'ing-lin Tung: Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāstāmapraptā.



FIG. 17. Ch'ing-lin Tung, outlet to north of main entrance. Carvings date to the early eleventh century. (After Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki*, vol. 4, pl. 67, no. 1.)



FIG. 18. Ch'ing-lin Tung, outlet to north of main entrance. Author's photograph, January 1981.



FIG. 19. Trinity (detail of figs. 17 and 18).



FIG. 20. Four lohan and attendant, Yü-ju Tung, north entrance, east wall.



FIG. 21. Detail of figure 20, fourth lohan.



FIG. 22. Meditating lohan, Yü-ju Tung,
north entrance, west wall.



FIG. 23. Lohan and flying demon, Yü-ju Tung.

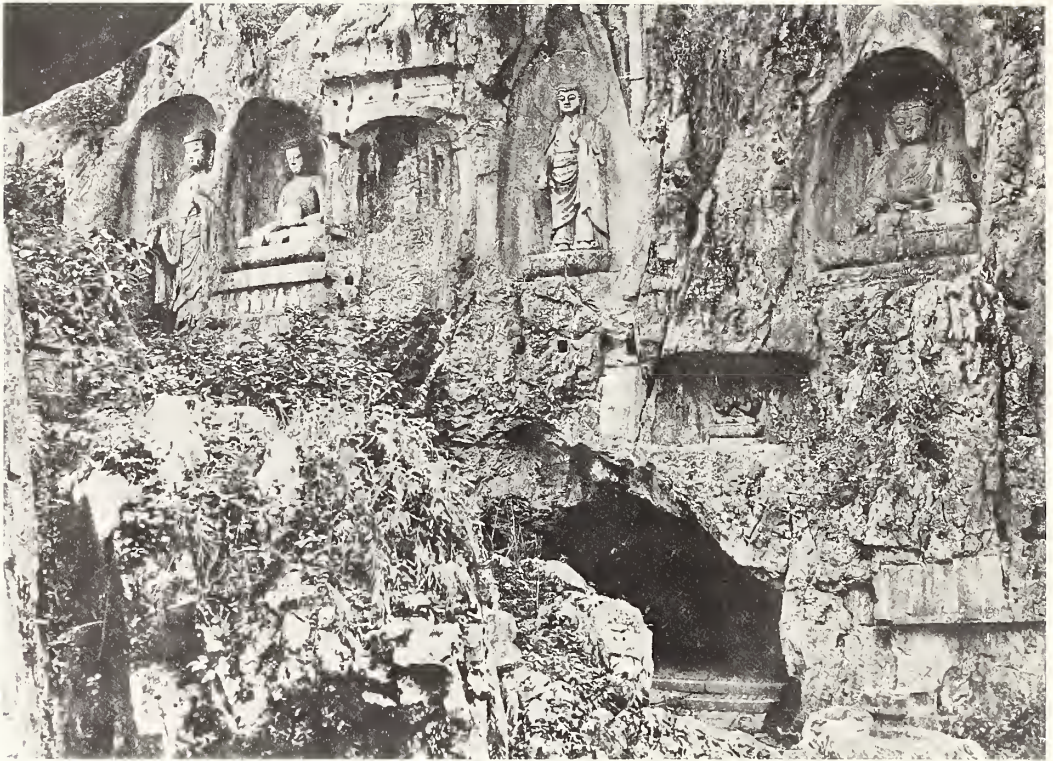


FIG. 24. Cliff images and eastern entrance to Lung-hung Tung. Yüan dynasty.
(After Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki*, vol. 4, pl. 73.)



FIG. 25. Western entrance to Lung-hung Tung (with inscription: *I-hsien-t'ien*).



FIG. 26. Amitābha trinity, west of Lung-hung Tung. Dated by partially damaged inscription to between 1283 and 1292.



FIG. 27. Amitābha (detail of fig. 26).



FIG. 28. Maitreya niche and nearby esoteric images.



FIG. 29. Lohan to Maitreya's left.



FIG. 30. Lohan to Maitreya's right.



FIG. 31. Lohan, right corner of Maitreya grotto.



FIG. 32. Lohan, left corner of Maitreya grotto.



FIG. 33. Lohan with staff, left corner of Maitreya grotto.



FIG. 34. Three lohan heads (detail of lohan in fig. 31).



FIG. 35. Monk portrait (Yang-lien Chen-chia?), niche below and to the west of Maitreya and Iohan.



FIG. 36. Amitābha with inscription slab below, which held dedication for Yang-lien Chen-chia. Dated 1289. Photograph courtesy of John Ang.



FIG. 37. Relief depicting the bringing of the sutras to China, located to the right of Lung-hung Tung entrance (damaged Hsüan-tsang figure out of picture to right; damaged white horse out of picture to left).



FIG. 38. Carved boulders with Tibetan Buddhist images to the east of Lung-hung Tung: Kuvera (left), Vajrapāṇi (right). Vajrapāṇi dated 1292.



FIG. 39. Kuvera, ground-level image
to the east of Lung-hung Tung.



FIG. 40. Kuvera, detail showing mongoose (?) spewing jewels.



FIG. 41. Vajrapāṇi. Dated 1292.



FIG. 42. Vaiśravaṇa. Dated 1292.



FIG. 43. Stupa with central eight-armed bodhisattva flanked by two attendants and four Vajrapāṇi.



FIG. 44. Virūpa and two female attendants depicted holding the sun ransom for ale.



FIG. 45. Pu-tai, rubbing from carving after Ts'ui Po, circa 1070. Inscription after Su Shih, dated 1087. (After Alexander Soper, *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experience in Painting* [Washington, D.C., 1951], frontispiece.)



FIG. 46. Pu-tai, rubbing with inscription. Dated 1223 (Chin dynasty). Academia Sinica, Taipei.
 (After Tao Ching-shen, *The Jurchen in Twelfth Century China* [Seattle, 1976], following p. 94.)



FIG. 47. Pu-tai, album-leaf in ink and light colors on silk. Signed Liang K'ai. Shanghai Museum.

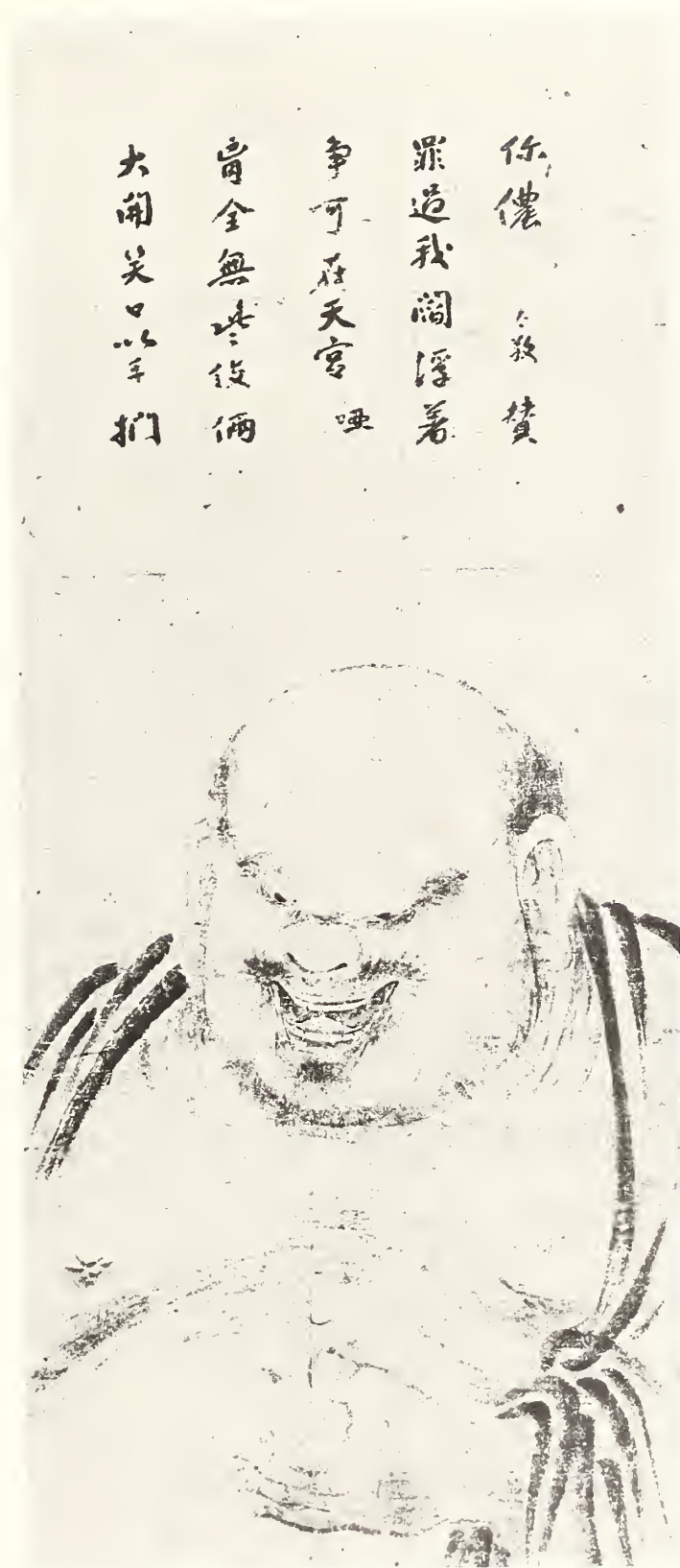


FIG. 48. *Pu-tai Stroking His Stomach*, hanging scroll, ink on paper.
Inscription by Chien-weng Chü-ching. Thirteenth century.



FIG. 49. Pu-tai, niche near Lung-hung Tung. Yüan dynasty (?).



FIG. 50. *Five Arhats Crossing the Sea*, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.
By Chou Chi-ch'ang. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



FIG. 51. *Demons Carrying Buddha's Bones to Different Parts of the World*, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. By Chou Chi-ch'ang. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (For representation of demons, cf. fig. 23.)

THE MONUMENTAL "COSMOLOGICAL BUDDHA" IN THE FREER GALLERY OF ART: CHRONOLOGY AND STYLE

BY ANGELA FALCO HOWARD

FOR ALMOST SIXTY YEARS, THE FREER GALLERY OF ART has had in its collection a monumental stone figure lacking a head and hands (fig. 1) that has been attributed to the Sui dynasty (581–618). Except for sporadic references to some of its representational scenes, no thorough study of this sculpture has yet been attempted.¹ The statue's artistic and iconographic importance is such, however, that it deserves the most careful attention.

Charles W. Bishop, who was appointed in 1922 by the Freer to do archaeological field work in China, bought the sculpture in Peking from the art dealer Taku Shanfang on Christmas Eve, 1923.² Only since the early 1970s, however, has it been displayed in the Freer's gallery of Chinese sculpture. The figure wears a monastic robe. The hem of the *dhotī* (skirt) is visible beneath the *uttarāsaṅga* (robe) that is wrapped around the body of the statue, covering both shoulders. The right end of the robe is thrown over the left shoulder to form a backdrop. The entire surface of the garment, including the backdrop, displays representational scenes executed in crisp, low relief which are contained in registers placed one above the other.

The sculpture belongs to a category of devotional images popular especially during the sixth century. Other sixth-century icons wearing this type of robe are known, but their number is limited to the following four:

- (1) a mural painting from Cave 428 at Tun-huang, executed about 525 during the Northern Wei dynasty (fig. 2);
- (2) a stone statue from the Kao-an Temple near An-yang in Honan Province (fig. 3), carved during the Northern Ch'i dynasty (550–577);³
- (3) a small gilded bronze in the collection of the Musée Guimet, Paris, ascribed to the Northern Ch'i or Sui dynasty (fig. 4);
- (4) a small gilded bronze in the collection of Laurence Sickman, Kansas City, dated to the Northern Ch'i dynasty.⁴

The two small bronzes and the Tun-huang figure are certainly Buddha images, an identification which is confirmed by the shape of their heads and the gestures of their hands. Since the iconography of their robes is so closely related to that of the Freer icon, one can only infer that had the statue's

head and hands been preserved, they would have been similarly fashioned. The Freer sculpture is that of a Buddha, and his hand gestures may be reconstructed as the *abhaya* (reassuring) and the *varada* (gift-bestowing) gestures. Both the painted and sculpted Buddhas bear on the front of their robes a vision of the phenomenal world based on the Buddhist scriptures; hence, the provisional appellation of "Cosmological Buddha," which I have adopted in this article until the specific identity of the sculpture can be established.⁵

The primary purpose of this investigation is to identify the various scenes portrayed on the Buddha's robe. To facilitate this task, the scenes will be considered in terms of three groups, namely, those appearing on the front, sides, and back of the robe. Wherever possible, these scenes will be compared to similar representations from the Six Dynasties period. This analysis of the scenes will prove that the overall scheme of decoration constitutes a compendium of stylistic and doctrinal motifs popular in Buddhist art during the Six Dynasties. In addition, it will become evident that some of the representational scenes have no counterpart in the art of that period; their source may have been paintings which are no longer extant. The sculpture, therefore, is a repository, not only of the familiar motifs of a given period, but also of those which have not survived in any other form.

A second objective of the present study is to demonstrate that although the execution of the sculpture lies firmly within the Six Dynasties tradition, some of the scenes reveal stylistic traits and iconographic developments which do not belong to that period and which suggest that the decoration of the sculpture may have been completed in the seventh century during the early T'ang dynasty.

Scenes Portrayed on the Front of the Robe

The front of the Buddha's robe is divided into nine registers separated, for the most part, by representations of mountain ranges. We have observed that these scenes, with some exceptions which will be noted, depict the phenomenal world

as described in the *Shih chi ching*,^a or *Sutra of Cosmology*.⁶ (The scenes portrayed on the sides and on the back of the robe represent different subject matter.)

Buddhist cosmology admits an infinity of similarly structured universes. According to the *Shih chi ching*, a Buddhist universe is organized around Mt. Sumeru, the axis of the world. It rises above the waters of the Great Ocean, which is encompassed by several concentric chains of mountains, the outermost ring being the Cakravāḍa Mountains. In the Great Ocean are placed the four continents, oriented to the four cardinal points. At the bottom of the Great Ocean and within the boundaries of the Cakravāḍa Mountains lie the hells. In the Great Ocean live also the *nāgas*, dragon-like water deities, and the *asuras*, demi-gods of celestial origin who were expelled from heaven because of their rebelliousness. On the summit of Mt. Sumeru, which is guarded by the Four Heavenly Kings, is placed the first of several heavens, the Trayastrimśā Heaven, or "Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods." This phenomenal world represents the lowest of the three Spheres of Existence, the Kāmadhātu, or "World of Desire," in which sentient beings are subject to passions which cause them endlessly to undergo reincarnation. Most of the representations depicted on the front of the Buddha's robe schematically allude to and freely interpret the cosmological organization outlined above.

The Trayastrimśā Heaven occupies the topmost register, which stretches across the Buddha's chest (fig. 5). Within the scene we find a number of pavilions radiating symmetrically from a larger central structure. Within this large enclosure a buddha is seated. In front of him is placed a *cintāmaṇi*, or "wish-granting jewel." Eight bodhisattvas, ranged in two rows of four each, line the path to the main pavilion. *Apsarases* swoop gracefully through the air, and blossoms are strewn about as if blown by breezes. Stylistically, this representation of heaven resembles the paradise settings carved in the cave temples of Hsiang-t'ang-shan, Hopei, which date to the Northern Ch'i dynasty.⁷ Two standing guardians—a Lokapala (protector of a cardinal direction) and a Vajrapāṇi (bearer of the mace)—are placed to the right and left, respectively, of the Trayastrimśā Heaven (figs. 6a and 6b). The first figure holds a fly-whisk and wears a tunic tied at the waist and a capelet; the second is bare-chested except for the jewelry and wears a *dhotī*. The Vajrapāṇi may be compared to similar Northern Ch'i figures in Cave 7 of the southern group at Hsiang-t'ang-shan,⁸ although

the Freer guardian is less threatening and more elegantly conceived. The Lokapala is more difficult to relate to specific sixth-century guardian figure types. The unnatural elongation of the head recalls a similar physiological exaggeration found in guardians depicted at T'ien-lung-shan.⁹ In the Freer example, the absence of a muscular physique and the figure's nonthreatening pose can be viewed as indications of a late Six Dynasties date.

The representation placed directly below the Trayastrimśā Heaven scene depicts two *nāgas* coiled around Mt. Sumeru, the axis of the world and the support of heaven (fig. 5). The mountain is flanked by two *asuras*. They hold high in their four arms sets of the sun and moon. There is a cluster of pavilions on each side of the mountain; in all probability, these are the abodes of the demi-gods. One of the earliest representations of Mt. Sumeru occurs in the anteroom of Cave 10 at Yün-kang, which dates to circa 480.¹⁰ A painted version can also be seen on the robe of the Cosmological Buddha of Cave 428 at Tun-huang: here, a single *asura* sits cross-legged before the peak, the sun and moon cradled in his hands (fig. 2). The single *asura* is found again on the ceiling of Tun-huang Cave 249, which dates to the Western Wei dynasty (535–557).¹¹ The Yün-kang and Tun-huang representations offer two different interpretations of the Mt. Sumeru setting. The Freer scene follows the Yün-kang formula and shows the stylistic changes that evolved over the intervening century.

The scenes depicted in the third, fourth, and fifth registers from the top are not of a cosmological nature; they contain references to Śākyamuni Buddha's final incarnation and to his preaching in the phenomenal world. In the third register, the Chinese walled city set among mountains probably represents Kapilavastu. The equestrians galloping out of its lateral gates are allusions to two of the four exits of the Bodhisattva Prince from his palace (fig. 7). (The other two exits are depicted in a similar scene carved in the bottom register on the back of the robe.) In the course of each outing, the future Buddha Śākyamuni met successively with an old man, a sick man, a dead man, and a monk. These encounters are credited as the source of his resolution to forsake worldly life.¹² Both of the registers focus on the moment of Śākyamuni's leaving the palace and convey the impression of a joyous cavalcade; the melancholy implications of the four encounters are not considered. The two awkward geese represented in front of the walled city—one with neck outstretched as if feeding on

a large worm, the other watching—are probably allusions to animals inhabiting the human world. Stylistically, the Freer interpretation of the event appears to be unique, suggesting that its original model may have been a painting. This hypothesis receives some support from the fact that the four exits are painted on the Japanese scroll *E Ingakyō* (Illustrated Sutra of Cause and Effect), which reflects Chinese Buddhist narrative art at the close of the sixth century.¹³

The next register (the fourth from the top) depicts an assembly divided into two apparently disputing groups which are arranged around a prominent, frontally presented horse (fig. 7). The representation of the horse is both visually and iconographically significant. The animal's stance may be canonical, since it occurs on the robe of the Kao-an Cosmological Buddha. Because of its prominent position, the horse functions as the pivot of all the scenes depicting the phenomenal world which appear on the front of the Buddha's robe; symbolically, it may represent the passions and sensual desires which cause the uninterrupted process of rebirth within that world. The presence of the horse is also textually explicable. In the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra*, Vimalakīrti explains Śākyamuni's preaching technique to the sentient beings in the phenomenal world in the following way:

[The sentient beings of the Sahā world] are like crooked [stubborn?] elephants and horses which submit only when spurred on and clobbered with a rod and beaten without mercy until the blows reach their bones. Likewise, it is quite hard to convert unyielding human beings and that is why [Śākyamuni preaches to them] by means of words which mercilessly expose all the sorrows. Only then can he bring them to submission.¹⁴

The depiction of the assembly arranged around the horse follows the model of a Vimalakīrti-Mañjuśrī meeting established during the Northern Wei period. Since this very confrontation is represented on the back of the robe of the Freer Buddha, further discussion of its style will be deferred for the present.

In the fifth register, various classes of beings are shown worshipping a stupa, the symbol of Śākyamuni Buddha's Parinirvāṇa (fig. 8). One sees monks, bodhisattvas, and laymen, as well as the Hindu deities Śiva, mounted on his bull, and Kārttikeya, Śiva's son, riding the peacock. The two gods are depicted with several sets of arms holding characteristic implements; their inclusion in the group is no doubt meant to indicate their recognition of Buddhism's superiority to

Hinduism. Hindu gods constituted a popular motif during the Six Dynasties period. These same deities are present at Yün-kang, placed in the reveals of the arched entrances to Caves 7 and 8, which date to circa 460.¹⁵ And again, among the Buddha's entourage painted on the south wall of Cave 285 at Tun-huang, which dates to the Western Wei period, we find Viṣṇu, Śiva, and the latter's sons, Vināyaka and Kārttikeya.¹⁶ The Freer representation of these gods follows the formula established at Yün-kang (which is faithful to the original Gandharan model). The motif is not found in T'ang art; its presence among the carvings on the robe of the Freer Buddha therefore constitutes one of its last appearances in the art of the Six Dynasties. The two naked and two courtly figures framing the register at both ends may symbolize the wealthy and the wretched of the world, equal before the Buddha. The stupa worshipped in this register is a *to pao t'a*,^b "many treasures stupa," derived from the Indian Gupta tradition. It is of the type usually encountered in representations of the famous episode from the *Lotus Sutra*.¹⁷

The sixth register depicts two terrestrial cities surrounded by trees (fig. 8). They are set apart by a prominent central *cintāmaṇi* emerging from a lotus blossom. The palace shown within the city on the left is surrounded by seven *ch'üeh* towers, the palace depicted inside the city to the right by five.¹⁸ This traditional type of Chinese building, with look-out towers clustered around a central structure, occurs often in Tun-huang cave paintings dating to the Northern Chou and Sui periods.¹⁹

The last three registers portray the inhabitants of the underworld. In the regions immediately below earth live the demi-gods, personifications of the forces of nature. These are the Ten Spirit Kings. Only six, however, appear in the third register from the bottom (fig. 9).²⁰ They are seated in a row, separated from one another by trees. Some of the figures may be identified by their characteristic implements and headdresses. For example, the second image to the left of the central tree, holding the bag of winds, is the Wind Spirit King; to his right, the figure with the fire in his hands is the Fire Spirit King; and the god to the right of the central tree, wearing a cap in the shape of a fish, is the Fish Spirit King. In posture and attire, the Spirit Kings resemble the demi-gods embellishing a bronze embossed plaque of a divine assembly, now in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome, which is dated to the Northern Ch'i or Sui period.²¹ The demi-god motif ceased to be represented at the end of the sixth century; the Freer

Spirit Kings belong, therefore, to the final phase of this iconography.

The two lowest registers focus on hell (fig. 9). The upper one depicts two scenes of judgment: on the left, King Yama, seated in a pavilion, considers the *karma* of the sinners being brought to him by attendants. The sinners' necks are encircled by cangues. At the center of the register, a half-naked figure stands ready to be whipped. In the scene on the right, the principal character, seated under a parasol and flanked by attendants, points to five groups of people who have been placed in five rows—four ascending, one descending. These groups symbolize the cycle of rebirth (*saṃsāra*). The four ascending rows allude to the *devas* (heavenly beings) on their way to paradise; the human beings destined to inhabit one of the four continents; the naked *pretas* (ghosts) running unsolaced in search of food or drink and confined to the nether world; and the animals roaming the phenomenal world. The two naked beings rushing toward the register below are the damned, destined for hell.

Seven cubicles aligned within the lowest register of the Buddha's robe describe different forms of punishment (fig. 9). Here the sinners are naked. The wardens, who are heavily built and have bovine heads, wear loincloths and hold rods. From left to right, the unfortunate sinners are shown attempting escape; climbing a tree of blades which slash the sinner's flesh (a female figure crouched on top of the tree lures the climber on); burning at the stake; roasting on a bed of coals; plunging into a boiling pit; and falling headlong into a pit infested with serpents. In the last cubicle, the two damned of the preceding *saṃsāra* cycle are shown arriving at their destination in hell.

The Freer depiction of hell in its two phases of judgment and punishment is unique in the Buddhist art of the Six Dynasties period. There is no known counterpart to the representation of King Yama meting out justice. Nevertheless, models for such a depiction may have been available in the form of paintings which have not survived. A judgment scene rather similar to that carved on the robe of the Freer Buddha is painted on a scroll fragment retrieved by Aurel Stein at Tun-huang that has been dated to the Northern Sung period (960–1126).²² The fragment proves the continuity of an iconography which, in all probability, originated in the Six Dynasties period.

The representation of the cycle of rebirth is matched by only one example dating to the sixth century, a recent discovery in the northern

P'in-yang Cave at Lung-men. The cave, begun under Northern Wei patronage, was probably completed during the T'ang dynasty.²³ Here we find a figure of Śākyamuni carved in the round, his right hand raised as if in the *abhaya* gesture but with the fingers pointing to the five destinies incised on the wall at the level of his shoulder. Extant examples of King Yama's judgment and the rebirth cycle are fairly common in Sung art; they relate to the cult of Ti-ts'ang^d (Kṣitigarbha) and the Ten Kings.²⁴

The Freer sculpture is the only extant example of a sixth-century Cosmological Buddha that depicts so many forms of punishment. Only one torment, that of sinners being chased through a field of pikes, is represented on the robe of the Cosmological Buddha of Cave 428 at Tun-huang (fig. 2); and only one—that of sinners being boiled in a cauldron—is depicted on the Guimet Buddha (fig. 4). The scenes on the robe of the Kao-an Temple Buddha represent the torments of burning on beds of coals and of being impaled on three-pronged spears (fig. 3). A Central Asian representation of hell discovered in the Teufelshöhle at Kizil (fig. 10) and datable to the mid-fifth century may have been, at least in terms of its format, a remote model for the Chinese representation of hell. In the Central Asian formula, the following torments are sequentially aligned: being pounded in mortars, being forced to drink molten metal, being chased by bovine-headed wardens through flickering flames, being killed by swords, and being crushed between colliding mountains. The Freer representation of hell may have been copied from a Chinese painted model inspired by a Central Asian interpretation.

To summarize: our investigation of the scenes carved on the front of the robe of the Freer Cosmological Buddha has shown that the sculpture is a compendium of stylistic motifs and doctrinal themes popular during the Six Dynasties. Many of these scenes were no longer represented during the following dynasty; others, which may have been quite popular, have not survived in any other medium or form.

Scenes Portrayed on the Sides of the Robe and on the Overhang

The scenes in question occupy the upper chest and shoulder area of the sculpture, framing the representation of the Trayastriṃśā Heaven. They are carved also on the portion of the robe appearing below the Buddha's right arm and on the backdrop. The scenes appear to constitute a separate unit inspired by Śākyamuni's previous lives and

last life. Not all of the representations are identifiable. Carved on the Buddha's right shoulder is a figure seated under a parasol held by an attendant; the former is shown conversing with a serpent (fig. 6a). The episode may refer to Śākyamuni's triumph over the fire serpent adored by the Kāśyapa brothers and their Brahmin followers. The representation of this miracle occurs several times at Yün-kang,²⁵ but the Freer depiction is drastically abbreviated, perhaps for lack of space.

Carved immediately below the scene described above is an elephant walking on lotuses and bearing a flaming jewel (fig. 6a). This animal is complemented on the figure's left shoulder by a spirited, galloping horse (fig. 6b). The two motifs are related; they refer to Śākyamuni's incarnation and renunciation, although it is more usual to depict the mounts with the Bodhisattva Prince on their backs. Several examples of this iconography, dating to the Northern Wei and early T'ang periods, are carved and painted at Yün-kang and Tun-huang, respectively.²⁶

The next scene, which depicts Buddha, accompanied by two monks, receiving an offering from children at play, refers to a famous episode described in the *Aśokavadāna* (partially visible in fig. 6a).²⁷ It appears several times at Yün-kang,²⁸ but its popularity seems confined to this site. The story is not portrayed in T'ang art. A wide stylistic gap exists between the Yün-kang and Freer interpretations of the story, a gap which could have been bridged by painted versions. The Freer depiction shows the main protagonists placed in front of a tall, luxuriant ginkgo tree. The smallness of the child who must stretch up on tiptoe to present its offering is effectively emphasized by the pronounced verticality of the tree.

The following two episodes are carved on the side of the sculpture beneath the Buddha's right arm, which was originally raised in the *abhaya* gesture. The scene of a hermit seated in a cave conversing with an animal (partially visible in the upper right corner of fig. 11) is not readily identifiable, but it may refer to Śākyamuni in one of his former, animal incarnations.²⁹

The episode of a buddha who, accompanied by two attendants, is shown stepping on the long, spreading hair of a bowing youth is described in the *Dīpaṃkara jātaka* (fig. 11).³⁰ This scene, like the preceding one from the *Aśokavadāna*, appears frequently in Buddhist art before the T'ang period. It was very popular with the Yün-kang carvers, who followed the imported Gandharan model. In comparing the Freer version of this story with

its forerunners, one is aware, not only of stylistic differences justified by the lapse of a century, but also of a new approach which shows no trace of the imported Indian model. The Freer carving is, furthermore, one of the story's last representations; the *Dīpaṃkara* story is not found in T'ang sculpture of any kind. In painting, however, the story continued to be an artistic topic well into the Sung; it appears in a scroll painting from that period now in the Liao-ning Museum.³¹ Such evidence provides strong support for the idea of a well-established painterly tradition for the theme.

The next episode occupies the right side and part of the back, carved at the level of the Buddha's waist. In this scene, the Buddha is shown seated in Western fashion under a blossoming tree; he is surrounded by three monks, a layman, and a bodhisattva (?), all standing on lotuses. The focal point of the depiction is a youth shown kneeling and holding a round object (fig. 12). If the object he holds is a bowl, the scene may allude to the initiation of a disciple. The acceptance by Śākyamuni Buddha of his son Rāhula into the Buddhist order is a famous episode that was frequently represented in early Six Dynasties art.³² The Freer interpretation has, however, no sculptural parallel. This scene may also derive its maturity of representation from a painting tradition which has not survived.

The following three motifs are placed on the left shoulder of the statue (fig. 6b). Starting from the top, one encounters a naked, flying cherub whose long scarves flutter behind him; this is a space-filling decorative device that originated outside of China. The Freer carving shows the Chinese interpretation of the motif; similar cherubim decorate the caves at Tun-huang.³³ Below the cherub, an armored figure, seated in a position of royal ease, is characterized by a mace and a halo. For this personage neither a doctrinal nor a stylistic explanation has been found. Directly below the seated figure, a courtly individual, attended by two ladies-in-waiting, is shown in a squatting position. For lack of comparative material, it has not been possible to identify this image either.

The next three episodes are carved on the backdrop of the Buddha's outer robe (fig. 13). At the top of the backdrop one encounters a seated image enclosed in a flaming mandorla that is entirely surrounded by blossoming lotuses. This scene may refer to a specific event—perhaps an act of self-immolation—but its rendering is so abbreviated that it is virtually impossible to identify.

Two scenes of adoration are represented in the center and at the bottom of the backdrop. In both scenes, a personage is shown kneeling in front of Śākyamuni, here depicted as the Bodhisattva Prince. The kneeling figure is represented in the same attitude and attire, but it is shown frontally in one scene and is viewed from the back in the other. Despite this visual connection, the two carvings do not seem to form a sequence. Again, no stylistic comparison is available, although the well-balanced composition and skillful handling of the trees (especially in the bottom scene) suggest a pictorial source. Space limitations may have determined a radical simplification of the narrative; with the exclusion of motifs essential to an understanding of the story and the loss of the painted source, a specific identification of the scene is no longer possible.

This section of the investigation has focused upon the unique role of the Freer sculpture as a repository of narrative scenes whose sources were pictorial rather than sculptural. Episodes such as the children's offering and the *Dīpaṅkara jātaka* are executed in an accomplished style that may have been formulated in paintings, no longer extant, of the late Six Dynasties period. Thus, the Freer sculpture offers us a glimpse of a lost stage in the development of Buddhist narrative art.

Scenes Portrayed on the Back of the Robe

The images carved on the back of the Freer sculpture are more schematic, stylistically richer, and more skillfully executed than those carved on the front. These observations raise the possibility that either a different carver was employed or that this section of the work was completed at a later date.

The scenes are arranged in four registers. In the two upper registers, heavenly assemblies are depicted. The topmost register has the Buddha seated in Western fashion under a baldaquin enclosure framed by two unfinished trees (fig. 14). He is shown making the *vitarka* (preaching) gesture. To the Buddha's right and left are placed six bodhisattvas and one monk. In front of the group, two bodhisattvas presenting offerings kneel at the Buddha's feet. A courtly donor with his retinue stands to their right.³⁴ The space above this heavenly gathering is filled with flying *apsarases* and a burgeoning lotus blossom. The scene may represent the Tuṣita Heaven, in which Maitreya, the future Buddha, awaits the moment of his rebirth into the world of sentient beings.

The assembly depicted in the second register is presided over by the Buddha Śākyamuni (fig. 15). He is enthroned on a double lotus. His right hand is raised to the level of his chest; his left hand rests in his lap. Eight figures, all with halos and standing on lotuses, have been placed in a semicircle around him. An incense burner stands in front of the throne. The entire group is shaded by the foliage of two opulent jewelled trees.

At the end of the sixth century, an iconographic change occurred in the visual formulation of divine assemblies in Chinese Buddhist art. Prior to that time, the composition had been restricted to the presentation of a central preaching icon flanked by two monks and two bodhisattvas (or, occasionally, by two Pratyeka Buddhas). In later representations, however, the number of the Buddha's audience was gradually increased until the scene had evolved into the depiction of an embryonic paradise. This change is first noticeable in paintings dated to the beginning of the seventh century (other changes involve the Buddha's gesture and the placement of figures within the composition). The divine assemblies carved on the back of the robe of the Freer statue should be viewed in the light of this evolution. Either they represent very advanced (and extremely rare) late Sui examples,³⁵ or they belong to the early T'ang tradition. In the latter case, they would have been executed after 650.

Divine assemblies painted after 650 display a more skillful relationship of images to space and more emphasis on such decorative elements as jewelled canopies and foliage. The group painted on the south wall of Cave 322 at Tun-huang (fig. 16) is such an example. In this painting, both the central kneeling figures and the *vitarka* gesture of the Buddha are innovations dating to the early T'ang period. The figures kneeling at Buddha's feet also appear in the Freer scene depicting Maitreya's assembly; likewise, the Buddha's hand gesture is very similar to that performed by Maitreya.

The third register illustrates the famous encounter of Mañjuśrī and Vimalakīrti described in the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra* (fig. 17). At the right, Vimalakīrti is shown seated in a secular enclosure, surrounded by both seated and standing attendants. Mañjuśrī, enthroned at the left, is surrounded by his own retinue. Both groups of disputants are shaded by lush jewelled trees; standard-bearers enclose the scene.

Other miraculous events have been added to this basic iconographic formula. At the center of the register, a bodhisattva is shown offering a bowl to a monk who is one of the personages

in Mañjuśrī's retinue. The scene describes the arrival of the "Golden Bodhisattva," magically summoned to provide divine food for all those assembled.³⁶ The bodhisattva kneeling at the center of the composition is the magically summoned personage; the monk is Śāriputra. Behind the kneeling bodhisattva stands a female figure whose scarves flutter out behind her in the manner of Ku K'ai-chih.³⁷ She is the *devi* who lived in Vimalakīrti's household. Her presence refers to another episode described in the seventh chapter of the same sutra.³⁷ The goddess initiated a dialogue with Śāriputra, and in order to prove to him that all appearances have no substance, she transformed the disciple into herself and vice versa. In the Freer representation, the episodes of the Golden Bodhisattva and the *devi*, which are described in two distinct chapters of the sutra, have been fused. To my knowledge, this elegant, well-balanced version is the only example of such a combination. The visual format of the debate itself—two major disputants in their respective enclosures, attended by their respective retinues—follows the formula of the Six Dynasties period, which derives from southern Chinese painting in the Ku K'ai-chih tradition.³⁸

On the lowest register on the back of the robe, a palatial structure surrounded by a wall with six gates is depicted (fig. 18). Two groups of five horsemen are shown riding away from the city toward the east and west; a footman carrying a parasol is included in each group. This scene is related to the one carved on the front of the Buddha's robe; both representations allude to the Bodhisattva Prince's four exits from the palace.

The crucial element here is the rendering of the horses. The horses depicted on the front of the robe conform to a Six Dynasties typology; they are long-muzzled and svelte. The horses carved on the back are sturdy, round animals; stylistically, these belong to the T'ang. The deployment of the two groups of horses is also not symmetrical. In the right-hand group, an impression of speed is conveyed by the position of the horses' legs and by their long, streaming tails (the ribbons of the riders' caps are likewise shown blowing behind them in the wind). The horses in the group on the left appear to trot rather than gallop. In both groups, the horses are depicted from a variety of perspectives: profile, three-quarter, and rear. Some of them are turned slightly toward the viewer, others are angled away (fig. 19). The horses are deployed with a most convincing naturalness; their execution reflects real knowledge of the animal's behavior and anatomy.

Could these sturdy horses be the product of a Sui carver? In the *Li-tai ming-hua chi'* (A Record of the Famous Painters of All the Dynasties) by Chang Yen-yüan³⁹ (preface dated 847), Chan Tzu-ch'ien⁴⁰ and Tung Po-jen⁴¹ are listed as important painters of horses, but of their works only the painting *Travellers in Spring*, attributed to Chan, is extant.³⁹ The small horses depicted in this landscape do not offer an instructive comparison. The same source also lists several painters of the genre who achieved fame during the T'ang dynasty, namely, Ts'ao Yüan-k'o,⁴² Wei Wu-t'ien,⁴³ and Han Kan.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, no examples of the work of the first two masters have survived, while the painting of the horse attributed to Han Kan in the Metropolitan Museum of Art bears little stylistic resemblance to the horses carved on the robe of the Freer statue.

It is considerably more illuminating to compare the horses painted during the Sui dynasty on a section of the ceiling of Cave 296 at Tun-huang with the animals which appear in scenes of hunting and polo painted in the tomb of Prince Chang-huai⁴⁵ (see figs. 20, 21a, and 21b). The execution of the tomb is dated to circa 700. The Sui examples still retain a stylized, linear quality. They have narrow muzzles, spindly legs, and elongated tails. The horses painted in Prince Chang-huai's tomb are more closely related to the Freer depictions. These are sturdy, full-chested animals whose bodies are defined by a series of sweeping curves. In addition, they display a variety of gaits. The stylistic connections between these T'ang representations and the horses carved on the back of the robe of the Freer statue strongly support a late seventh-century date for the latter.

An investigation of the puzzling stylistic discrepancies between the trees depicted on the front of the Buddha's robe and those carved on the back seems also to confirm the hypothesis that the latter portion of the sculpture was completed at a later date. There is, in fact, no consistency of representation. The trees depicted on the front of the robe tend to be lifeless and crude; they resemble umbrellas. The jewelled trees carved on the back of the robe, by contrast, display a high level of skill and are most decorative.

A closer look at the jewelled trees may provide further evidence of their affiliation with a T'ang rather than a Six Dynasties vocabulary. Jewelled trees are, of course, not actual trees but a Chinese interpretation of those miraculous plants which the texts describe as growing in heaven.⁴⁶ They have been visualized as a cluster of small, narrow, drooping petals held together by a central core.

The scallop which defines some of the jewelled trees depicted in the Freer representations is a curious and, to my knowledge, unique detail. It is important to note that while this type of plant occurs in Six Dynasties painting and sculpture, it was most popular during the T'ang period.⁴²

The jewelled trees adorning Amitābha's paradise in the relief from Hsiang-t'ang-shan (now in the Freer collection),⁴³ which dates to about 575, are more stylized and less three-dimensional than those carved on the Freer Cosmological Buddha. The Freer trees resemble the jewelled trees that provide shade for the divine assembly depicted in Cave 322 at Tun-huang (fig. 16). Such stylistic comparisons would seem to place the carving of the jewelled trees adorning the robe of the Freer sculpture closer to the end than to the beginning of the seventh century.

Conclusion

Most of the representations which cover every available inch of the surface of the robe of the Freer Cosmological Buddha conform to the style developed and perfected during the Six Dynasties. The numerous scenes reflect the standard iconography of that period. Some of the representations were discarded in the succeeding T'ang dynasty.

Their appearance on the Freer sculpture represents, therefore, a last, mature statement of these particular motifs. Thus, the Freer image constitutes a unique compendium of Six Dynasties style and imagery. Moreover, the lack of stylistic comparisons for some of the scenes represented suggests the possibility of a painted source. The Freer sculpture may, therefore, function as the repository of a lost pictorial tradition. Although the style of carving is, for the most part, consistent with a late sixth-century date, some iconographic innovations and a few stylistic discrepancies indicate that some representations, especially those occurring on the back of the sculpture, were completed at the end of the seventh century. Such a dating would explain the composition of the two heavenly assemblies, which have closer affinities to similar expanded groups belonging to the early T'ang period, and would also account for the brilliant rendering of the horses in the lowest register on the back of the robe. It would justify as well the stylistic discrepancies visible in the execution of the trees. Seventh-century developments in Buddhist doctrine are no doubt responsible for the more complex celestial groupings, whereas skill and T'ang naturalism are the likely sources of the accomplished rendering of the horses and trees.

Notes

1. Chin Wei-no, "Tun-huang pi-hua Wei-Mo p'ien te fa-
chan," *Wen-wu*, no. 2 (1953), p. 5.; Emma C. Bunker,
"The Spirit Kings in Sixth Century Chinese Buddhist
Sculpture," *Archives of Asian Art* 18 (1964): 33, and "Early
Chinese Representations of Vimalakīrti," *Artibus Asiae* 30
(1968): 47; Alexander C. Soper, "Chinese Sculpture in
the Avery Brundage Collection," *Apollo* 84 (August 1966):
112; and Joanna Williams, "The Iconography of Khotanese
Paintings," *East and West* 23 (1973): 124, n. 66.
2. Information gathered from the folder sheets of the Freer
Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
Charles W. Bishop served on the staff of the Freer from
1922 to 1942.
3. This example is known only through rubbings (front and
back) bought by Mizuno Seiichi in 1939 at An-yang; where
the sculpture is currently located is not known. See Mizuno
Seiichi, "Iwayuru Keron kyōshu Roshana Butsu no ritsuzō
ni tsuite," *Tōhō gaku* 18 (1950): 128–37. Judging from
the rubbings, the sculpture's size is close to that of the Freer
piece.
4. Hugo Munsterberg, *Chinese Buddhist Bronzes* (Rutland,
Vt., 1967), figs. 29a–b.
5. This type of buddha has been identified as Vairocana, the
preacher of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, by Matsumoto Eiichi
in a three-part article entitled "Seiiki Keronkyō bijutsu no
tōzen," *Kokka*, no. 548 (1936), pp. 195–200; no. 549 (1936),
pp. 244–47; and no. 551 (1936), pp. 279–84. Matsumoto's
opinion has been upheld by Japanese scholars up to the
present; however, the possibility that the Cosmological
Buddha is the highest form of the Buddha Śākyamuni is
feasible, and it is supported by textual sources and by the
imagery decorating the robe he wears. The identity of
the icon is the subject of the author's Ph.D. dissertation,
"The Imagery of the 'Cosmological Buddha'" (New York
University Institute of Fine Arts, 1981).
6. The *Shih chi ching*, or *Sutra of Cosmology*, in five rolls,
is the earliest and most complete source of cosmological
teaching. It constitutes the fourth part of the *Dirghāgama*,
a collection of sutras. It was translated by Buddhayaśas
and Chu Fo-nien^a in 414, during the Later Ch'in dynasty
(384–417). The text of the *Shih chi ching* is found in
Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō, ed. Takakusu Junjirō et al., 100
vols. (Tokyo, 1914–32), vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 117ff (hereafter,
Daizōkyō).
7. See especially the relief of Amitābha's Western Paradise
from Hsiang-t'ang-shan (now in the Freer), illustrated in
Oswald Siren, *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Four-
teenth Century*, 4 vols. (New York, 1925), vol. 2, pl. 192.
8. Tokiwa Daijo and Sekino Tadashi, *Shina bukkō shiseki*,
5 vols. (Tokyo, 1926–38), vol. 3, pls. 103 and 104, no. 2.
9. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pl. 33 (among others).
10. Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio, *Unkō sekkutsu: Yūn
Kang, Cave Temples of the Fifth Century AD in North
China*, 16 vols. (Kyoto, 1951–56), vol. 7, pl. 23.
11. Wen-wu Ch'u-pan She and Heibonsha, eds., *Chūgoku
sekkutsu. Tonkō Makkōkutsu*, 5 vols. (Tokyo, 1980–82),
vol. 1, pl. 97.
12. The iconography and style of the four encounters as they
evolved from Indian Gandharan to Six Dynasties Chinese
art is investigated by Joe M. Dye, "The Fragmentary
Gandharan Narrative Reliefs in the Peshawar Museum,"
Artibus Asiae 38 (1976): 219–45.
13. This work illustrates in handscroll format Śākyamuni's life
as narrated in the *Kuo-ch'ü hsien-tsai yin-kuo ching*,^o in
four rolls, trans. Guṇabhadra of the Liu Sung dynasty (420–
479), in *Daizōkyō*, vol. 3, no. 189.
14. The *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra*, in three rolls, was trans-
lated by Kumārajīva in 406; see *Daizōkyō*, vol. 14, no.
479, p. 553A, ll. 13–16.
15. Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Unkō sekkutsu*, vol. 4, pl. 16; vol.
5, pls. 13 and 17; see also Cave 35 of the Western Caves
(executed about 500), vol. 15, pl. 70.
16. *Tonkō Makkōkutsu*, vol. 1, pls. 118 and 119.
17. A stupa similar to the one carved on the Freer sculpture is
painted on the north wall of Cave 303 at Tun-huang (dated
to the Sui period); see *ibid.*, vol. 2, pl. 14.
18. The variation could be an intentional allusion to the five
roots, or organs of the senses, and to the seven *kleśas*, or
"delusions" (desire, hate, clinging, arrogance, ignorance,
false views, and doubt). The symbolism is fitting since
this is a representation of the cities of man.
19. See Cave 296 at Tun-huang, dated to the Northern Chou
dynasty (557–581) and illustrated in *Tonkō Makkōkutsu*,
vol. 1, pl. 194.
20. This identification was established by Édouard Chavannes,
"Une sculpture bouddique de l'année 543," *Ars Asiatica* 2
(1914): 13–19.
21. Alexander C. Soper, *Chinese, Korean and Japanese Bronzes*
(Rome, 1966), pl. 22a–b.
22. The scroll illustrates the apocryphal *Sutra of the Ten Kings*.
See Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia, The
Stein Collection in the British Museum, Paintings from
Dunhuang*, 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1981–83), vol. 2, pl. 63, no. 2.
23. Li Weng-sheng, "Lung-men shih-k'u te hsin fa-hsien chi
ch'i-t'o," *Wen-wu*, no. 1 (1980), figs. 5 and 6.
24. Matsumoto Eiichi, *Tonkōga no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1937), pp.
368–416.
25. See Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Unkō sekkutsu*: Cave 6, east
wall, lower story, north niche (vol. 3, pl. 53); Cave 7,
west wall, first story, south niche (vol. 4, pl. 82); Cave 12,
anteroom, west wall, lower story, north and south niches
(vol. 9, pl. 22).
26. Angela Howard, "Heavenly Mounts—Horses and Ele-
phants—in Chinese Buddhist Art," *Oriental Art* 28 (Winter
1982–83): 368–81.

27. Buddha and his disciple Ānanda had arrived in Rājagṛha. They came upon two children called Jaya and Vijaya building castles and granaries in the mud. When they saw Buddha, one of them respectfully offered him a handful of dirt. On that occasion, Buddha predicted to Ānanda that one hundred years after his Nirvana, the child Jaya would be incarnated as King Aśoka. The *Aśokavadāna* is part of a collection of sutras called *Divyāvadāna* and was introduced in China in two different periods and versions: the *A Yü Wang chuan*,⁶ trans. An Fa-ch'in,⁷ ca. 300 during the Western Chin dynasty (265–317), in *Daizōkyō*, vol. 50, no. 2042, p. 99B, ll. 8ff; and the *A Yü Wang ching*,⁸ trans. Ch'ia Po-lo,⁹ during the Liang dynasty (502–557), in *Daizōkyō*, vol. 50, no. 2043, p. 131C, ll. 8ff.
28. See Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Unkō sekkutsu*: Cave 5A, south wall (vol. 2, pl. 67a); Cave 12, anteroom, northwest corner (vol. 9, pl. 41); Cave 18, south wall (vol. 12, pl. 103).
29. For instance, in the Śāśa *jātaka*, Śākyamuni is incarnated as a hare. The story's visual interpretation recurs in the Central Asian site of Kizil, dated to about 450. See Albert Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan* (Berlin, 1912), fig. 298 (ceiling of the Teufelshöhle).
30. Several texts relate the story, but its most detailed version occurs in the *Ssu-fen lü*,¹⁰ trans. Buddhayaśas et al., in *Daizōkyō*, vol. 22, no. 1428, p. 784. The young Brahmin Megha arrived at Dirapati and heard that the Buddha of the Past, Dīpaṃkara, would visit the city. He bought five lotuses from a girl, and both went to wait for Buddha. When he arrived, they threw the lotuses to him, and the flowers miraculously hovered about Buddha's head. Megha then prostrated himself at Buddha's feet and wiped the soles with his hair. At that point, Dīpaṃkara Buddha predicted that the youth would become a buddha with the name of Śākyamuni.
31. The painting is illustrated in *I-yüan to-ying*, no. 3 (1978), p. 48; I am indebted to Thomas Lawton for bringing this evidence to my attention. For a thorough study of the Dīpaṃkara *jātaka* (as well as the children's offering) during the Six Dynasties, see Yasuda Haruki, "Unkō sekkutsu no chōkoku ni mirareru honen setsuwa," *Ars Buddhica*, no. 135 (March 1981), pp. 30–48.
32. See Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Unkō sekkutsu*: Cave 19, south wall (vol. 13, pl. 30); Cave 34, west wall (vol. 15, pl. 63b). In these examples, Buddha rests his hand on Rāhula's head.
33. Naked cherubim or cherubim wearing loin cloths and sometimes depicted with wings and tufts of hair are ubiquitous ornamental motifs found in Indian and Central Asian art, but their primary source lies in the classical art of the Mediterranean world. For an Indian example, see Cave 17 at Ajantā, illustrated in Ghulām Yazdani, *Ajantā*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1930–35), vol. 4, pl. 9b (showing the decoration of the veranda's ceiling). In Central Asia, cherubim were often used to decorate cinerary caskets; see Kumagai Nobuo, "Kucha shōrai no saiga shari yōki," *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 191 (March 1951), pp. 239–66.
34. In Six Dynasties art, donors generally occupy a place separate from the deities. In cave paintings, for instance, they are portrayed in the frieze and dado of the cave.
35. Such as the heavenly assembly painted on the west wall of Cave 298 at Tun-huang. The group consists of a seated buddha surrounded by ten monks and two bodhisattvas. See *Tonkō Makkōkutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 130.
36. The *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra*, in *Daizōkyō*, vol. 14, no. 479, p. 552A, ll. 16ff.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 548B, ll. 28ff.
38. William R. B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1954–74), 1:193.
39. *Ibid.*, 2:195, 261; the painting is in the collection of the Peking National Palace Museum. See Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 7 vols. (London and New York, 1956–58), vol. 3, pls. 79 and 80.
40. Acker, *T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts*, 2:247, 250, 260–63.
41. Max Müller, trans., *The Larger Sukhāvātī Vyūha*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. 49 (reprint ed., Oxford, 1968), p. 33.
42. Michael Sullivan, *Chinese Landscape Painting* (Berkeley, 1980), p. 145.
43. See note 7 above.

Glossary

a. 世記經	k. 韋無添
b. 多寶塔	l. 韓幹
c. 闕	m. 章懷
d. 地藏	n. 竺佛念
e. 顧愷之	o. 過去現在因果經
f. 歷代名畫記	p. 阿育王傳
g. 張顏遠	q. 安法欽
h. 展子虔	r. 阿育王經
i. 董伯仁	s. 伽婆羅
j. 曹元廓	t. 四分律



FIG. 1. Cosmological Buddha. Dated to the Sui dynasty (581–618).
Stone, 176.5 x 64.2 cm. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 2. Cosmological Buddha from a fresco in Cave 428 at Tun-huang. Dated to the Northern Wei dynasty, circa 525. (After *Tonkō Makkōkutsu*, vol. 1, pl. 162.)



FIG. 3. Front rubbing of the Cosmological Buddha from the Kao-an Temple, An-yang. Dated to the Northern Ch'i dynasty (550–577). (After *Tōhō gaku* 18 [1950], pl. 2.)



FIG. 4. Cosmological Buddha. Dated to the Northern Ch'i or Sui dynasty. Gilded bronze, 14.1 cm high. Courtesy, Musée Guimet, Paris.



FIG. 5. Detail of the carvings on the front of the Freer Cosmological Buddha: the Trayastrimśa Heaven and Mt. Sumeru. Courtesy, Institute of Fine Arts, New York.



FIG. 6a. Detail of the shoulder rubbings of the Freer Cosmological Buddha. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 6b. Detail of the shoulder rubbings of the Freer Cosmological Buddha. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

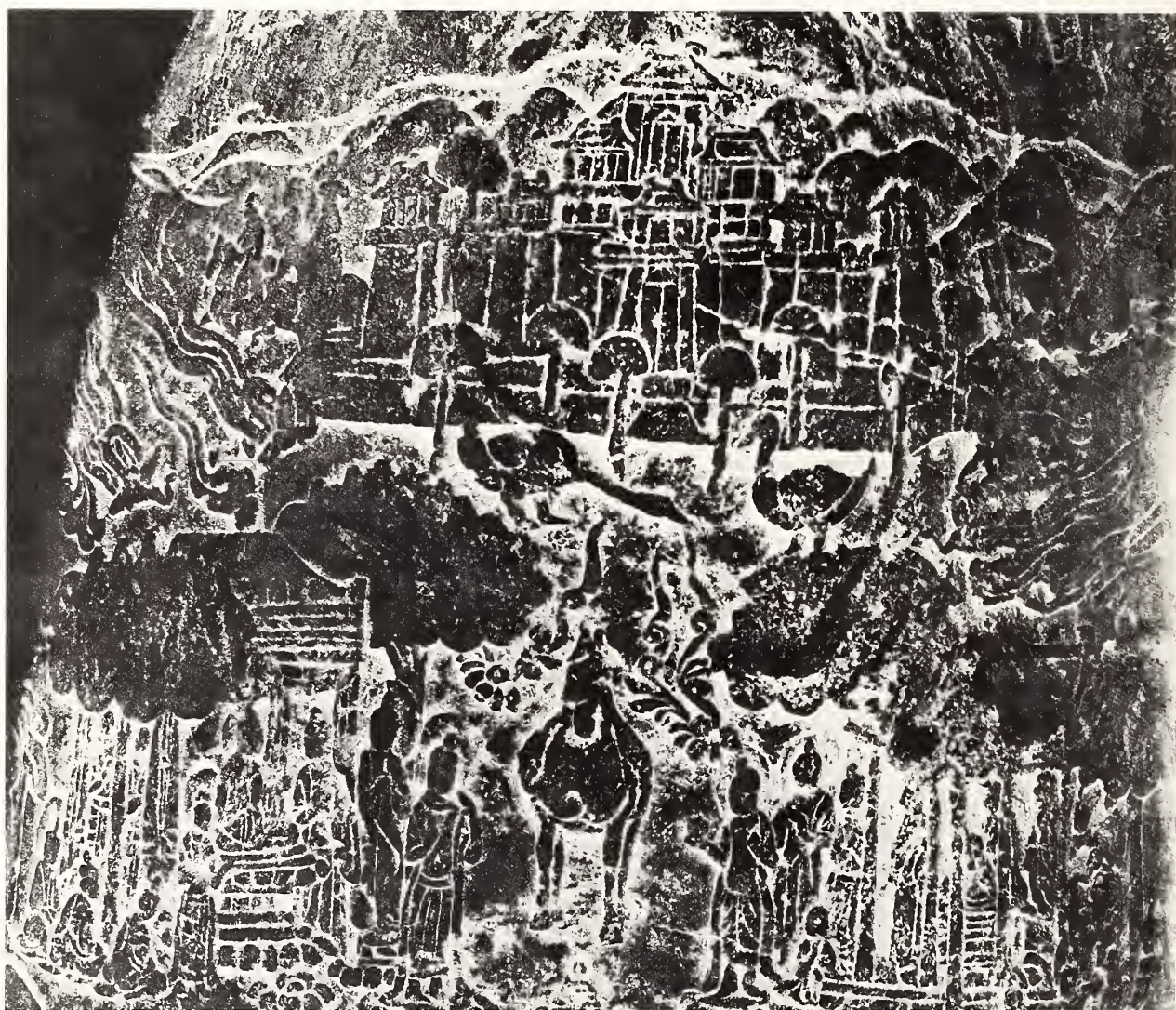


FIG. 7. Detail of the carvings on the front of the Freer Cosmological Buddha: equestrians leaving a walled city (representing two of the Bodhisattva Prince's exits from the palace) and the frontal horse at the center of a dispute scene. Courtesy, Institute of Fine Arts, New York.

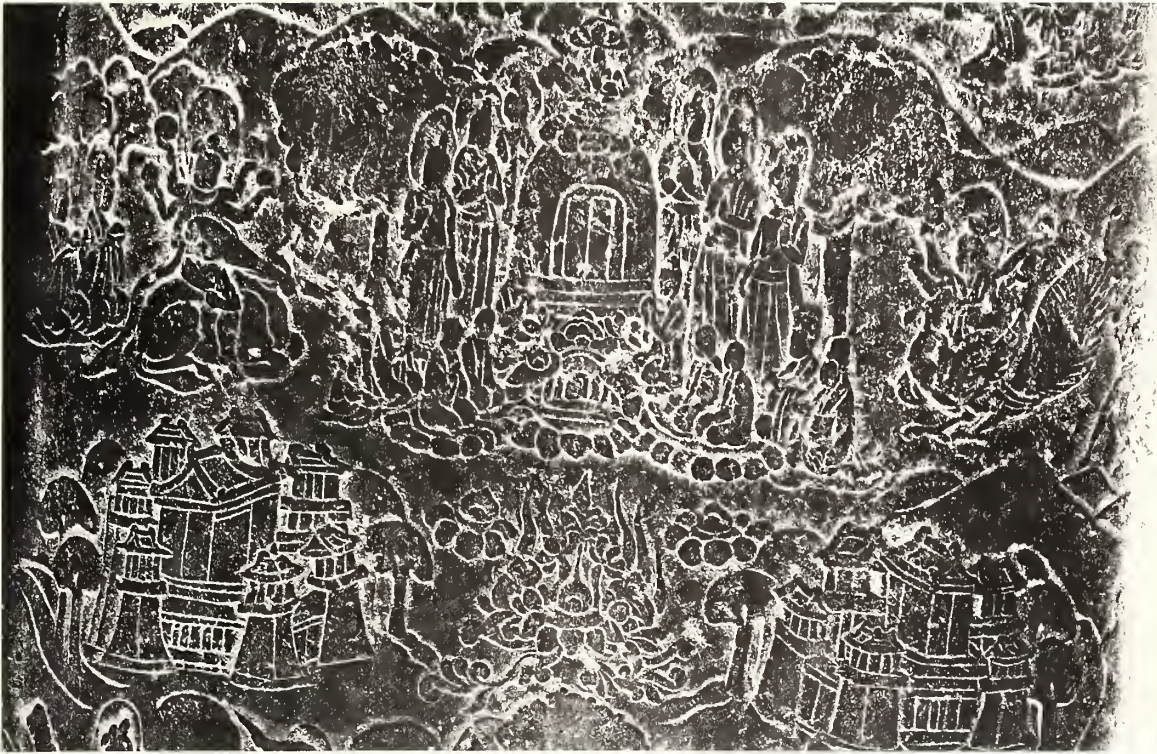


FIG. 8. Detail of the carvings on the front of the Freer Cosmological Buddha: the adoration of the stupa and the two terrestrial cities. Courtesy, Institute of Fine Arts, New York.



FIG. 9. Detail of the carvings on the front of the Freer Cosmological Buddha: the Spirit Kings and scenes of hell. Courtesy, Institute of Fine Arts, New York.



FIG. 10. Fresco depicting punishments of hell from the Teufelshöhle, Kizil. Dated to the mid-fifth century. (After A. von Le Coq and E. Waldschmidt, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, 7 vols. [Berlin, 1922–33], vol. 4, fig. 9.)



FIG. 11. Detail of the carving below the right arm of the Freer Cosmological Buddha: the Dīpaṃkara story. Author's photograph.



FIG. 12. Detail of a rubbing of the right side and back of the Freer Cosmological Buddha: the initiation of Rāhula into the Buddhist order. Author's photograph, produced by joining two rubbings.



FIG. 13. Back rubbing of the Freer Cosmological Buddha. Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 14. Detail of the carving on the back of the Freer Cosmological Buddha: Maitreya's heavenly assembly.
Courtesy, Institute of Fine Arts, New York.



FIG. 15. Detail of a rubbing from the back of the Freer Cosmological Buddha: Śākyamuni's heavenly assembly. Author's photograph.

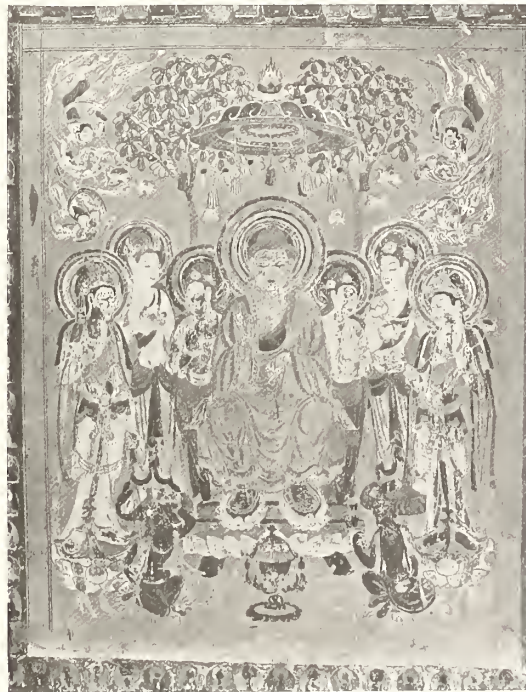


FIG. 16. Fresco depiction of a divine assembly from Cave 322 at Tun-huang. Dated to the end of the seventh century. (After Akiyama Terakazu and Matsubara Saburo, *The Arts of China*, 3 vols. [Palo Alto and Tokyo, 1969], vol. 2, fig. 42.)



FIG. 17. Detail of a rubbing from the back of the Freer Cosmological Buddha: the Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī debate. Author's photograph.



FIG. 18. Detail of a rubbing from the back of the Freer Cosmological Buddha: equestrians leaving a walled city, representing two of the Bodhisattva Prince's exits from the palace. Author's photograph.



FIG. 19. Detail of horses from a back rubbing of the Freer Cosmological Buddha. Author's photograph.



FIG. 20. Detail of horses from the fresco on the ceiling of Cave 296 at Tun-huang. Dated to the Sui dynasty.
(After *Tonkō Makkōkutsu*, vol. 1, fig. 190.)

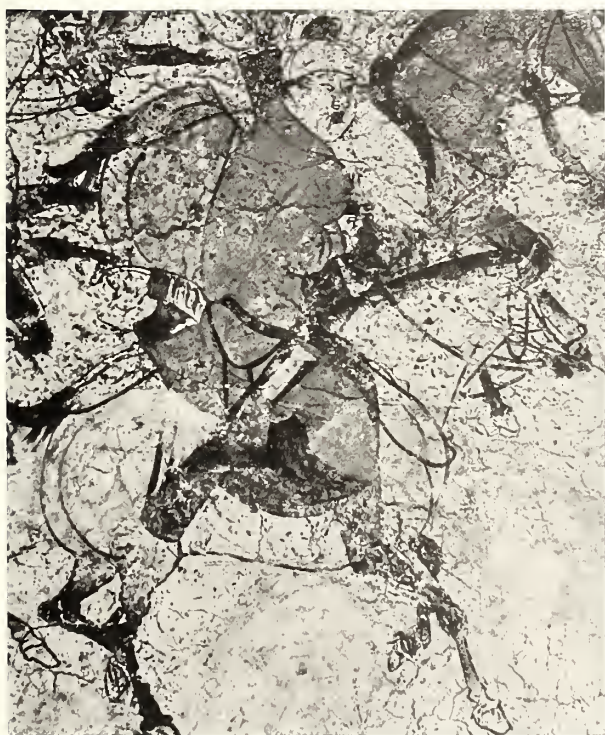


FIG. 21a. Detail of horses from a fresco on the tomb of Prince Chang-huai. T'ang dynasty, circa 700.
(After *T'ang Li Hsien mo pi-hua* [Peking, 1974], fig. 6.)



FIG. 21b. Detail of horses from a fresco on the tomb of Prince Chang-huai. T'ang dynasty, circa 700.
(After *T'ang Li Hsien mo pi-hua*, fig. 7.)

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PICTORIAL CYCLE OF THE *SIYAR-I NABĪ* OF MURĀD III

BY CAROL GARRETT FISHER

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MANUSCRIPT COPY OF MUŞTAFĀ Ḍarīr's *Siyar-i Nabī* (The Life of the Prophet) produced in the Topkapi Palace atelier in 1003/1594–1595 is warranted for several reasons. This six-volume manuscript, containing more than eight hundred miniatures, is the largest, if not the most elaborate, of the sixteenth-century manuscripts produced during the reign of Murād III (982–1004/1574–1595), an Ottoman sultan famous for his patronage of the arts of the book. The *Siyar-i Nabī* is the largest single cycle of religious painting in Islamic art; it is also the most complete visual portrayal of the life of the prophet Muḥammad.

The manuscript deserves attention on stylistic grounds as well. Although many manuscripts associated with the ateliers of Murād III are aesthetically superior, the *Siyar-i Nabī* is a watershed project, introducing new painting styles while retaining both traditional Islamic and classical Ottoman styles and motifs.

Although several publications have dealt with this manuscript,¹ the subject is such a complex one that it permits new approaches and presents still unsolved problems. For example, the manuscript has never been considered as a whole; only individual volumes have been studied in any detail. The manuscript's fifth volume is thought by most scholars to be missing, and since the literary cycle of the *Siyar-i Nabī* has not been correlated with existing miniatures, it has been difficult to establish the structure of the complete miniature cycle. Ottoman palace archives contain the record of this manuscript's production expenses.² The record indicates that 814 miniatures were painted for this *Siyar-i Nabī*; of these, nearly 200 remain unaccounted for. Until those sections of the literary cycle for which no known illustrations exist have been identified, the gaps cannot be precisely determined.

Once the outline of the cycle has been reconstructed, a further step is possible. Since no direct precursor of this manuscript appears to exist, earlier manuscripts whose miniatures may have functioned as the basis for groups of miniatures within this work must be considered. A final problem arises from the fact that the miniatures themselves bear no signatures, nor do the colophons indicate artists responsible for specific miniatures. Through

stylistic comparisons and the study of Ottoman pay records, scholars have been able to suggest the connections with this manuscript of such court artists as Naqqāş Ḥasan Paşa, Lütü 'Abdullāh, and Osmān.³ But without additional information, this avenue of approach is impossible to pursue more definitively.

In this essay, known gaps in the illustrative cycle will be identified with determinable styles. This will facilitate the identification of extant "missing" miniatures now in other collections and permit their theoretical placement in the manuscript cycle. On the basis of this reconstruction, it will be possible to define what makes the *Siyar-i Nabī* a watershed work and to show both how it reflects historical tradition and how it points to the formation of newer painting styles in Istanbul and throughout the Ottoman empire.

The Siyar-i Nabī in Its Present Form

Ottoman palace records indicate that Murād III commissioned the *Siyar-i Nabī* in 1003/1594–1595. The original work consisted of six volumes containing more than eight hundred illustrations depicting events connected with the genealogy, birth, life, and death of the prophet Muḥammad.⁴ Volumes 1, 2, and 6 are in the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul; volume 3 is located in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library; and volume 4 is in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.⁵ The location of volume 5 has remained unknown.⁶

The cycle of illustrations of the *Siyar-i Nabī* begins with 139 miniatures interspersed among the 416 folios of volume 1, which presents the history of the prophets, miraculous events leading to Muḥammad's birth, and the early years of Muḥammad's life. Volume 2 contains 85 miniatures set in 506 folios. It continues the saga with the story of Khadijah and Muḥammad and concludes with the trip to Mecca of Muḥammad's followers, the slaughter of the Yemenese camels, and the conversion of the seven Quraysh clans to Islam. Volume 3 describes the period of Muḥammad's life that begins with the *mi'rāj*, or "night journey"; it concludes with a minor incident concerning a group of priests who come to discuss Islam with

Muḥammad. This volume contains 465 folios and 128 miniatures. An inscription on its fly-leaf states that the manuscript was in the possession of the Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz (1278–1293/1861–1876), "who bequeathed it to his daughter Sultāna Ṣaliha." A library seal dated 1198/1783 reads "İşmetlü Bash-Rukhshāh-qadīn ḥazretleri."⁷ Volume 4 has 490 folios, several of which are out of order, and contains 136 miniatures. It begins with an account of the marriage of Fāṭimah and 'Alī and ends with 'Abd Allāh's presenting Abū Sufyān's head to Muḥammad. While the first three volumes have no surviving colophons, the colophon of the fourth states that the manuscript was copied by Muṣṭafā b. Valī in 1003/1594–1595 and offers prayers for the "trustee, Silāḥdār Ḥasan Ağa." An inscription dated 1167/1753 notes that the book belonged to "se'adetli Bash-Rukhshāh-qadīn ḥazretleri."⁸ The sixth and final volume possesses a colophon stating that it was completed in 1003/1594–1595 and copied by Aḥmad al-Nūrī b. Muṣṭafā.⁹ This volume, which contains 420 folios and 125 miniatures, begins with a description of Sa'd ibn Mu'adh's marriage and concludes with a moving portrayal of Muḥammad's death.

The measurements of all five of the extant volumes are almost identical. Pages measure approximately 37.5 by 27 cm with a written surface of approximately 29 by 17 cm. The script is a large *naskh* of thirteen lines to the page. The miniatures either occupy the same amount of space as the written surface or share a page with from two to six lines of script (the average is two to four lines). In the latter format, there are usually either two lines of script above and two below or three lines above and one below the miniature.

The account of Muḥammad's life given in Murād III's *Siyar-i Nabī* is part of a body of literature that, happily for the problems under consideration, is quite standardized. Originally, this material was transmitted orally or briefly related in the Qur'ān.¹⁰ Perhaps the original Meccan Muslims were simply too busy coping with a new social order to record events as they occurred. Alternatively, Muḥammad's early years may not have been considered particularly relevant to his religious revelation.¹¹ Soon, however, it became apparent that there was not enough information to serve the growing Muslim community. As the Muslims became a major political power they wanted a written history of their own based on a more complete account of Muḥammad's life. Curiosity about the person of Muḥammad was perhaps inevitable in a society which ultimately became

biography-oriented.¹² Muslims may also have felt the need to counteract the attractions of Judaic and Christian literature, which is rich in the recitation of fabulous events. *Sīrah* literature developed as a response to these various communal needs.¹³

The *sīrah* texts expand upon Qur'ānic materials. They deal with: (1) Arab genealogies and pre-Islamic events; (2) accounts of battles; (3) poetry giving attitudinal information about one tribe or another; and (4) anecdotes or stories about particular incidents, such as the beautiful story of Muḥammad's night journey (*mi'rāj*), which Muslim tradition connects with a brief allusion in Sūrah 17:1. The *sīrah* rendition provides a detailed description of each heaven and gives the names of the gate-keepers, angel guides, and prophets; it also describes the milky whiteness of Burāq and the ladder by which Muḥammad ascended to heaven. It is this anecdotal aspect that is illustrated.

Although the *Siyar-i Nabī* of Ibn Ishāq (ca. 85/704) transmitted by Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833) is the version best known in the West,¹⁴ the text of Murād III's *Siyar-i Nabī* is a copy of a text written by Muṣṭafā b. Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Maulavī al-Arzan al-Rūmī, called Ḍarīr, "the Blind Man." Using a variety of sources, Ḍarīr began a translation of the *Siyar-i Nabī* "into our Turkish tongue" under 'Alā' al-Dīn Khalīl the Qaramānid in 779/1377 and finished it in 790/1388. From at least 784/1382, the Mamluk sultan Barqūq acted as Ḍarīr's patron and "learned from him." The first miniature in Murād III's *Siyar-i Nabī* is probably an enthronement miniature of Sultan Barqūq.¹⁵

Ḍarīr's version of the life of Muḥammad has strong Ṣūfī overtones; the exploits of 'Alī, the Prophet's son-in-law, are emphasized. It is interesting to note that this copy was made for the ruler of the Ottoman Empire, which was the dominant orthodox Islamic state of the time. It may simply be that this was the version most accessible, as it was in Turkish. Alternatively, the choice could be explained by the Ṣūfī leanings of the Bektāṣi janissaries; the fact that Murād III's teacher and close friend Sa'd al-Dīn was a Ṣūfī; or even by the fact that Murād himself had strong Ṣūfī sympathies and is said to have written Ṣūfī treatises.¹⁶ Of the numerous extant copies of Ḍarīr's translation, the 1003/1594–1595 copy is the earliest illustrated one. The Turkish and Islamic Museum (Istanbul) copy of Ḍarīr, thought to be a partial copy of volume 4 of Murād's manuscript, is the only other known illustrated copy.¹⁷ Thus, we are faced not only with the loss of nearly one-sixth of the only extant miniature cycle of this

text but also with the absence of a prior complete model.

Textual Cycle and Illustrations

The recent publication of a three-volume critical edition of Ḍarīr's *Siyar-i Nabī*, which uses, among other manuscripts, that of Murād III, helps to establish the textual cycle.¹⁸ It is now possible to list narrative episodes as they occur in the text and to compare them to a list of extant identified miniatures. It is by means of this collative process that we are able to discover the missing volume (5).

It is possible to intersperse extant paintings quite regularly throughout the text of the published critical edition. We find an average of one painting for every 3–5 pages of printed text. Yet we find that gaps exist in the run of miniatures. Some gaps are relatively short and constitute only 15 typeset pages; others are much longer, reaching as many as 150 typeset pages for which no miniature exists in the manuscript volumes (approximately 500 typeset pages of the modern edition equal one manuscript volume of 400–450 folios).

However, at no specific point in the relationship of miniatures to narrative is there a gap which would be enough to accommodate an entire missing volume. If all of the gaps are added together, there are approximately 900 pages of text which lack miniatures. In other words, if one takes an average of one painting for every 3–5 pages, there are about 200 missing miniatures. This is roughly the difference between the 596 existing miniatures and the more than 800 paintings originally commissioned.

The collative process also reveals a characteristic clustering of illustrations. The clusters often relate to events which would be of significance to a Muslim state or ruler. For example, one group of illustrations deals with Adam and Seth, traditional figures in Islamic universal histories. Another cluster develops a specific interest in Muḥammad's immediate ancestors. Others deal with Muḥammad's birth, an occasion of great importance for Ottoman court ceremonies; the revelation of the Qur'ān; the battles of Badr and Uhūd; Muḥammad's marriages to Khadījah and 'Ā'ishah; the marriage of 'Alī and Fāṭimah; and Muḥammad's death.

Again, one finds two very intriguing omissions. There are no illustrations of the story of Abraham, even though, as the "purest" forebear of Muḥammad, he is an extremely important figure

in Islam. Abraham is frequently depicted in illustrated Muslim religious manuscripts, and he is dealt with at length in the text of Ḍarīr's *Siyar-i Nabī*. Even more puzzling is the lack of many *mi'rāj* miniatures. The *mi'rāj* story occupies more than sixty typeset pages. Of all of the episodes in the life of the Prophet, this has been the one most consistently illustrated. Yet for this long section only five miniatures can be matched with the text; of these, only one, if taken out of context, would be understood as a *mi'rāj* miniature. If miniatures average one for every three to five pages, it seems quite odd that this special story would be so sparsely illustrated.

The discovery of the "missing volume" is also facilitated by a consideration of the bindings and colophons of the existing manuscript volumes of Ḍarīr's text. Here it must be noted that, with the exception of volumes 4 and 6, the internal divisions of the manuscripts are not self-evident. There is no clear indication of the point at which one volume was meant to end and another begin. If the bindings on the present volumes could be dated to the late sixteenth century, one would need to consider the theory that the present grouping represents the original manuscript division. However, the extant bindings can be dated only to the eighteenth or nineteenth century and thus cannot connect the present with the original divisions of the volumes.

The evidence presented above supports my belief that volume 5 has not been in existence for at least one hundred (perhaps even two hundred) years. Missing miniatures are not confined to a specific point in the text. Rather, they occur throughout the manuscript. Political unrest in the seventeenth century may account for the destruction or dispersal of portions of the manuscript. In 1076/1665, a fire swept through the palace, severely damaging the second and third courts where many manuscripts are known to have been kept. It is conceivable that at this time parts of the manuscript suffered severe fire, smoke, or water damage and were excised from the remainder of the work. Alternatively, parts of manuscripts, particularly illustrative groupings surrounding the story of Abraham and the *mi'rāj*, may have been sold, traded out of the palace, or seized during palace rebellions. The loss of these sections necessitated a rebinding and, because of the manuscript's reduced size (some 400–600 folios smaller), a redivision of the work into five rather than six volumes. At this time some pages were accidentally reshuffled, as may be the case with folio 383a of volume 2, which Çağman and Atasoy correctly identify

as *Angels Received by the Prophet Muḥammad after His Ascension*, an illustration which should accompany the *mi'rāj* story appearing in volume 3.¹⁹

To summarize: there is no extant missing volume. The coordination of the *Siyar-i Nabī* illustrations with the text of the modern critical edition makes it possible for the first time to propose the total miniature cycle of Murād III's great project. It is now also possible to begin to match miniatures in outside collections against gaps in the run of *Siyar-i Nabī* miniatures. Before proceeding to this next step, however, the question of what the missing miniatures looked like has to be considered. In this connection, it is important to identify possible models for the manuscript and to present a summary of the stylistic features of the existing five volumes.

Precedents and Models for the Siyar-i Nabī

The *Siyar-i Nabī* was an extraordinarily massive operation to have been completed in a relatively short period of time. The lack of an earlier illustrated version of the text must have complicated matters for a busy workshop whose artists were simultaneously engaged in several other important projects dating to the reign of Murād III.²⁰ Just as Byzantine and medieval European artists turned to earlier manuscripts for models, so precedents for the *Siyar-i Nabī*'s illustrations were found in Persian and Turkish histories, geographies, and religious manuscripts.

The *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn contains the earliest existing representations of the life of Muḥammad. Editions include a copy in the Edinburgh University Library dating from 706/1306–1307; a copy dated 714/1314 which was sold in 1980 by the Royal Asiatic Society; a Topkapı Palace Museum manuscript whose miniatures have been dated to between 714/1314 and 793/1390; and an eighth-/fifteenth-century copy from Herat in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.²¹ This group of manuscripts is of particular interest to us because some of the illustrated episodes of Muḥammad's life have been included in the *Siyar-i Nabī*. For example, three miniatures belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society volume which depict Muḥammad are *The Prophet Muḥammad Receives the Submission of the Banū Naḍīr*, *Muḥammad Addresses Ḥamzah and 'Alī before the Battle of Badr*, and *Ḥamzah Leading the Fight with the Banū Qaynuqā'*.²² Illustrations of these three episodes appear in the *Siyar-i*

Nabī. Indeed, if we compare the collated list prepared by Güner Inal of the miniatures from the Edinburgh, Royal Asiatic Society, and Topkapı volumes with the critical edition and the miniatures from the manuscript volumes of the *Siyar-i Nabī*, it is clear that, in every case, the topics listed by Inal appear in the *Siyar-i Nabī*; in a very significant number of cases, miniatures from the manuscript volumes may also be identified.²³ Furthermore, the composition of groups of figures and their placement within the scene in many of the miniatures are comparable.

The *Mi'rāj nāmah* (Night Journey), a traditional religious text, also plays an important role in the history of Murād's *Siyar-i Nabī*. The *Mi'rāj nāmah* is a legend based on Sūrah 17:1, which states:

Glory to [God] Who did take His Servant For a Journey by night From the Sacred Mosque To the Farthest Mosque, Whose precincts We did Bless,— in order that We Might show him some of Our Signs: for He Is the One Who heareth and seeth [all things].

Two copies of this work are especially relevant. The first appears as a fragment of an album (*muraqqa'*) prepared by Abu'l-Faḥ Bahrām Mīrzā, brother of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, in 951/1544; it is now in the Topkapı Palace Museum.²⁴ Its five miniatures, which may have been executed in Baghdad and are dated to circa 762–793/1360–1390, portray *Three Cups Offered to Muḥammad*; *Gabriel Carries the Prophet over the Mountains*; *The Presentation of a Town by the Angel Gabriel*; *The Arrival of the Prophet in Paradise*; and *Muḥammad in Front of a Palace in Paradise*.²⁵ These are all topics that are included in the *mi'rāj* section of the Murād III *Siyar-i Nabī* text.²⁶ Even more important is a Uighur *Mi'rāj nāmah* in the Bibliothèque Nationale (supp. turc 190) whose miniature cycle is complete enough to provide a basis for a tentative analysis of the *Siyar-i Nabī*'s *mi'rāj* section illustrations.²⁷ The collation of its miniatures with *mi'rāj* episodes related in the critical edition Ḍarīr *Siyar-i Nabī* reveals strong parallels. This comparison is not necessarily intended to suggest a direct linkage to the Murād III *Siyar-i Nabī*. It might rather suggest that the Murād III manuscript incorporated a separate traditional story popular in the Middle East.²⁸

But, in fact, there is a strong possibility that this Uighur manuscript functioned as a model for artists working on the *Siyar-i Nabī* project. Visual parallels include: square, stumpy figure types; a "pulled-back" hairstyle; the color of the wings of angels; the treatment of halos; and a linear division of background architecture. The motif of

figures shown standing in doorways appears in both manuscripts. Equally characteristic of both is a diagonal arrangement of figures combined with the centralized position of Muḥammad, placed against an architectural background running the width of the page. Since this manuscript was purchased in Istanbul in 1673 by Antoine Galland “for 25 piastres,” there is a good chance that it was in the palace at the end of the sixteenth century (possibly as a result of the conquest of Tabriz by the Ottomans) and that it was known to the court painters.²⁹

Still another manuscript, the *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt wā gharā’ib al-maujūdāt*, a geography of the world that was popular in the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth century, deserves attention.³⁰ Lūtfū ‘Abdullāh, a painter connected with the production of the *Siyar-i Nabī*, is listed as having worked on an *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt* manuscript.³¹

In addition to histories, religious biographies may have functioned as a source for the *Siyar-i Nabī* miniature cycle. Illustrated biographies of saints were widely produced during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Persia and the Ottoman Empire. A copy of the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* (History of the Prophets), commissioned by Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent (927–974/1520–1566) and containing ten miniatures, is of particular interest since it deals with the lives of the prophets who make up the genealogy of the first section of the *sīrah* manuscripts.

But it was especially during the reign of Murād III that religious painting flourished. This was a period of great vitality for the arts of the book. Murād’s known interest in Šūfism contributed to its official toleration. Popular texts of his time include the *Maqātāl-i ‘Alī Rasūl* by Lāmi’ī Çelebī, a biography of ‘Alī; the *Ḥadīqat al-su‘adā’* of Fuzūlī, a text dealing with the lives of holy men; and the *Jāmi’ al-siyar* (Lives of Prophets and Caliphs) by Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Shaykh Nūr Allāh al-Najībī al-Suhrawardī.³² World histories commissioned during Murād’s reign carried the religious overtones traditional in an Islamic state. Many, if not all, were illustrated and included subjects incorporated in the *Siyar-i Nabī*. A similar history by Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. ‘Abdulḥadī, the *Silsilenāme*, contained a genealogy of the prophets and a second section giving a history of the prophets, caliphs, and Muslim states, and a genealogy of Ottoman rulers. At least three copies of the *Silsilenāme* were made in Baghdad in the years surrounding 1006/1597–1598, when Ḥasan Paşa, the son of the former Grand Vezir Sokollu Meḥmet Paşa, was governor.³³

During the period of the completion of the *Siyar-i Nabī*, some of the artists engaged in that project (Lūtfū ‘Abdullāh, for example) were also working on a copy of the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. A copy of Fuzūlī’s *Ḥadīqat al-su‘adā’* was completed in the same court workshop in 1005/1596. Could religious themes or motifs have migrated from earlier or contemporary versions of the *Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh*, *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt*, and *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* to the *Siyar-i Nabī*? It would have been helpful if busy artists could incorporate angel imagery produced during three centuries of experimentation from *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt* scenes, adapt a *mi‘rāj* scene which had been defined in earlier *Mi‘rāj nāmah* or *Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh* manuscripts, and utilize images of prophets from popular texts such as the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*.

It is undoubtedly true that the *Siyar-i Nabī* was produced very quickly; several subsidiary scenes smack of a production-line mentality. Earlier manuscript models would have provided practical shortcuts.³⁴ At the same time, at least one very accomplished painter had a hand in the production of this manuscript (Painter Four, described below), and it is likely that he exercised a certain artistic license in adapting these traditional scenes to his immediate purposes. For the moment, it is important to realize that the *Siyar-i Nabī*’s eight-hundred-odd miniatures represent the culmination of a tradition of depicting religious episodes that began with the *Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh* in the fourteenth century. Murād III’s continuation of this tradition represents the most ambitious attempt of all.

Painting Styles in the Siyar-i Nabī

Illustrated manuscripts which may have functioned as models for artists working on the *Siyar-i Nabī* projects provide a clue to the subject matter and style of the missing miniatures. Nevertheless, our attempt to identify these works must be based on an analysis of the styles revealed in the existing five manuscript volumes. Since the paintings have no signatures, specific miniatures cannot be attributed to individual artists with any certainty. It is possible, however, to divide the illustrations into groups which reflect both traditional schools and a new stylistic trend that appears in Ottoman painting in the late sixteenth century.

It is possible to suggest as many as ten different styles of painting in the *Siyar-i Nabī*, which in this essay are assigned tentatively to different painters. Painter One is most clearly distinguished by the large size and shape of the heads of some of his

major figures (see fig. 1). Grube has described the "broken color scheme" characteristic of this artist—the use of dark and light shades of a single color (red, blue, or green) to define garments—and the application of gold leaf to both clothes and crowns.³⁵ Each painter offers a distinctive treatment of halos: the halos of Painter One are rendered with two outlines intertwined, one inside the other, in black, wavelet-shaped lines.

Painter One's outdoor scenes are characterized by hills that are heavily outlined in a dark color and painted in light shades of lavender, coral, and blue. The hills tilt to emphasize the direction of the action. They are covered with darker shades of these lavenders, corals, and blues in two to four short, choppy lines or are shaded in the color used to depict the hills' contours. Clouds and sky may be shaded in the same manner as the hills (fig. 2). The interior scenes ascribed to this artist show tiles marked as squares inscribed with lines that connect the corners; a black-on-gold arabesque pattern appears within the lines of the archways. The interior architectural settings are placed parallel to the picture plane and are divided into three or four sections consisting of one or two flat areas, one niche, and an archway on the left which opens onto various vistas. This type of patterning and the horizontal division of space are utilized throughout the manuscript by several painters, each artist making his own adjustments to the formula.

Dr. Zeren Tanindi has made a tentative identification of Painter One as Naqqāş Ḥasan Paşa, a possible assistant to Osmān and 'Alī Naqqāş and an official administrator who eventually held the post of *vezīr* before his death in 1032/1622. She notes that Naqqāş Ḥasan Paşa, identified as the artist of the *Eğri Feṭihnāmesi* (also known as the *Shāh nāmāh-i Meḥmet Khān*, 999–1009/1590–1600), has included a portrait of himself in that manuscript (fig. 3).³⁶ We can see in this portrait and in the *Siyar-i Nabī* illustration attributed to Painter One (*Muḥammad Speaking with His Wife 'Ā'ishah*, fig. 4) the same method of outlining the eyes as two thick, black crescents, giving a specific shape to the beards of the male figures, and softly shading certain areas of the face. The mountains which are barely discernable in the painting held by the artist in the miniature resemble the mountains depicted in the latter scene. Finally, the sharp indentation of the upper part of the nose of the main figure—the so-called "Ḥasan hook"—is consistent in both miniatures (figs. 3 and 4).

Other illustrations from the *Siyar-i Nabī* miniature cycle which may be assigned to Painter One are *Dream of the Byzantine Emperor* and *Gabriel, Michael, and 'Azrā'īl Come to the Aid of Muḥammad* (figs. 5 and 6). In general, however, attributions to this artist must be accepted with reservations. The problems involved in assigning specific works to Painter One can be illustrated by analyzing the miniature *Kaydar Hunting* (fig. 7). Although the figure of Kaydar is similar to that of the king in *Dream of the Byzantine Emperor*, the background is radically different. Neither the lush foliage visible between the hooves of the horses nor the contour and angle of the mountains recalls the landscapes generally attributed to Painter One.

Still another problem of attribution involves the Adam series from the *Siyar-i Nabī* miniature cycle. Neither the monumentality of the figures of Seth and Adam nor the treatment of the eyes suggests the hand of Painter One. The foliage and mountains resemble the landscape details of the Kaydar miniature. The angels and the "Ḥasan hook" in the nose—accepted stylistics of Painter One—are, however, present in the Adam series.

Such incongruities lead one to wonder if an entire miniature can be assigned to one specific artist. Some degree of assembly-line production is almost inevitable in an established atelier. It is possible that stencils were used in some pictures (see, for example, figs. 8 and 9). It is equally possible that an artist such as Naqqāş Ḥasan Paşa drew the figure of Kaydar, leaving a "landscape painter" to render the lush, complex background, and that this artist was also responsible for the angels in the Seth and Adam miniature.³⁷

This extensive analysis of the style of Painter One provides a basis for the identification of "lost" *Siyar-i Nabī* miniatures. It can be suggested, for example, that this painter executed *The Angel of Death* (fig. 11) and *The Angel Isrā'īl* (fig. 12), now in the Keir Collection. The monumentality of the angels' figures, the size of their heads, the wing designs, and the short, darker strokes defining the hills behind the figures are similar to these elements which appear in specific scenes from the *Siyar-i Nabī* miniature cycle attributed to Painter One (figs. 1 and 2).

Painter Two utilizes the same divisions of interior space as Painter One, but he varies the formula by placing the right panel diagonal to the picture plane to create a sense of enclosure. His figures are smaller in proportion, thus conforming to the style which characterizes the earlier Ottoman "Classical School." The figures list or lean strongly

toward the area of dramatic interest (fig. 13). This painter's style reappears in volume 6 in some of the miniatures describing the death of Muḥammad.

Dr. Tanindi has noted the possibility of an assistant painter working on the miniatures in volume 1 (fig. 14). Painter Three could fill such a role. His work appears both in volume 1 and in several of the death scenes in volume 6. His identity is suggested by his technique of dividing the architectural backgrounds into tripartite or quadripartite arched sections. Painter Three's background divisions resemble those of Painter Two in the arrangement of the right wall (not visible in the illustrated example) and the use of red tile to indicate the floor. But whereas Painter Two manipulates the area under the left-hand arch to suggest a spatial vista, Painter Three simplifies his composition by continuing the red tiles into that area. This painter's figures also lean toward the center of interest, but, on the whole, both his figures and compositions are less lively and sophisticated than those of Painter Two.

Several other identifiable styles appear in the remaining manuscript volumes. Painter Four is the most accomplished artist connected with the manuscript (fig. 15). His work shows several distinctive features, such as the treatment of halos (setting one within another and outlining the inner halo in red and the outer in green), and he is particularly accomplished in the handling of space. His picture surface is divided into the usual three or four sections; these are then subdivided into additional rectangles. The right-hand edge is often extended in further vertical subdivisions which give complexity and interest to the composition. These rectangular shapes alternate with curves in the rug patterns and niches and are sometimes embellished with a repeated motif of a creek, a tree, and a lush hill appearing as a unit glimpsed through a window or doorway. This compositional device appears in an illustration from an *Iskandarnāme* manuscript dated 969/1561 that shows an enthronement scene including an archway, a creek, a flowering tree, and a hill. Although the spatial divisions are not as complex, the dark, square, bearded faces and the proportioning of the figures recall the work of Painter Four. The name of the painter is given as Ḥasan bin Ḥasan of Shiraz.³⁸ This *Iskandarnāme* scene could very well be an early work by the hand of Painter Four.

Painter Four's work is mostly confined to volume 2. He may have had an assistant working in his style, but with less skill (figs. 8 and 9). This assistant's identity is suggested by his characteristic

use of sixteenth-century Iznik ceramic carnation patterns and a variety of intricate rug designs.

Painter Five exhibits a style that is distinguished by bright, blended colors and elegantly patterned tents and clothes (see figs. 16–18).³⁹ Small floral designs predominate in the carpets, textiles, and geometric wall and floor tiles. The heads of the main figures are distinctive; they are characterized by dark eyes, large white turbans wrapped on a colored *tāc*, white beards which have been shaded in a pronounced European fashion, and exaggerated noses shown in profile and three-quarter view. Painter Five prefers a soft, appealing blue combined with an equally soft forest green to the coral reds, golds, pale greens, pastel lavenders, and tans favored by other *Siyar-i Nabī* artists. In the work of this master, architectural settings display emphatic diagonal lines and geometric patternization. Mountains slant to one side and are strongly outlined.

Painter Five's style may also be found in the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* (fig. 19).⁴⁰ Günsel Renda connects the style of this master with that of Lūtfū, one of the artists who worked on the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* and the 983/1575 *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* of Murād III and who is listed as the *naqqāṣ bāṣī* for a period of time after 995/1586.⁴¹ It is interesting to note that this artist, whoever he may have been, painted several scenes of religious history in the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, among them *Muḥammad and His Companions on the Night of the Mi'rāj*.⁴²

Five more hands may be distinguished in the manuscript volumes. Three of these are of relatively little importance, but the work of Painters Six and Seven is of considerable interest to this study. Illustrations attributed to Painter Six occur primarily in the Chester Beatty volume (4); the contributions of Painter Seven may actually represent an earlier or later phase of Painter Six's style.

The figures depicted in this group of miniatures are the most striking of any in the *Siyar-i Nabī*. They are monumental and yet buoyant—almost bodiless (fig. 20). Fewer figures appear in the scenes attributed to these masters. The women are drawn with small “pin” heads and are placed against densely patterned areas. Painter Seven's work is of particular importance because it represents a style, appearing first in this manuscript, which became common in paintings of religious subjects in the early seventeenth century. In fact, this master's style constitutes one of the major puzzles connected with the *Siyar-i Nabī* manuscript. It is very close to a style

of painting formerly associated by scholars with the *tekke* (convent) paintings of Baghdad and Konya.

Çağman and Atasoy were the first to identify a group of *tekke* manuscripts dating to the last five years of the sixteenth and the first years of the seventeenth centuries. These manuscripts include a *Jāmi' al-siyar* by Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Suhravardī (fig. 21); several copies of the *Ḥadiqat al-su'adā'* of Fuzūlī, a history of the martyrs of Muḥammad's family;⁴³ the *Manāqib-i savāqib* of Maḥmud Dede;⁴⁴ and several versions of the *Silsilenāme* (Genealogies of the Prophets).⁴⁵ Çağman and Atasoy describe the style as one in which figures differ in stature and have "outsized heads which vary according to their importance." They note that "although compositions showing meetings and councils follow the traditional arrangement, in other miniatures the figures are scattered over the picture"; and "although these figures are grouped, they do not form a simple unified composition."⁴⁶ Shoulder lines are large and rounded, and drapery is summarily treated. Landscapes reflect strong Ṣāfavid influence; bunches of brightly colored flowers also appear. There is a tendency to fill the picture plane of interior scenes with complex geometric patterns.

Elements of this "convent style" appear in the *Siyar-i Nabī*, not only in the work of Painters Six and Seven, but in miniatures attributed to Painter One and Painter Five. We may also note affinities between the style of these Turkish artists and the full-blown figure style of the celebrated Persian master Āqā Rīza (d. 1044/1635). It would be strange indeed if there were no stylistic interaction between Ottoman and Ṣāfavid ateliers in the last decade of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷

Because of the Ṣūfī overtones of the texts, scholars have been slow to link this style to the court schools. But notice must be taken of the fact that Maḥmud Dede, a Mevlevī from the Konya convent and translator of the *Manāqib-i savāqib*, was brought to Istanbul by Murād III around 999/1590 to receive a commission for this text; he returned to Konya to execute the task. Murād III's Ṣūfī interests would make his connection with such individuals and groups natural. The *tekke* style may actually have originated in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in the Ottoman court ateliers. It is further conceivable that painters as well as translators moved between the *tekkes* and the palace, for the Meriç pay records list only the amount of payment, not the physical location of specific painters. Its development may have

been reinforced by such people as Naqqāş Ḥasan Paşa (who acted as a provincial governor) or as a result of cultural interaction created by the renewed popularity of the pilgrimage routes which linked Istanbul, Konya, and Baghdad.⁴⁸

The appearance of the "Baghdad style" in the *Siyar-i Nabī* miniature cycle is significant because the new style also appears in two miniatures in the Keir Collection (figs. 22 and 23). The subjects of these paintings have been identified; they are *Muḥammad and His Companions* and *Muḥammad in Paradise*.⁴⁹ The figures depicted in the scenes are characterized by outsized heads and varying physical proportions—distinctive features, as we have seen, of the "Baghdad style." Painting measurements are comparable. The Keir miniatures range from 20–18 cm by 11–10 cm. The style and placement of the *naskh* is also similar in both manuscripts. The topics of the Keir paintings would fit easily into the pictorial hiatus in volume 3's *mi'rāj* series. Robinson has tentatively dated these miniatures to the early seventeenth century, but on the basis of this study it seems possible to propose an earlier, late sixteenth-century to early seventeenth-century date and to locate them in the *Siyar-i Nabī* cycle.

Miniatures Possibly Belonging to the Siyar-i Nabī

It is appropriate at this point to consider a final aspect of our analysis of the *Siyar-i Nabī*: the theoretical placement in the cycle of miniatures from other collections. Subject matter, earlier compositional models, and stylistic evidence combine to indicate that a significant number of miniatures can be assigned to this manuscript. A miniature in Berlin, *Muḥammad, Moses, and Gabriel* (fig. 24), can be placed in the *mi'rāj* section. The page measures 31 by 20.5 cm; it contains three lines of script above and one below the miniature, a common placement in Murād III's manuscript. The script is the same *naskh* employed by the calligrapher of the *Siyar-i Nabī*. Stylistically, the miniature resembles illustrations found in volume 3 (see fig. 25).

A second miniature, illustrated in a catalogue of the Binney Collection (fig. 26),⁵⁰ depicts *ʿAlī and His Sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn Visited by Gabriel and a Delegation of Holy Men*. The tripartite division of the background, the rendering of the angels, and the figures of ʿAlī and his sons closely resemble those depicted in the Topkapı volumes. The dimensions of the painting are given as 14 by 19 cm and are comparable to the dimensions of the

Siyar-i Nabī illustrations. The Binney miniature is listed as “mounted on an album leaf” and may have originally been one of the pages divided between painting and text (see fig. 27).

Thirteen miniatures from the Keir Collection previously dated to the seventeenth century can be redated to the late sixteenth and placed in the *Siyar-i Nabī* cycle. Formerly in the Sabry Paşa Collection in Cairo,⁵¹ these miniatures have been identified as:⁵²

- (1) *Mi'rāj* (no. 9);
- (2) *Angels Weeping for the Sins of Man* (no. 10);
- (3) *Angels Who Support the Throne of God Pray* (no. 11);
- (4) *Repulse of Gog and Magog* (no. 12);
- (5) *Weighing of the Souls* (shown naked) (no. 13);
- (6) *Angels in Two States of Ritual Prayer* (no. 14);
- (7) *The Prophet and Companions Bearing Standards* (no. 15);
- (8) *The Prophet in Paradise with Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Followers* (no. 16);
- (9) *'Azrā'īl Feels the Death Agony of a Mortal* (no. 17);
- (10) *Isrā'īl, the Angel of Resurrection, Blows the Seven-fold Trumpet* (no. 18);
- (11) *The Angel of Death Holds Two Flames Representing the Damned and Blessed Souls* (no. 19);
- (12) *Franks in a Fortress Besieged by the Prophet* (representing either an expedition against the Banū Qurayzah or the fort at Qamus) (no. 20);
- (13) *The Prophet Confronts the Antichrist and His Followers* (no. 21).

Many of these miniatures are thematically related to the *mi'rāj* story and thus could fill one of the most puzzling gaps in the manuscript cycle. The fact that both volume 3 and the Keir group contain a *mi'rāj* illustration does not create a

problem; similar scenes appear several times in the Bibliothèque Nationale *Mi'rāj nāmāh*. The stereotypical depiction of Gabriel and Muḥammad as they move from earth to heaven reappears in that manuscript as they move from heaven to heaven.⁵³ One miniature that is out of place in the current binding and the bulk of the identified miniatures currently located outside the bound volumes of the *Siyar-i Nabī* are connectable to this *mi'rāj* segment. By replacing them theoretically, it is possible to reconstruct this most important section with more precision. Thus, while no single prototype of this style exists, individual segments did seem to have prototypes—for example, the *mi'rāj* story. A comparison with these prototypes suggests a possible reconstruction of the entire *Siyar-i Nabī* cycle.

The *Siyar-i Nabī* represents both a culmination and a synthesis of the various traditions of illustrating Islamic subject matter. The style of its illustrations suggests a common thread between current religious styles and earlier religious prototypes in the Ottoman Empire of Murād III.

The correlation of the miniatures of the *Siyar-i Nabī* with the text of the manuscript has constituted an essential first step in the analysis and evaluation of the work. Such a correlation has permitted a tentative reconstruction of the original miniature cycle and the possible reattachment to the manuscript of a number of miniatures in other collections—that is, it has facilitated the identification of parts of the so-called “missing” volume. It has also reaffirmed the importance of illustrated religious works in the late sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire and has introduced the possibility of stylistic connections between palace and provincial (often *tekke*) ateliers. By recognizing the connection between manuscripts produced in the palace and those produced outside, one can suggest that the place of the Ottoman art of the book within the larger Ottoman social context is a topic worthy of further consideration.

Notes

1. Z. Akalay (Tanindi), "Naqqâş Hasan Paşa," *Sanat* 6 (June 1977): 114–25. Dr. Tanindi was also kind enough to allow me to read an unpublished manuscript describing the *Siyar-i Nabî* (an early version of her article). See also E. Grube, "The Siyar-i Nabî of the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library," *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Arte Turca: Venezia 26–29 Settembre, 1963* (Naples, 1965), pp. 149–76; V. Minorsky, *Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Miniatures* (Dublin, 1958), pp. 30–40; I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966), 1:130–32, 146–49, and pls. 80–87; S. K. Yetkin, "Lütfü 'Abdullâh ve Siyer-i Nebî," *Sanat Dunyamiz* 4, no. 12 (January 1978): 17–21; N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1974), pp. 52–54. I would like to express appreciation to Prof. Molly Teasdale Smith, Prof. Priscilla Parsons Soucek, Dr. Esin Atıl, Prof. Walter Denny, Dr. Zeren Tanindi, Dr. Feliz Çağman, Jessie Campbell Garrett, and Prof. Alan Fisher for their comments and help with this project.
2. R. M. Meriç, *Türk Nakiş Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları: I, Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1953), pp. 7–14, 50, 70–71.
3. Akalay, "Naqqâş Hasan Paşa," pp. 114–25; Yetkin, "Lütfü 'Abdullâh," pp. 17–21; G. Renda, "New Light on the Painters of the 'Zubdet al-Tawarikh' in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul," *IVème Congrès International d'Art Turc, Aix-en-Provence, 10–15 Septembre, 1976*, Études historiques no. 3 (Aix-en-Provence, 1976), pp. 183–200.
4. Meriç, *Türk Nakiş Sanatı Tarihi*, pp. 7–14, 50, 70–71.
5. Topkapi Palace Museum, H.1221, H.1222, and H.1223; New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, 157; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Turkish Ms. 419.
6. One major problem with Murâd III's manuscript has been the disappearance of volume 5, the so-called "Dresden volume." Minorsky, in *Chester Beatty Library*, suggests that it may at one time have been in the Dresden Library, as indicated by an entry in Fleisher's nineteenth-century catalogue of that library's manuscript holdings. Grube, in his "Siyar-i Nabî" article, concurs. However, a letter received by the author from the Dresden Library in the spring of 1977 suggests the opposite. While that library has several *Siyar-i Nabî* manuscripts, none contains miniatures, and the "min." which Grube suggested "might signify miniatures" in Fleisher's catalogue was intended to signify "minor" or "small in format."
7. Grube, "Siyar-i Nabî," p. 152.
8. Minorsky, *Chester Beatty Library*, pp. 30–31.
9. Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, pp. 52–54.
10. This follows the thesis of R. Bell and W. M. Watt (*Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ân* [Edinburgh, 1970]), which states there is good evidence to show that the Qur'ân was written at a very early time and that parts of it were recorded and edited during Muḥammad's life.
11. W. M. Watt, "The Materials Used by Ibn Ishaq," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis (London, 1962), pp. 23–34; T. Andrae, *Muḥammad, the Man and His Faith*, trans. T. Menzel (New York, 1960); A. Guillaume, ed., *The Life of Muḥammad: A Translation of Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah* (London, 1955).
12. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2d ed. (Leiden, 1968).
13. G. Levi Della Vida, "Sira," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 4:441.
14. Guillaume, *The Life of Muḥammad*.
15. M. Ḍarîr, *Kitabi Siyer-i Nebi*, trans. M. Faruk Gürtünce, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1977), modern Turkish critical edition.
16. Ibid., 1:26. This version of the *Siyar-i Nabî* was widely accepted in the Ottoman Empire. The catalogue of the Staatsbibliothek manuscript collection in Germany, for example, lists nine Turkish copies or fragments of Ḍarîr's *Siyar-i Nabî* produced between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in the Ottoman Empire. The Topkapi Palace Museum owns three Persian versions as well as the manuscript under discussion, and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul owns a partial seventeenth-century copy (no. 1974).
17. Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, p. 66.
18. Ḍarîr, *Kitabi Siyer-i Nebi*. The contents of the literary cycle have been outlined and the text collated with the existing manuscript miniatures in C. G. Fisher, "The Pictorial Cycle of the *Siyer-i Nebi*: A Late Sixteenth Century Manuscript of the Life of Muḥammad," apps. A and B (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1981).
19. Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, pl. 32. Interestingly, the two volumes with similar *hazine* stamps bearing late eighteenth-century dates are the ones with nineteenth-century covers and are the two currently in collections outside of Turkey. These facts may indicate the source from which these manuscripts were obtained and when they moved to the West.
20. A partial list of illustrated manuscripts dated to the period—and court—of Murâd III reflects a patronage of the book far more extensive than had previously existed in the Ottoman Empire. Some 2,839 miniatures in major collections are still extant from this twenty-year period.
21. Edinburgh University Library, Arab Ms. 20; London, Morley 1; Topkapi Palace Museum H.1653 and references in B. Gray, ed., *The Arts of the Book of Central Asia* (Boulder, Colo., 1979); K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Oğuzendes Rashid ad-Din* (Vienna, 1969); Sara Güner Inal, "The Fourteenth-Century Miniatures of the Jâmi' al-Tavârikh in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul, Hazine Library no. 1653" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1965); and "Some Miniatures of the Jâmi' al-Tavârikh in Istanbul, Topkapi Museum, Hazine No. 1654," *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 163–75.
22. Edinburgh University Library, Arab Ms. 20, fols. 3a, 7a, 8a.

23. Inal, "Fourteenth-Century Miniatures."
24. Topkapi Palace Museum, H.2154.
25. Topkapi Palace Museum, H.2154, fols. 62a, 42b, 61a, 107a.
26. Only five existing miniatures in the manuscript illustrate the long *mi'rāj* story running in the critical edition of Ḍarīr (*Kitābi Siyer-i Nebi*, 2:165–227). Other, less important episodes have illustrations averaging three to five pages each.
27. Bibliothèque Nationale, supp. turc 190; and M. R. Séguy, *The Miraculous Journey of Mohomet: Miraj-Nameh* (New York, 1977).
28. E. Sims ("The Turks and Illustrated Historical Texts," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Proceedings*, ed. G. Fehér [Budapest, 1978], pp. 747–61) notes also some compositional similarities. She writes that the artist of the *Siyar-i Nabī* (a sixteenth-century work) has reversed the composition of the illustration *Prophet in Conversation with the Angel Gabriel* appearing in a fifteenth-century manuscript. The two paintings are in other respects quite similar.
29. Séguy, *The Miraculous Journey*, introduction. A private communication from M. R. Séguy (1 October 1980) stated that this *Mi'rāj nāmāh* was then out for repairs, and she was therefore unable to check for a specific *hazine* stamp of either Selīm I, Sulaymān, Selīm II, or Murād III. The existence of one would, of course, have confirmed the manuscript's location. One further point of comparison can be noted in the resemblance of the large-scale angels in this manuscript to those in the *Siyar-i Nabī* and in the sixteenth-century '*Ājā'ib al-makhlūqāt*. Additionally, this type of angel appears in miniatures that Meredith-Owens connects with the seventeenth-century *Siyar-i Nabī* in the Keir Collection (see B. W. Robinson, ed., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book* [London, 1976], pls. 101–3). More will be said about this below.
30. Two examples are the 790/1388 copy done for Sulṭān Aḥmad, probably in Baghdad (Bibliothèque Nationale, supp. pers. 332); and a copy in the Freer Gallery (Freer 54.33), recently redated to the end of the fifteenth century by J. Badiee, "An Islamic Cosmography: The Illustrations of the Sarre Qazwīnī" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1978).
31. Yetkin, "Lütfü 'Abdullāh."
32. J. M. Rogers ("The Genesis of Safawid Religious Painting," *Iran* 8 [1970]: 125–39) notes as early as the fifteenth century the popularity in Iran of the *Khavarān nāmāh* (1426) of Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, which dealt with the adventures of 'Alī; the *Shawahīd al-nubūwah* by Jāmī, which is a biographical account of Muḥammad's revelation; and the *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (1480) by Jāmī, a series of biographies of Ṣūfī saints. Copies of all of these appear in the Topkapi collection, and several were illustrated at the Ottoman court. Rogers traces this interest to the II khāns who, after 1295, wanted to emphasize a convergence of II khānid and Islamic history, thereby providing legitimacy for their rulers.
33. Topkapi Palace Museum, H.1324 and H.1521; and Chester Beatty Library, Turkish Ms. 423. The first has a colophon which states it was made in Baghdad in 1006/1597; the second gives the same place of production and date; a third copy gives Baghdad as the place of production and a similar date.
34. Another shortcut might have been the use of complete design units that were "lifted" from other traditional renderings. For example, E. Atil, in "Ottoman Art in the Freer Gallery," *Sanat Tarihi Yillığı* 4 (1970–71): 185–97, notes an episode in the *Gulistān* (1564) "in which a youth appears from the antechamber of a house to offer a goblet of ice water to a poet." This motif appears several times, as does a scene comparable to a boat scene in the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh*. Done in the mid-1530s by Mīrzā 'Alī, it depicts the Ships of Shī'ism. Doomed passengers of seventy different religions are on seventy ships, but the most beautiful ship bears the holy family of Shī'ah. S. C. Welch, *A King's Book of Kings: The Shah-Nameh of Shah Tahmasp* (New York, 1972), p. 17, indicates that this book may have come to Murād III in 1576 as a coronation present. Luqmān's *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* (Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, no. 1973, fol. 23b) contains the same scene. Additionally, some of the basic seating arrangements for the companions in the *Siyar-i Nabī* are close to the Topkapi Palace Museum *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* (H.1653). Tripartite and quadripartite divisions are seen in the *Mi'rāj nāmāh* in the Bibliothèque Nationale (supp. turc 190), and a Turcoman *Shāh nāmāh* in the Topkapi Palace Museum (H.1506, fol. 43a). Perhaps an even more traditional gesture may come from the Byzantines. A. Grabar describes a gesture of prayer in which the index finger is set to the lips. It denotes complete silence and invokes prayer (see "Une Fresque Visigothique et l'Iconographie du Silence," in *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, 3 vols. [Paris, 1968], 1:583). Ḍarīr (*Kitābi Siyer-i Nebi*, 1:622) notes a raised finger when one is about to recite the creed or be converted to Islam, and this is transcribed to the miniatures. O. Grabar ("The Illustrated Maqamat of the Thirteenth Century: The Bourgeoisie and the Orb," in *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art* [London, 1976], chap. 12) suggests that the composition of the open door on the left and a larger proportional area on the right is a "type."
35. Grube, "Siyar-i Nabī," p. 169.
36. Topkapi Palace Museum, H.1609.
37. There is yet another possibility. This period being one of stylistic ferment, a single artist may well have tried variations in his style, adding to and modifying it as new modes of representation were introduced. The Adam series uses figures that are stylistically close to the Adam and Eve miniature in the *Falname* (fig. 10). Atasoy and Çağman (*Turkish Miniature Painting*, p. 64) write that the miniatures for the manuscript were collected from "various places" and utilized in album form. The colophon of the *Falname* is dated to 1011/1602, placing it within the lifetime of Naqqāş Ḥasan Paşa, who died in 1032/1622.
38. Bibliothèque Nationale, supp. turc 635. See *L'Islam dans les collections nationales* (Paris, 1977), p. 258 (no. 614).

39. Atasoy and Çağman (*Turkish Miniature Painting*, p. 49) tentatively identify this painter as Lütü 'Abdullāh. It should be noted that figure 18 appears in the *Nusretnāme*.
40. This manuscript has been discussed by Renda in "New Light on the Painters of the 'Zubdet al-Tawarikh,'" and in "İstanbul Türk ve İslam Eserli Müzesi'ndeki Zubdet-ut Tavarikh'in Mînyötürleri," *Sanat* 6 (June 1977): 58–67.
41. Yetkin, "Lütü 'Abdullāh," pp. 17–21; Grube, "Siyar-i Nabî," p. 168.
42. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, no. 1973, fol. 46a (ca. 991/1583).
43. Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, pp. 59–62; and Brooklyn Museum, 70.143.
44. Topkapi Palace Museum, Revan 1479; and New York, Morgan Library, Ms. 66.
45. Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, p. 60; Topkapi Palace Museum, H.1324 and H.1521; Chester Beatty Library, Turkish Ms. 423.
46. Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, p. 61.
47. The major Persian influence, however, seems to focus on a fifteenth-century Shiraz style. The landscape is conceptualized and occasionally simplified to focus attention on large-scale figures and their dramatic actions. The use of strong colors in accenting figures and action is reminiscent of Shīrāzī painting of the Tīmūrid and Turcoman schools.
48. Jean Sauvaget, "Les caravanserais syriens du Hâdj de Constantinople," *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937): 98–121; and S. Ilgurel, "Menasik-i Mesalik," *Tarih Dergisi* 31 (1977): 147–62.
49. Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, pp. 227–28.
50. E. Binney, *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney III* (Portland, Ore., 1979), p. 41.
51. Also originally in the Sabry Paşa Collection in Cairo were seven pages now in the collection of Dr. John I. Slocum of Newport, Rhode Island. Grube has described these in "Siyar-i Nabî," pp. 149–70. Their measurements are smaller than those of the *Siyar-i Nabî*, but Grube believes they may have been trimmed. In a letter from Dr. Slocum of November 1980, I ascertained that these miniatures are still in his collection; however, I have seen neither the paintings themselves nor photographs of them.
52. Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, pp. 227–28. The Keir Collection miniatures measure 20–18 by 11–10 cm, but it seems possible that, as with the Slocum miniatures, these were trimmed to fit on album pages.
53. Ségué, *The Miraculous Journey*, fig. 14. Ségué notes at this point how similar the transition pictures between heavens are.



FIG. 1. Folio 27a: *Adam and His Son Seth's Oath to God*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (H.1221). Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 2. Folio 22b: *Gabriel informs Muhammad that 'Alī will arrive with Booty*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (H.1223). 21 x 18 cm. Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 3. Folio 74a: *Portrait of the Writer, Painter, and Calligrapher*, from the *Eğri Fetihnāmesi* (H.1609). Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 4. Folio 136b: *Muḥammad Speaking with His Wife 'Ā'ishah*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (H.1223). 21 x 17 cm.
Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 6. Folio 176a: *Gabriel, Michael, and 'Azrā'īl Come to the Aid of Muḥammad*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (H.1223). 29.5 x 21 cm. Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 5. Folio 86b: *Dream of the Byzantine Emperor*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (H.1221). 21 x 18 cm.
Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 7. Folio 36b: *Kaydar Hunting*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (H.1221). 18.5 x 15 cm.
Courtesy, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 8. Folio 98b: 'Abbās Asks Abū Lahab to Pay His Debt to Muhammad, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (Spencer Collection 157). 20 x 17 cm. Courtesy, New York Public Library.



FIG. 9. Folio 107a: Abū Bakr Discusses Muḥammad's Plans for Marriage with the Prophet's Cousins, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (Spencer Collection 157). 20 x 17 cm. Courtesy, New York Public Library.



FIG. 10. Page 7 of codex: *Adam and Eve*, from the *Falname* (H.1703). 50 x 40 cm. 1013–1025/1604–1617. Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 11. *The Angel of Death*. 18.5 x 11 cm. Early 17th century (?). Courtesy, Edmund de Unger, the Keir Collection.



FIG. 12. *The Angel Israfil*. 18.5 x 11 cm. Early 17th century (?). Courtesy, Edmund de Unger, the Keir Collection.

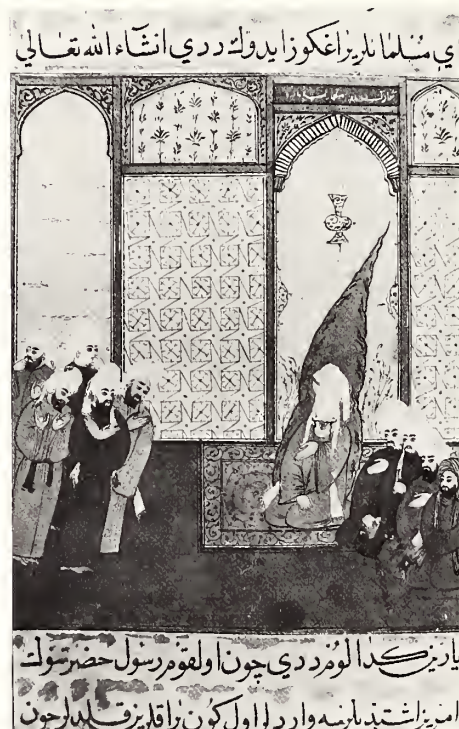


FIG. 13. Folio 317b: *Muhammad Warns Meccans of the Attack of Hawazin-i Saqif*, from the *Siyar-i Nabi* (H.1223). 21 x 15 cm. Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 14. Folio 223b: *Three Angels Bring a Chrysolite Bowl, Silver Pitcher, and Towel to Muhammad*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (H.1221). 20 x 17 cm. Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.

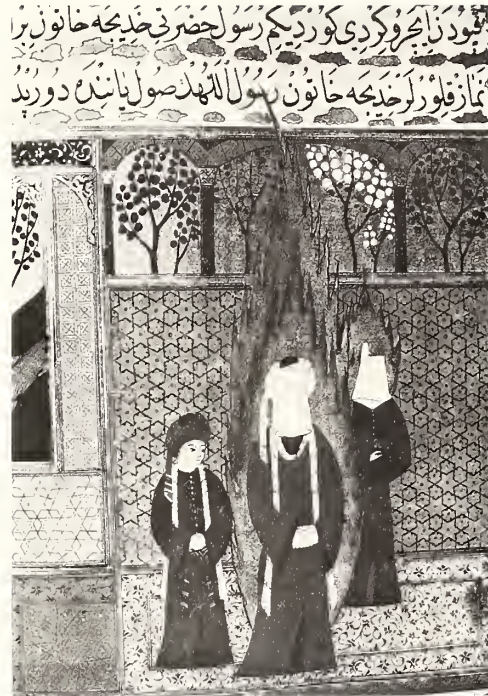


FIG. 15. Folio 283b: *'Alī Performs the Ritual Prayer with Muhammad and Khadijah*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (H.1222). 20 x 17.5 cm. Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 16. Folio 57a: *The Quraysh Chiefs Question Muhammad about His Night Journey*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (Spencer Collection 157). 20 x 17 cm. Courtesy, New York Public Library.



FIG. 17. Folio 75a: *Hamzah Threatens Punishment for Any Quraysh Who Harms Muhammad after Abū Ṭālib's Death*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (Spencer Collection 157). 20 x 17 cm. Courtesy, New York Public Library.



FIG. 18. Folio 34b: *Banquet*, from the *Nusratnâme*.
By Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā 'Alī. 34 x 21.5 cm.
Courtesy, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 19. Folio 51a: *The Imām-i 'Azam, Abū Ḥanīfah*
(detail), from the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. Courtesy,
Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul.



FIG. 20. Folio 392a: *Women Cry for Ḥamzah*, from the
Siyar-i Nabī (Turkish Ms. 419). 29 x 17 cm. Courtesy,
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



FIG. 21. Folio 121a: *Meeting of Jalāl al-Dīn Rumī and Mullah*
Shams al-Dīn, from the *Jāmi' al-siyar* (H.1230). 22.8 x 17.5 cm.
End of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century.
Courtesy, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul.



FIG. 22. *The Prophet in Paradise*. 20 x 10 cm. Early seventeenth century (?). Courtesy, Edmund de Unger, the Keir Collection.



FIG. 23. *The Prophet and His Companions*. 20 x 11 cm. Early seventeenth century (?). Courtesy, Edmund de Unger, the Keir Collection.



FIG. 24. *Muḥammad, Moses, and Gabriel*. 31 x 20.5 cm. Courtesy, Berlin Museum für Islamische Kunst.



FIG. 25. Folio 5a: *The Mi'rāj*, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (Spencer Collection 157). 20 x 17 cm. Courtesy, New York Public Library.



FIG. 26. 'Ali and His Sons Hasan and Husayn Visited by Gabriel and a Delegation of Holy Men. 16.8 x 22.5 cm. Courtesy, Edwin Binney III.



FIG. 27. Folio 383a: Angels Received by Muḥammad after His Ascension, from the *Siyar-i Nabī* (H.1222). 20 x 17 cm. Courtesy, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.

THE SARRE QAZWĪNĪ: AN EARLY AQ QOYUNLU MANUSCRIPT?

By JULIE BADIEE

WITHIN A FEW DECADES OF THEIR FIRST FEROCIOUS onslaughts into Iran, the Mongols had already begun to make the transition from marauders to enlightened monarchs. Seduced by the sophisticated traditions and wealth of learning they found in the Islamic world, the leaders of the Western Mongols, the Il khāns, became great patrons of the arts, particularly the art of book illustration. One early book produced under the Il khāns was a cosmography written in Arabic by a Persian scholar, Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (ca. 600–682/1203–1283).

Entitled *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wā gharā'ib al-maujūdāt* (The Wonders of Creation and Oddities of Existence), Qazwīnī's cosmography is divided into two parts. The first section describes the heavenly realm, angels, the seven planets, the signs of the zodiac, and the constellations. The second section deals with earthly phenomena, including the creatures associated with islands and bodies of water. Organized in the same manner as the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'* (Epistles of the Brethren of Purity), Qazwīnī's manuscript added little to the field of Islamic science. Its popularity as a subject for book illustration, however, cannot be disputed. Copies of this cosmography continued to be written and illustrated into the eighteenth century. The cosmography had been translated into Persian as early as the fifteenth century. Later versions also appeared in Turkish.¹

Among the early Arabic copies of Qazwīnī's cosmography are three manuscripts whose dates range from the mid-twelfth to, possibly, the fifteenth century. These are:

- (1) Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod. 464. This copy was written and illustrated during Qazwīnī's lifetime. It was probably completed in Wāsiṭ, where Qazwīnī appears to have retired after the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 656/1258. The cosmography was dedicated to 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aḡā Malik al-Juvaynī, the governor of Iraq under the Il khānīd rulers Hūlāgū and Abaqa. Juvaynī, a patron of scholars and a well-known historian, may have extended protection and support to Qazwīnī.²
- (2) Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, A1506. Recently published, the illustrations of this copy of the cosmography appear to date to

the early fourteenth-century Īnjū school of Shiraz.³

- (3) The Sarre Qazwīnī. This copy of the cosmography is presently divided between the Freer Gallery of Art and the New York Public Library.⁴ The manuscript lacks a colophon, and its miniatures, which are executed in a fine though hybrid style, have been the subject of considerable scholarly debate. Friedrich Sarre was the first to publish the manuscript. In an article appearing in 1907 which discussed the illustrations of the seven planets, he considered the work to be "probably fifteenth century."⁵ Later he assigned it to Iran. For the next twenty-five years the manuscript's attributions ranged from Damascus to Samarqand; suggested dates varied from 1350 to the early fifteenth century.⁶ When the manuscript appeared in the Burlington House Exhibition of 1931 its archaic character was recognized and it became known as a manuscript of the "Mesopotamian Style."⁷ The most recent research has led to the latest consensus, which places the manuscript in Jalāyirid Iraq.⁸

The history of the various attributions given the Sarre Qazwīnī reflects the unusual visual character of the manuscript. Its illustrations appear to fuse both Arab and Persian styles. Although the pose and manner of some of its illustrated figures recall those seen in thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Maqamāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (fig. 1), others suggest the new, more vigorous school of painting that developed in late fourteenth-century Iran (fig. 2). In the Sarre illustrations draperies are characterized by fresh and delicate designs that contrast markedly with the stylized folds typical of the Arab school. The current attribution of the Sarre Qazwīnī to Jalāyirid Iraq could account for this mixture of elements. However, a comparison with other Jalāyirid works raises some doubts about the currently accepted attribution of the Sarre Qazwīnī to this school.

This study will investigate the relationship of the Sarre Qazwīnī to the Jalāyirid school and attempt to suggest a more appropriate date and provenance for the manuscript.⁹

The Jalāyirid Manuscript School

The Jalāyirids were a Mongol tribe that rose to power in their capital cities, Baghdad and Tabriz, after the disintegration of Il khānid rule. Manuscripts produced under Jalāyirid patrons continued to stress the interest in spatial composition and landscape elements that first appeared in the Il khānid school of painting. Although attempts have been made to date some of the Jalāyirid manuscripts, many remain problematical.

Securely dated works give us the clearest conception of the nature of the later Jalāyirid school under Sultan Aḥmad, an important patron and an artist in his own right. The manuscripts associated with his court, while exhibiting a wide range of quality and subject matter, can be assigned to two basic stylistic categories. The first category comprises a courtly style that is best represented by the celebrated *Dīwān* of Khwājū Kirmānī, painted by the artist Junayd at Baghdad in 1396.¹⁰ This beautiful and delicate work ranks among the greatest creations of the Persian artist. Its pages reflect the brilliance of the newly created Sino-Persian style while displaying the qualities of grace, attention to detail, and dream-like atmosphere that are so characteristically Iranian. A second manuscript of distinctive style and high quality is the *Dīwān* of Sultan Aḥmad, which was probably illustrated by the famous painter 'Abd al-Ḥayy.¹¹

The second category of Jalāyirid manuscripts includes works of less spectacular quality. Among these are two *Kalīlah wā dimnah* manuscripts as well as several others on scientific subjects.¹² The scientific manuscripts are of particular relevance to this discussion as their subject matter parallels that of the Sarre Qazwīnī.

The first of these scientific manuscripts is a well-known work, the *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, supp. pers. 332), often erroneously identified as a Persian translation of Qazwīnī's text. As has been shown by Massé, the manuscript has a text written by an unidentified author that bears only a slight resemblance to Qazwīnī's work.¹³ Despite the fact that it is not Qazwīnī's text, however, the Paris *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* does include comparable illustrations of archangels and astrological subjects (fig. 3).

This manuscript is particularly interesting because it is one of the few dated manuscripts of the fourteenth century that can be traced definitely to the Jalāyirid court. The colophon states that the calligraphy was completed by Aḥmad of Herat on 10 March 1388 for the library of Sultan Aḥmad

(Khān). The text is written in *nasta'liq* and is one of the earliest examples of this variety of calligraphy. The exact provenance of the manuscript is uncertain. Aḥmad Jalāyir set up his court at both Tabriz and Baghdad; the fortunes of politics and war often caused him to flee from one city to the other.

A second scientific manuscript associated with the Jalāyirid court is a book entitled the *Kitāb al-bulhān*, or *Book of Well-being* (Oxford, Or. 133).¹⁴ This work consists of miscellaneous tracts on astrology, divination, and prognostication that have been attributed erroneously to the ninth-century astronomer Abū Ma'shar of Balkh. The colophon of the book states that it was composed and illustrated by 'Abd al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, who was a native of Baghdad from an Iṣfahānī family. He dedicated the work to his friend, Diyā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Irbilī. The mention of Baghdad and the northern Mesopotamian town of Irbil places the manuscript most probably in Jalāyirid Iraq. Its illustrations display the round faces, simple garments, and intense interest in landscape detail that characterize manuscripts of the Jalāyirid school. They also show the influence of Western iconographical sources, especially in the illustration of the cycle of the seasons and the months of the year.

Of particular interest are the folios that illustrate the signs of the zodiac and those that depict the seven climes with their associated planets. Similar subjects appear at the beginning of the Sarre manuscript, yet reveal a different iconography and style. In the *Kitāb al-bulhān*, for example, the planetary symbol is depicted in the sky above an illustration of its related clime on earth; thus the warrior symbolizing Mars appears in the sky above a landscape of the "third clime" (fig. 4). The illustrations of the planets in the Sarre Qazwīnī, on the other hand, show the planets as isolated iconographic units painted in what appears to be a completely different style (fig. 2). Similar discrepancies can be noted in the illustrations of the signs of the zodiac. The *Kitāb al-bulhān* shows a combined iconography in which each sign is associated with the activity of its house. Thus Virgo is illustrated as a man harvesting wheat (fig. 5). The corresponding example in the Sarre Qazwīnī illustrates the zodiac sign without reference to the activity of its house (fig. 6).

If the Sarre manuscript were indeed produced under the Jalāyirids in Iraq, one would expect to find some relationship, either stylistic or iconographic, between it and manuscripts of comparable provenance and subject matter. On the contrary,

an analysis of the Jalāyirid manuscripts leads inevitably to the conclusion that they have little or nothing in common with the Sarre Qazwīnī.

Jalāyirid artists exhibited a strong interest in background design and landscape detail. Small, energetic figures interact with a landscape of stylized rocks and scattered tufts of grass (fig. 3). The figures in the Sarre manuscript, on the other hand, are quite large and are posed against a plain background. There is no interest in landscape. In spite of the similarity of subject matter between the Paris *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt* and the Sarre manuscript, there is little parallel in iconography. The *Kitāb al-bulhān*, which, like the Sarre Qazwīnī, is written in Arabic and contains illustrations of the signs of the zodiac and the seven planets, appears to have been painted in a completely different style.

The lack of discernable parallels in style and iconography between the Sarre Qazwīnī and Jalāyirid versions of comparable subject matter leads one to conjecture that the Sarre Qazwīnī may not have been produced under the Jalāyirids at all. What, then, is a more likely attribution?

Identification of a Possible Provenance for the Sarre Qazwīnī

The fortunate survival of a manuscript of the *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt* written during Qazwīnī’s lifetime (Munich, Staatsbibliothek cod. 464) allows one to compare the Sarre Qazwīnī with an earlier model. Although the illustrations of the Staatsbibliothek version differ stylistically from those of the Sarre manuscript, the format and text of the two manuscripts are essentially the same. A comparison of illustrations of similar subjects will serve to distinguish some unique stylistic features of the Sarre Qazwīnī. These distinctions may, in turn, help to solve the question of the manuscript’s provenance.

The depiction of Centaurus in the Staatsbibliothek manuscript is based on the traditional image of this constellation found in earlier manuscripts of the *Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-thābitah* (Book of the Fixed Stars) by ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Umar al-Ṣūfī and other astronomical works (fig. 7). In contrast, the Sarre illustration of this constellation displays a number of unorthodox elements. The golden wing of the centaur terminates in a dragon’s-head finial. The centaur’s extraordinary tail, which also ends in a dragon’s head, has been twisted into a heart-shaped knot (fig. 8). These motifs are common to the Sarre Qazwīnī (figs. 9–13). They are not found in the two earlier Qazwīnī manuscripts and seem,

on the basis of surviving evidence, to have been favored by the artist of the Sarre Qazwīnī.

The motif of the dragon whose body is twisted into a heart-shaped knot is a common one in Islamic art. It makes its appearance as early as the twelfth century and can be found on metalwork, manuscripts, and coins. The motif also appears on such buildings as citadels and khāns and often on bridges.¹⁵ An exhaustive catalogue of the varieties of its presentation is beyond the scope of this article, but it appears that the motif was most popular in the upper regions of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, especially in the area of Diyarbakir. It was also quite common elsewhere in eastern Anatolia (see figs. 14 and 15).

As has been shown by Hartner, the dragon’s head can be associated with zodiacal imagery relating to the eclipse dragon.¹⁶ In astrological depictions, the eclipse dragon is often shown in conjunction with the zodiacal signs of its exaltation and dejection, Gemini and Sagittarius. Most commonly, it appears as a dragon’s head emerging from the tail of Sagittarius, the centaur. The tail of this mythical beast is often twisted into a heart-shaped knot which represents the nodes of the moon’s orbit.

Depictions of Sagittarius with a dragon’s head at the end of a tail twisted into a heart-shaped knot can be explained by its relationship to the imagery of the eclipse dragon. It is therefore not surprising to find such an illustration appearing in the Sarre Qazwīnī (fig. 9). What is unusual is the artist’s apparent obsession with the motif. He used it again and again, even when it was astrologically inappropriate. Thus, it appears in the constellation Centaurus (fig. 8), the constellations Hydra and Draco (figs. 10 and 11), and any time the text calls for the illustration of a dragon (figs. 12 and 13). This repetition of the heart-shaped knot motif may indicate the influence of a specific local iconography. We have previously noted that the iconography of the dragon with the twisted body appears most commonly in eastern Anatolia. As far as is known, it does not appear in Jalāyirid works and was not a popular Iranian motif.

Another illustration points to eastern Anatolia as a possible provenance for the manuscript. The artist has depicted the *‘anqā’*, a mythological creature of great size, as a heraldic double-headed bird (fig. 16). There appears to have been no consistent manner of illustrating the *‘anqā’* before the fourteenth century. Early manuscripts present it as a heron or crane; it is also sometimes visualized as a large bird with plumes on its forehead.¹⁷ The artist of the early Qazwīnī manuscript (cod. 464)

has simply shown the 'anqā' as a large bird (fig. 17). Later illustrations of the 'anqā' depict it with the features of the Chinese *feng-huang* (phoenix). By the end of the fourteenth century it had become merged with the Persian *simurgh* and was shown with beautifully colored wings and a long, feathery tail.¹⁸ The double-headed version of the 'anqā' illustrated in the Sarre manuscript appears to be exceptional.

The double-headed bird does, however, occur in Islamic art as the armorial badge of the city of Diyarbakir. Such birds were carved in the thirteenth century on the towers of the city walls; they also appear on coins struck in the cities of Diyarbakir and Ḥiṣn Kayfā.¹⁹ The motif also occurs on the city walls of Aleppo and Konya, where it seems to have been associated with the Anatolian Saljuqs (fig. 18). The image can also be found on buildings at Niğde, Erzerum, and Divriği, as well as on a painted tile from Kubadabad.²⁰ Late examples of double-headed birds appear on fifteenth-century tombstones in the city of Tokat. Stylistic affiliations with the Sarre Qazwīnī may be noted; the birds possess similar cockscombs and wattles.²¹

Clearly, the double-headed bird was a significant motif in Diyarbakir and in eastern Anatolia generally. Like the motif of the dragon twisted into a heart-shaped knot, it was an image favored by the Saljuq Turks who ruled in Anatolia and northern Iraq before the Mongol invasion. The repeated use of these motifs by the artist of the Sarre Qazwīnī would therefore seem to indicate either northern Iraq or eastern Anatolia as a logical provenance for the manuscript.

The Date of the Sarre Qazwīnī

Costume details provide important clues in determining the date of the Sarre Qazwīnī. Although motifs such as the two-headed bird and the dragon twisted into a heart-shaped knot reveal affinities with Saljuq styles, the costume illustrations seem more closely related to the Tīmūrid manuscript style and indicate a date in the early fifteenth century.

Figures in Tīmūrid illustrations typically wear clothing characterized by patterned fabrics and a strong interest in embroidery designs. Overcoats, gathered at the waistline by a belt, are supplied with elaborate embroidered collars and sleeves edged with trim. The juxtaposition of several layers of clothing to create a luxurious effect was especially popular.²² Since Chinese influence was

strong during the first two decades of the fifteenth century, the traditional Chinese-derived motif of the cloud collar is common in Tīmūrid works.

Fifteenth-century costume details and motifs that appear in illustrations to the Sarre Qazwīnī include the Chinese cloud collar embroidered on robes (figs. 2, 20, and 21); the open-necked robe that reveals undergarments (fig. 23); pointed, lobed caps with stiff or furry brims (fig. 22); and a tiered costume effect created by the device of showing an outer robe worn over several skirts. Compare, for example, the image of an angel from a *Mi'rāj nāmāh* dated 1436 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, supp. turc 190) with the representation of Virgo in the Sarre Qazwīnī (figs. 6 and 19). The *Mi'rāj nāmāh* provides yet another parallel. Its distinctive background design of irregular concentric circles is very similar to the pattern that decorates the robes of the archangels Jabrā'īl and al-Ruḥ in the Sarre Qazwīnī illustrations (figs. 20 and 21).

A comparison of such details suggests a date for the Sarre Qazwīnī manuscript sometime in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Other costume details proclaim the provincial character of the manuscript. For example, the artist of the Sarre Qazwīnī shows a misunderstanding of the Chinese cloud collar motif. The cloud collar originated in Chinese court costume, where it could be found embroidered on robes as early as the Sung dynasty. Traditionally, the cloud collar separated the head, or spiritual portion of man, from the body, or the material portion. The design was introduced into Iran in the late fourteenth century and appears in many Jalāyirid and Tīmūrid manuscripts.

The cloud collar can be found in the correct position around the necks of some of the figures in the Sarre Qazwīnī, but on others it appears embroidered at the knees (fig. 2), revealing a fundamental misunderstanding of the original significance of the design. An analysis of patterns of other robes appearing on figures in the Sarre manuscript reveals further misinterpretations. In Tīmūrid manuscripts there is always a certain pattern used in applying the embroidery designs. Cloud collars encircle the neck; a dragon or phoenix may be emblazoned on the back or chest; and a line of embroidery often appears on the bottom of the robe several inches above the hem. The embroidery patterns on the robes of the Sarre figures, however, are not always relegated to such specialized areas. They are painted in a fluid, sweeping manner that ignores borders and is not curtailed by conventional methods of depicting textile patterns. Thus, blossoms appear on the lap of Mars (fig. 2) and

are embroidered at the knees of Jupiter (fig. 23). This design of blossoms growing from a clump of stems does not usually appear in textiles, but it is found on contemporary blue-and-white ware exported from China (fig. 24).

The stylistic relationship between the Sarre manuscript and blue-and-white ware of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries appears to be close. The designs on fourteenth-century blue-and-white ware have been described as "having breadth and power."²³ The same qualities can be attributed to some of the most beautiful painting passages in the Sarre Qazwīnī (figs. 2 and 20). The free, sweeping unconventionality of the embroidery designs in the manuscript may have been copied from contemporary blue-and-white ceramics. The first depictions of blue-and-white ware in Islamic manuscript painting occur during the last decades of the fourteenth century. Blue-and-white ceramics then appear frequently in Tīmūrid work. They continue to be included in manuscript scenes throughout the fifteenth century.²⁴ The discovery of the blue-and-white plates at Hāmāh in Syria shows that by the year 1400 Muslim potters were strongly influenced by Chinese blue-and-white designs.²⁵

Another misunderstanding of a conventional motif can be observed in the treatment of cloud patterns. The eddies and swirls of the concentric circle pattern mentioned above in connection with the *Mi'rāj nāmāh* manuscript are invariably used in Tīmūrid landscape scenes to suggest sky imagery or heavenly backgrounds. The angels of the *Mi'rāj nāmāh* manuscript of 1436 are surrounded by golden billows of what appears to be a "celestial fire" motif created by cloud patterns (fig. 19). The artist of the Sarre Qazwīnī included the motif in his depictions of angels but applied it to the drapery instead of relegating it to the background (figs. 20 and 21). As in the case of the cloud collar, the artist of the Sarre Qazwīnī appears to have been fascinated by the pattern but had little understanding of its correct application.

These misunderstandings of common Jalāyirid and Tīmūrid motifs increase the probability that the Sarre manuscript was not produced under Jalāyirid or Tīmūrid patronage. It is more likely that it was copied and painted at a center somewhat removed from Baghdad or Tabriz, yet close enough to maintain contact with these cities. The evidence also suggests that the artist of the Sarre Qazwīnī was not following the Mongol artistic tradition, as were the Jalāyirids and the Tīmūrids, but was, perhaps, a provincial artist still working in a pre-Mongol painting tradition. Intrigued by the new costume

styles and patterns introduced in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, he applied them with little understanding, combining them with the more familiar local iconography of dragon bodies twisted into heart-shaped knots and two-headed birds, and interpreting them with a fluidity and freedom more appropriate to ceramic painting than to manuscript illumination.

An Early Aq Qoyunlu Manuscript?

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Turkman tribes called the Qara Qoyunlu and the Aq Qoyunlu were emerging as the most important powers in western Iran and eastern Anatolia. In his campaign of 1400 Tīmūr had granted the city of Diyarbakir to the Aq Qoyunlu, and Diyarbakir became the capital of their expanding principality. By 1435 the Aq Qoyunlu had extended their power northward almost to the Black Sea and southward beyond Mārdīn and Nuṣaybīn. The Qara Qoyunlu continued to hold Tabriz and western Iran. In 1468 this rivalry was ended when the Aq Qoyunlu conquered the Qara Qoyunlu and absorbed their Iranian territories.²⁶

Painting of the Turkman schools, which has not been as widely published as manuscripts in the contemporary Tīmūrid style, "has not yet been defined."²⁷ Little seems to have survived from the earliest years of the Aq Qoyunlu state, although it has been suggested that a series of paintings in an album in the Topkapi Palace Museum (H.2153) might demonstrate early Turkman tastes.²⁸ A group of manuscripts that appears to date to 1467–1468 has recently come to light. The manuscripts were painted in Egypt, possibly by Qara Qoyunlu artists.²⁹

Surviving Aq Qoyunlu manuscripts can be assigned to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. These include a *Khāmsah* of Nizāmī and the *Khawar nāmāh* of Ibn Ḥusām (fig. 25).³⁰ Although at first glance these manuscripts do not seem to have much in common with the Sarre Qazwīnī, a closer inspection reveals some interesting parallels.

Among the significant costume details to be noted in both the Turkman manuscripts mentioned above and the illustrations to the Sarre Qazwīnī are: tiny pointed boots with interior stitching; low-slung, segmented black-and-white belts; cloud collars painted in a fluid, flowing style; embroidered designs; and large turbans that sometimes droop down over one ear and terminate in a long projecting sash. The *Khāmsah* of Nizāmī illustrates figures wearing turbans with short, wispy feathers

in the folds.³¹ The same motif may be noted in the illustration of Jupiter in the Sarre manuscript (fig. 23).

The *Khawar nāmāh* of Ibn Ḥusām, now in the Tehran Museum of Decorative Arts, exhibits particularly close stylistic affiliations with the Sarre Qazwīnī.³² These include details of costume—large, drooping turbans wound around a conical *tāj* and terminating in a flying sash (fig. 26)—as well as a distinctive facial type, characterized by a full outline, almond-shaped eyes, and bushy beards. Compare, for example, the faces of many *Khawar nāmāh* figures with the face of Mercury in the illustration to the Sarre Qazwīnī (figs. 1 and 25). Even the depiction of a mule in a *Khawar nāmāh* scene recalls the presentation of a horse in the Sarre manuscript (fig. 27). Both animals have been given distinctive spotted bodies and unusually heavy, thick muzzles. Neither resembles the delicate, elegantly conceived quadrupeds so typical of Jalāyirid and Tīmūrid styles. In fact, the scale of the figures appearing in the *Khawar nāmāh* and Sarre Qazwīnī illustrations, as well as a certain “folk” element in their depiction, strongly suggests the work of provincial artists.

If the Sarre Qazwīnī is in fact an early Aq Qoyunlu manuscript, it seems most reasonable to assign it to early fifteenth-century Diyarbakir. The Diyarbakir region was an important center for motifs such as the double-headed bird (the armorial badge of the city, as noted above) and the dragon body twisted into a heart-shaped knot. The Sarre Qazwīnī costume style indicates a date somewhere between 1400 and 1425; it was at this time that the Aq Qoyunlu made Diyarbakir their capital. Moreover, this is a region with a long tradition of illustrated Arabic scientific manuscripts.³³ Finally, important stylistic parallels appear in Aq Qoyunlu manuscripts of a later date, most particularly in the *Khawar nāmāh* of Ibn Ḥusām.

We have suggested that the misinterpretation of conventional decorative motifs that pervades the Sarre Qazwīnī illustrations indicates the work of an artist unfamiliar with the standard fifteenth-century vocabulary, one who adapted and combined designs with little understanding of their traditional significance. Perhaps a local artist who had once worked for the previous rulers of Diyarbakir, the Artuqids, came under the patronage of the Aq Qoyunlu when the town was turned over to them by Tīmūr in 1400. If so, a hybrid manuscript like the Sarre Qazwīnī may well have been the result.

Later Arabic Qazwīnī Manuscripts

We have noted that the Aq Qoyunlu succeeded in expanding their empire in the fifteenth century. Their control of such an extensive region could explain the large number of Arabic manuscripts resembling the Sarre Qazwīnī that began to appear throughout the Islamic world during this period.

Later copies of the Arabic text of Qazwīnī's manuscript that show strong affinities to the Sarre Qazwīnī include:

- (1) Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, Ms. E7. The close resemblance of this manuscript to the Sarre Qazwīnī was noted in the catalogue of the Burlington Exhibition.³⁴ The illustrations of the planets indicate, however, a mid-fifteenth-century date. Traditionally attributed to Iran, the manuscript may in fact be of Turkman origin (fig. 28).
- (2) Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, Ms. D307. Identified as a Šāfavid production and dated to 1580, this manuscript is said to bear a strong resemblance to Leningrad Ms. E7.³⁵ It may illustrate the transmission of the Arabic Qazwīnī manuscript type to the atelier of the Šāfavids who absorbed the libraries of the Aq Qoyunlu when they conquered the latter in 1502.
- (3) London, British Library, Or. 4701; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 128; London, India Office Library, Mss. 723 and 724; and a series of dispersed miniatures in various private collections. This stylistically affiliated group has been identified by the discovery of a colophon in the India Office Library's Ms. 724.³⁶ Dated to 1572, the colophon gives the name of Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, a personage connected with the court of Ibrāhīm Shāh in Golconda. The Sarre manuscript type may have been brought to India through connections with the Šāfavid court.
- (4) Topkapi Palace Museum, H.408; National Museum of Cracow, no. 154030; Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, A1507 and A1508; Vienna, Staatsbibliothek, cod. mixt. 331; Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod. 463. These are Arabic copies of Qazwīnī's cosmography which appear to have been produced under Ottoman patronage. A famous copy of Qazwīnī's text (British Library, Add. 7894) was translated into Turkish in 1552.³⁷ The colophon of this manuscript states that it was specifically commissioned by Sultan Sulaymān for his son, Muṣṭafā. Muṣṭafā had

earlier received an Arabic copy of Qazwīnī's cosmography from a rich merchant of Mecca.

The presence of an Arabic Qazwīnī manuscript at the Ottoman court apparently stimulated the production of many illustrated copies. Some of these contain portraits of the Ottoman sultans, testifying to the continued popularity of the Arabic text of Qazwīnī's cosmography.³⁸ Most of the surviving later Arabic illustrated versions are so derivative that the Sarre Qazwīnī must be viewed as the progenitor of a widely dispersed, important group of illustrated manuscripts.

If the Sarre Qazwīnī is indeed an Aq Qoyunlu work, it gives us some idea of the nature of early Turkman material. If the manuscript was painted in Diyarbakir, it must be considered an instructive example of that amalgam of specific elements which would eventually coalesce into the mature Turkman style.³⁹ But the manuscript should also be appreciated as a last living example of the long tradition of manuscript painting associated with the local iconographical traditions of Diyarbakir.

Notes

1. The cosmography of Qazwīnī has not yet been translated into English. The Arabic edition can be found in Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, ed., *Zakariya Ben Muhammad Ben Mahmud el-Cazwinis Kosmographie* (Göttingen, 1848). There is a German translation of the first half of the cosmography; see Hermann Ethé, *Zakiriya Ben Muhammad Ben Mahmud al-Kazwinis Kosmographie* (Leipzig, 1868).
2. This manuscript is discussed in Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Lausanne, 1962), pp. 138–40. It is also the subject of a Ph.D. dissertation by Hans Caspar Graf von Bothmer, “Die Illustrationen der Münchener Qazwīnī von 1280 A.D.” (University of Munich, 1971).
3. Karin Rührdanz, “Islamische Miniaturhandschriften aus Beständen der DDR: Qazwīnī-Illustrationen des 14. Jahrhunderts,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitung der Universität Halle* 22 (1973): 123–25.
4. The folios of the manuscript in the Freer Gallery include numbers 54.33 through 54.114, and 57.13. The folios in the New York Public Library are in the Spencer Collection (Ms. 45). The manuscript was purchased at the beginning of this century in Algiers by Friedrich Sarre and was divided and sold in 1954.
5. Friedrich Sarre and Max van Berchem, “Das Metallbecken des Atabeks Lulu von Mosul in der Königlichen Bibliothek zu München,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 2 (1907): 18–37. The manuscript is also discussed in Fritz Saxl, “Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und im Okzident,” *Der Islam* 3 (1912): 151–77.
6. Sarre first suggested the manuscript might be from Egypt, but by 1912 he had labeled it fourteenth-century Persian (Friedrich Sarre and Frederick Martin, *Meisterwerke Muhammadinischer Kunst*, 2 vols. [Munich, 1913], 1:650). Phillip Schulz felt that the manuscript might have been made in Syria or somewhere else in Mamluk territory (*Die persische-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1914], 1:72). Ernst Kühnel first suggested the manuscript might be from Samarqand but later changed his attribution to Jalāyirid Baghdad (*Islamische Kleinkunst* [Braunschweig, 1963], p. 42, and “History of Miniature Painting and Drawing,” in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Arthur U. Pope, 6 vols. [London and New York, 1938–39], 3:1840). The manuscript was dated “about 1350” by Frederick Martin in *The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (London, 1971); and Sir Thomas Arnold, in *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928), dated the manuscript to 1400.
7. Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933), p. 26, no. 535 B.
8. Ettinghausen dated the manuscript to 1370–1390 and placed it in Jalāyirid Iraq (see *Arab Painting*, p. 179). Esin Atil agreed with Ettinghausen’s assessment (see *Art of the Arab World* [Washington, D.C., 1975], p. 115); and Dorothea Duda assigned the manuscript to Baghdad during the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aḥmad the Jalāyirid, r. 776–813/1374–1410 (see “Die Buchmalerei der Galā’iriden,” *Der Islam* 48 [1971]: 28–76, and 49 [1972]: 153–220).
9. This article is adapted from research carried out from 1976 to 1978 and embodied in a dissertation (Julie Badioe, “An Islamic Cosmography: The Illustrations of the Sarre Qazwīnī,” The University of Michigan, 1978). Thanks must go to my advisor, Priscilla P. Soucek, who first suggested the topic to me, and to Esin Atil of the Freer Gallery and David James of the Chester Beatty Library for their help.
10. Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (Lausanne, 1977), pp. 46–51.
11. Deborah Klimburg-Salter, “A Sufi Theme in Persian Painting: The *Dīwān* of Sulṭān Aḥmad Gala’ir in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,” *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976–77): 43–84.
12. *The Arts of Islam* (London, 1976), nos. 541 and 543. Cairo, National Library, Adab Farsi 61; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, supp. pers. 913.
13. Henri Massé, *Le livre des merveilles du monde* (Paris, 1944).
14. D. S. Rice, “The Seasons and the Labors of the Months in Islamic Art,” *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954): 1–39.
15. Sites are listed and discussed in Estelle Whelan, “The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1979).
16. Willy Hartner, “The Pseudoplanetary Nodes of the Moon’s Orbit in Hindu and Islamic Iconographies,” *Ars Islamica* 5 (1938): 112–54.
17. Richard Ettinghausen, *The Unicorn* (Washington, D.C., 1950), pl. 18. In this example, the ‘*anqā*’ is shown together with the elephant and the unicorn illustrated on the border of a rug in a miniature painting.
18. Eva Baer, *Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art* (Jerusalem, 1965), pl. 21, fig. 57.
19. Max van Berchem and Josef Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg, 1910). For coins, see Stanley Lane-Poole, “Coins of the Urtuki Turkumans,” in *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. 3: *The Coins of the Turkuman Houses of Seljook, Urtuk, Zengee, etc., in the British Museum* (London, 1877), pl. 5, nos. 3–5, 7.
20. Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, trans. J. Jones-Williams (New York, 1968), pls. 20, 29, 33, and 61.
21. G. Öney, “Tombstones in the Seljuk tradition with bird, double-headed eagle, falcon and lion figures in Anatolia,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 8 (1969): 292–302.
22. Hermann Goetz, “The History of Persian Costume,” in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Pope, 3:2227–56.
23. Arthur Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery: Persia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey* (London, 1951), p. 28.

24. Basil Gray, "Blue and White Vessels in Persian Miniatures of the 14th and 15th Centuries," *Oriental Ceramic Society Transactions* 24 (1948–49): 23–30.
 25. Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, pl. 13A.
 26. John E. Woods, *The Aqqyunlu, Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Minneapolis, 1976).
 27. Stuart Cary Welch, *A King's Book of Kings* (Greenwich, Conn., 1972), p. 33.
 28. Basil Gray, "The So-called Turkmen School of Persian Miniature Painting," in *Akten des vier-und-zwanzigsten internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses* (Munich, 1957), pp. 374–76.
 29. Esin Atil, "Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century," paper delivered at a symposium on "The Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks," 13–16 May 1981, Washington, D.C. This material is to be published in the periodical *Muqarnas*.
 30. Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, pp. 34–48. The *Khāmsah* of Niẓāmī (Topkapi Palace Museum, H.762) was painted in 1481.
 31. Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, fig. 2.
 32. Yahya Zuka, "Khawaran nama," *Honar va Mardom* 20 (1924): 17–29. The manuscript, which is dated to 1477, has been assigned to Herat. It may have been painted for a cloister of the Mevlevī order.
 33. One such manuscript is an al-Šūfī manuscript written at Mardin in 1134–1135. It has been pointed out that this manuscript has an unusual iconography for the illustration of the constellation; it is the same iconographical type used in the Sarre manuscript. Emmy Wellesz, "An Early al-Šūfī Manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: A Study in Constellation Images," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 1–26.
- A second manuscript from this area is al-Jazarī's *Book of the Knowledge of Mechanical Devices*, which was written in Ḥiṣn Kayfā in A.D. 1206. The use of the dragon motif and the illustration of the door-knockers on the palace gate of Diyarbakir are typical of the area and reminiscent of motifs used in the Sarre Qazwīnī. Ismā'il Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, *The Book of the Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*, trans. Donald R. Hill (Dordrecht, 1974). A third manuscript attributed to this area is a copy of Dioscurides's *De Materia Medica*, which was illustrated in Mayyafarqin, ca. 1142–1176. Florence Day, "Metropolitan Manuscripts of Dioscurides," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 8 (1950): 274–80.
34. Pages from Ms. E7 are published in Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Manuscript Painting*, pls. 7A and 7B; and in Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art*, vol. 5, pl. 854 A and B.
 35. I would like to thank Prof. Karin Rührdanz of the University of Halle for informing me of this manuscript and providing me with photographs.
 36. Julie Badiée, "Angels in an Islamic Heaven," *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1978): 50–59.
 37. Charles Rieu, *A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1898), p. 107.
 38. Maria Kowalska, "Eine unbekannte Handschrifte al-Kazwinis Kitab Agaib al-Makhlukat," *Folia Orientalia* 1 (1959): 326–32. See also Karin Rührdanz, "Qazwīnī-Illustrationen des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitung der Universität Halle* 26 (1977): 119–26.
 39. Recent research on the Turkman school describes this early period as "eclectic, by painters trained in different styles which there was no attempt to co-ordinate." See Basil W. Robinson, "The Turkman School to 1503," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. Basil Gray (Boulder, Colo., 1979), p. 244.



FIG. 5. *Virgo*, from a *Kitāb al-bulhān* manuscript (fol. 11v). Bodleian Library, Oxford (Or. 133).



FIG. 6. *Leo and Virgo*, from the Sarre Qazwīnī (54.44r). Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 7. *Centaurus and Lupus*, from an *'Ajā'ib al-makhluqāt wā gharā'ib al-maujūdāt* manuscript (fol. 24v). Dated 1280, Wāsiṭ, Iraq. Staatsbibliothek, Munich (cod. 464).



FIG. 8. *Corvus and Centaurus*, from the Sarre Qazwīnī (54.48r). Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 13. *The Dragon*, from the Sarre Qazwini (54.70r).
Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D.C.

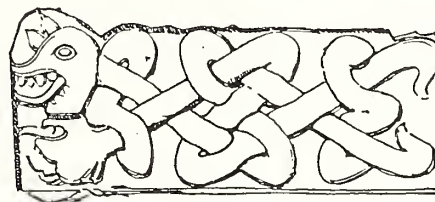
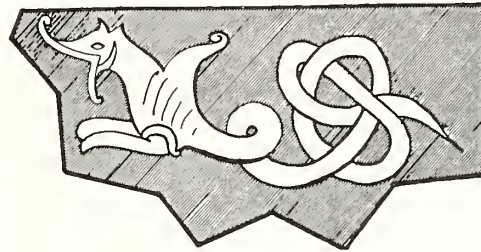


FIG. 14. Dragons from Diyarbakir, Burdur, and
Çankiri. (After Gonul Öney, "Dragon Figures in
Anatolian Seljuk," *Belleten* 33 [1969]: 193–216.)



FIG. 15. Dragon from the fortress at Konya. Circa 1220, Saljuq.



FIG. 16. Magpie and 'Anqā', from the Sarre Qazwini (54.104v). Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 17. The 'Anqā', from an 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wā gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt manuscript (fol. 160r). Staatsbibliothek, Munich (cod. 464).



FIG. 18. Double-headed bird from the fortress at Konya. Circa 1220, Saljuq.



FIG. 19. The Angel Gabriel Returns to His Original Form, from a Mi'rāj nāmah manuscript (fol. 36r). Dated 1436, Herat. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (supp. turc 190).



FIG. 20. *The Archangel al-Ruh*, from the Sarre Qazwini (54.51r). Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 21. *The Archangel Gabriel*, from the Sarre Qazwini (54.52r). Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 22. *The Dream of Anūshirwān*, from the Sarre Qazwini (54.68r). Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 23. *Jupiter and Saturn*, from the Sarre Qazwini (54.37r). Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 24. *Mei-p'ing* vase. (After John Alexander Pope, *Fourteenth-Century Blue-and-White* [Washington, D.C., 1952], pl. 27.)



FIG. 25. *Gabriel Shows the Prowess of 'Alī to Muḥammad*, from the *Khawar nāmah* of Ibn Ḥusām (fol. 112). Circa 1480, Shiraz or Herat (?). Museum of Decorative Arts, Tehran.



FIG. 26. *The Archangel Isrāfīl*, from the *Sarre Qazwīnī* (54.51v). Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 27. *Angels of the Third and Fourth Heavens*, from the Sarre Qazwīnī (54.54v). Courtesy, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



FIG. 28. *Symbol of Venus*, from an *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wā gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* manuscript (fol. 13r). Late fifteenth century, Iran (?). Academy of Sciences, Oriental Institute, Leningrad (Ms. E7).

INDRA'S HEAVEN: A *DHARMACAKRASTAMBHA* SOCLE IN THE BANGKOK NATIONAL MUSEUM

By ROBERT L. BROWN

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTS IN THE NATIONAL Museum in Bangkok is a large stone block, the surfaces of which are almost totally covered with relief carvings (figs. 1–4). This object, the function and significance of which have puzzled and intrigued art historians for decades, was found at Nakhon Pathom and has been assigned to the Dvāravatī culture.¹ Although about a third of the block is missing today and what remains is badly broken, it appears to have been carved from a single piece of stone with a hole cut through the center from top to bottom. The block is approximately square, being about 43 inches wide at the bottom and about 35 inches high. The reliefs carved on its four sides depict almost identical building façades, each, judging by what remains, with a decorative band running along the top. A similar decorative design is carved on the bottom of the block around the central hole.²

Only two corner sections of the top of the block remain. Both sections have a raised carved base with a central hole, and it is assumed that the two missing corners would also have had such bases, apparently for support of objects supplied with tenons.

The most thorough discussion of the block has been provided by Pierre Dupont in his monumental *L'Archéologie mène de Dvāravatī*, published in 1959.³ While stating that "l'identification de cet objet est tout à fait incertaine," Dupont points out that the bottom of the block was decorated and "apparemment destinée à reposer sur le sol ou sur un support."⁴ Because of the decoration on the bottom, the latter suggestion appears the more likely.

In the course of an excavation at U-Thong in 1963, the Thai Fine Arts Department uncovered the key to the use of the sculpted block. Among the discoveries at Chedi 11 were three objects which are of interest to us: a wheel, or *cakra* (fig. 5), a socle (fig. 6), and a pillar (fig. 7). The excavation report states that these objects were found lying in a row.⁵ Both the wheel and the pillar have tenons, and the sculpted block, like the Bangkok block we are considering, was cut through the center. One can easily see that the three pieces at U-Thong must fit together to form a wheel-topped pillar, the block acting as a socle to hold the composition together (fig. 8). The ensemble would presumably have been held in place through gravity.⁶

The idea of a pillar supporting a wheel is not, in itself, unusual; such wheel-crowned pillars (known as *dharmacakrastambhas*) occur frequently in Indian art. Both stylistically and structurally, however, the U-Thong wheel-pillar differs radically from its Indian prototypes. The most significant difference is the fact that Indian *stambhas* do not use socles. In general, the Indian method of constructing free-standing pillars employs either a tenon and mortise or metal dowels to hold the sections together.⁷ I know of no Indian examples in which a section of stone was pierced completely through and used to connect two sections with tenons.

After the U-Thong discovery, it became possible to identify a relatively small group of similarly designed objects as *dharmacakrastambha* socles. Jean Boisselier suggested that the Bangkok block was such a socle, thus necessitating through its function a supposedly elevated position.⁸ While I agree with Boisselier, it seems to me that a new and decisive argument, without reference to function, can be made for the block's elevation. I suggest that the carved façades make sense only when seen from below, as the artist used an exceptionally sophisticated anamorphosis to produce the illusion of overhanging levels.⁹

If we look at the sides of the block illustrated in figure 3, it is evident that the actual carved relief is very shallow. There are only three levels of projection, seen most clearly in the indentations on the plain band along the bottom of the block (as in fig. 1); indeed, the projection of the carved relief is so slight—only a few centimeters—as to be scarcely visible.¹⁰ The artist did not, however, rely solely upon an actual extension into space to give volume to the façade. The viewer can see that there are areas left blank on the relief; these areas are outlined in figure 9. The outer vertical sides of these areas are cut at an oblique angle to produce foreshortening and thereby create the illusion of projections. When seen from below and on line with the center of the block, as in figure 2, the flat blank areas appear as the bottom of projecting architectural sections.

The Dvāravatī artist used other illusionistic techniques to maintain, from a central viewpoint, a fairly consistent perspective. For example,

wherever there is an indentation on the surface of the relief, such as around the pilasters that support the niches, the side of the indentation facing the center is usually the only one indicated, and it slants to meet the back of the relief at an obtuse angle. In addition, the tightly curled leaf patterns arranged horizontally between rows of incised squares face outward from the center on each side of the block. Likewise, the lotus-petal patterns, which occupy the same position as the curled leaf patterns, are depicted as if seen from the center; that is, the inner side of the petal is flattened or made concave, while the outer side is fully rounded.

It is clear that an actual façade is not rendered realistically, as was pointed out by Dupont when he wrote that architectural elements were assembled to produce “une représentation imaginaire.”¹¹ He noted, for example, that the lowest *candraśālās* appear to rest on what would obviously be the ground, if the façade were intended to function as an actual building. While Dupont is correct in his assumption that the façade does not duplicate an actual building, specific visual elements enable it to be read as a consistent structure. It is clear, for example, that each story is marked by two horizontal moldings, between which appears a row of either lotus petals or curled leaves; these are, in turn, topped by either a *candraśālā* or an angular niche. It is also possible to determine the number and order of projections. In figure 10, each of the areas of projection is outlined and numbered from one to eight, number one being the lowest relief and number eight the highest.¹²

Considered in an Indian context, it is not surprising that the sculpted façade does not accurately reproduce the appearance of an actual building; but this does not mean that the artist did not have a rather specific structure in mind. The compression of stories and the placement in niches of figures that are obviously too large for the total structure is a consistent feature of Indian design.¹³ We know that even when the Indian artist apparently intended to reproduce a specific monument, as on the stupa slabs from Amarāvati, he felt free to introduce elaborations and adjustments.¹⁴ As for the placement of the *candraśālās* at the bottom of the façade on the block, it can be noted that such *candraśālās* are often located along the bottom of lintels of Gupta-period (and later) doorways, placing them thus in a similar position to the *candraśālās* on the block.¹⁵ Neither the Gupta nor the Dvāravatī artist felt a need to justify the *candraśālā*, even when filled with

a face, by placing a structure under it to accommodate the rest of the body.

A final point in favor of positing an elevated position for the Bangkok National Museum block should be noted. The sides of the block slant slightly outwards. While the block is 43 inches wide at the base, it is 47.5 inches wide at the top. This distortion was, of course, intentional, for the outward slanting sides would allow a clearer view of the façades from below.

Assured by the peculiar form of the block and the evidence of anamorphosis that the block was, in fact, originally elevated, we may return to Boisselier's suggestion that it was a socle for a wheel-pillar. In making this suggestion, Boisselier states that an inscribed and sculpted stone fragment (displayed today with the block at the National Museum) is part of the column used to support the block (fig. 11).¹⁶ Although no evidence for this assertion is presented, the fragment does indeed appear to be part of the top of a column. The hanging garland design visible in figure 11 is very similar to that found carved around the top of the pillar from Chedi 11 at U-Thong.¹⁷ While we may say, therefore, that the fragment is probably part of a pillar, no scholar has presented any evidence that relates it specifically to the block. Boisselier is merely speculating; Dupont did not even mention the sculpted fragment when he wrote about the block in 1959;¹⁸ and M. C. Subhadradi Diskul, writing in 1966, merely said that it “was evidently part of the same composition [as the block].”¹⁹ Dupont may, however, have obliquely referred to the fragment in a report prepared in 1937 for the École Française d'Extrême-Orient. He writes that very little Dvāravatī architecture remains at Nakhon Pathom and that “[q]uelques stupa monolites, un chapiteau de colonne, et les réductions d'édifice en schiste constituent donc sur ce point le plus clair de notre documentation.”²⁰ A pillar capital is thus mentioned here together with the sculpted block, making the author's later failure to discuss the inscribed fragment in *L'Archéologie mène de Dvāravatī* even more mysterious.²¹

If we assume that the block was raised on a pillar (of which the fragment cited by Boisselier is a part), can we further assume that a *cakra* was placed on top of the block? Boisselier says that one was. He suggests that the largest of the existing *cakras* may, in fact, have been the one used with the block (fig. 12). His only proof, however, is the fact that both monuments come from Nakhon Pathom. Unfortunately, because of the damaged condition

of the block and the wheel, it is probably impossible to know if they do indeed fit together.²²

M. C. Subhadradis has offered the only alternative theory as to what was originally placed on top of the block. He writes:

On its top are the remains of two square bases, and their location suggests that there were originally five of them, one in the center and one at each corner. It is believed in Thailand that they supported small stupas, in other words that the whole composition is to be regarded as the base of a quincunx of stupas.²³

Such a quincunx arrangement of stupas actually occurs in Dvāravatī architecture,²⁴ but I am unaware of any evidence that would support M. C. Subhadradis's suggestion that miniature stupas were placed on top of such a base as the sculpted block. Since the block was raised on a pillar, I think M. C. Subhadradis's solution is much less convincing than Boisselier's suggestion that the block originally supported a *cakra*.

It is probably the four corner bases mentioned by M. C. Subhadradis that led Boisselier to conclude that four deer were originally placed at the corners of all the elevated socles. Stone deer with their heads turned back are found frequently depicted in Dvāravatī art (fig. 13), and as their source and function have not yet been identified, they are of considerable interest to scholars. According to Boisselier:

Sur la face supérieure de ces blocs, à chacun des angles, venaient généralement s'encastrent, dans des alvéoles ménagées suivant les diagonales, quatre statuettes de cervidés qui permettaient ainsi, quel que soit l'angle sous lequel on voyait le *cakrastambha*, de contempler la Roue flanquée de deux cervidés.²⁵

We may note several problems in Boisselier's description. Boisselier illustrates his point with a drawing labeled "Restitution d'un abaque conservé à Pra Pathom Chedi."²⁶ It is not clear, however, which socle he means to reproduce. The sketchy design appears to represent a combination of two socles kept in the National Museum branch at Nakhon Pathom, but neither of these has sockets at the four corners. Contrary to Boisselier's implication, only the sculpted block that is the subject of this study has sockets at its four corners.

Other evidence argues against Boisselier's suggestion that deer were placed at the four corners of the socles. First, most socles are not large enough to accommodate four deer together with a *cakra*. Second, even if the deer could be accommodated, they could not have been seen clearly from below. Only the four corners of the Bangkok block have

been built up with individual bases, obviously to facilitate viewing from below whatever objects were placed on them. Finally, the extant deer do not have tenons on the bottom, a feature that would be needed to hold the deer in the sockets. Thus, it is only for the Bangkok socle that an argument can be made for objects being placed at the four corners. What these objects were, however, cannot be determined.

Before analyzing the meaning of the elevated block, it is necessary to ask what the source is for the anamorphosis employed in the decoration of the Dvāravatī socle. Surprisingly, the socle's illusionistic techniques appear to be idiosyncratic. To my knowledge, no other monument in Dvāravatī or Khmer art displays anamorphosis. Furthermore, while anamorphosis does occur in Indian art, it is almost exclusively found in Gandhāra in conjunction with stupa circumambulation,²⁷ a highly unlikely source for the Dvāravatī socle.

The identification of an Indian source will, however, help us to understand the meaning of the Bangkok socle. In India, the wheel-pillar has two distinct meanings. In a purely Buddhist context, the *dharmacakra* is the "Wheel of the Buddha's Law" and represents the First Sermon of the Buddha, the moment when he began to turn the wheel of his teaching. This event occurred at Sārnāth, near Benares: it was here, in the third century B.C., that King Aśoka raised a stone wheel on a stone pillar, thereby producing the prototype for all later *dharmacakrastambhas*. There is adequate evidence, including inscriptions, to show that the Dvāravatī recognized their *dharmacakrastambhas* as representing the First Sermon. The decoration of the Bangkok socle cannot, however, be interpreted as referring specifically to the First Sermon.

The second implication of the wheel-pillar in India is cosmological. The pillar symbolizes the *axis mundi*, and the wheel, the sun, a symbolism that is pre-Buddhist and already well developed in the Vedas.²⁸ The importance of the *axis mundi* in Indian art and thought can scarcely be overstressed. The cosmic pillar has been associated with the symbolism of the Buddhist stupa; the Hindu temple; the Shivaite *linga*; and with the concept of Indian kingship, as well as with the *cakrastambha*.²⁹ In this last connection, the pillar may be identified as either Cosmic Tree or World Mountain, the *axis mundi*/pillar/tree/mountain idea being, at least for our purposes, an essentially interchangeable symbolic nexus.³⁰ The *cakra*, symbolizing the sun, is placed on top of the pillar to represent the *axis mundi* touching and uniting with the sun at the

zenith of its orbit. This relationship describes a total cosmological view, in which the cosmic pillar, founded in the cosmic waters, is seen as extending downward through the navel of the earth and upward to touch the sun. Following John Irwin, it should be stressed that this conception is cosmogonic rather than simply cosmographic.³¹

Although it is clear that Indian Buddhists incorporated this older cosmic symbolism in their representation of *dharmacakrastambhas*,³² it is more difficult to show that Dvāravatī Buddhists applied the cosmic pillar idea to their own depictions. It seems logical to assume, however, that when the Dvāravatī acquired the concept of the *dharmacakrastambha* from India sometime in the seventh century A.D., the cosmological symbolism attached to the prestigious Indian prototype was transferred in some form, together with the more explicit reference to the Buddha's First Sermon. There is some evidence that the Dvāravatī regarded the *cakra* itself as a symbol of the sun. We see, for example, the addition of a flame-like design to the edge of the felly of most *cakras* and the placement of a figure—perhaps the sun god, Sūrya—on some *cakras*.

Furthermore, it is only when we assume a cosmological symbolism for the Dvāravatī wheel-pillar that the significance of the Bangkok socle becomes apparent. If the *cakra* symbolizes the sun and the pillar Mt. Meru, the cosmic mountain, the socle itself must represent a Buddhist heaven—specifically, Indra's "Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods" (the Tāvātimsa Heaven).

Following Dupont, several scholars have in fact described the socle as an aerial or celestial palace, but their identifications have been based upon either the unrealistic nature of the architectural representations or the postulated elevation of the block itself.³³ Only Boisselier has attempted a more specific identification, writing that the socle "représente quelque palais céleste et symboliserait, peut-être, les divers étages du Mont Meru."³⁴ He gives no reasons, however, for his suggestion that the socle itself represents Mt. Meru.

It appears more likely that an aerial palace would represent a heaven, as it is customary in Buddhist cosmography to depict the heavens as palaces stacked one above the other. This arrangement occurs frequently in Indian art, appearing as early as the first century B.C. on the eastern gateway at Sanchi.³⁵ Various texts provide detailed information about stacked heavens, frequently mapping out their precise location and including lengthy descriptions of their palaces.³⁶ While the texts differ in the specifics of these descriptions,

they tend to agree on the location of the heavens. Pertinent to our discussion is that Indra's palace, at the center of the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, is located on top of Mt. Meru. The sun, the moon, and the planets turn around Mt. Meru, while the heaven above Indra's, the Yāma Heaven, is placed high above the sun and is thus in total darkness.

Before applying this description to the proposed *dharmacakrastambha* of which the Bangkok socle would form a part, we must decide if the Indian Buddhist cosmography would have been familiar to the Dvāravatī. Unfortunately, no texts survive from the Dvāravatī period. The earliest text known in Thailand is the *Traibhūmikathā*, which dates to 1345. It is interesting to note, however, that the *Traibhūmi* is a long cosmology in which the Buddhist cosmography, as outlined above, is elaborately described.³⁷ Its author, King Lü T'ai, lists at the beginning and end of his work the textual sources he used in its composition, leading H. G. Quaritch Wales to remark: "Though itself so late this work is based on a number of well-known Pāli texts which must have been known, in whole or in part, to the earlier Buddhists of Dvāravatī and Fu-nan."³⁸ Two of the texts listed by King Lü T'ai, the *Dhammapada* and *Mahāvagga*, can, in fact, be quite securely connected to Dvāravatī since they are quoted in Dvāravatī inscriptions.³⁹ Undoubtedly, other texts listed by King Lü T'ai as well as texts not mentioned in the *Traibhūmi* were used in Dvāravatī. For example, specifically identifiable scenes from the *jātakas*, and possibly also from the *Divyāvadāna*, appear in Dvāravatī art.⁴⁰ Although none of these texts describes the cosmography in great detail, the basic outline does occur (for example, in *jātaka* no. 545). We can conclude that the evidence strongly suggests that the Buddhist cosmography was known in Dvāravatī.

I have presented above two essentially different cosmological ideas. The first, basically cosmogonic, describes the *cakrastambha* as the *axis mundi* touching the sun. The second is the Buddhist cosmography that depicts the sun circling Indra's Heaven, which is located at the apex of Mt. Meru. The conflation of these two concepts suggests the identification of the Bangkok socle as the palace or heaven of Indra.

Scholars have long attempted to find, without arriving at any consensus, cosmographic meaning in the decoration of the abacus of the Sārnāth *dharmacakrastambha*. Their theories are based on the identification of the small wheels as celestial bodies (planets, suns, stars) and the animals as indicators of the four cardinal directions.⁴¹ It is

possible, therefore, that the *dharmacakrastambha* from Sārnāth combines cosmological symbolism in much the same way as the Dvāravatī *dharmacakrastambha* would have, insofar as they both interpolate important cosmographic ideas into the wheel-pillar.

That Indra and his heaven were important in Dvāravatī is visually well substantiated. One need only cite the depiction of Buddha preaching to his mother in the Tāvātimsa Heaven in the Wat Suthat relief and the frequency with which Indra appears as a flanking deity in Buddha triads.⁴² Furthermore, Indra and the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods have functioned symbolically in Southeast Asia as a model for the earthly king and kingdom.⁴³

It is interesting to examine at this point an eighteenth-century Thai painting representing the Buddhist cosmography (fig. 14). At the center of the Cakkavāla Mountains, Mt. Meru is depicted as a pillar-like form, topped by a palace representing Indra's Heaven. The sun (opposite the moon) is shown as a circle in which Sūrya is seen riding in his chariot. The sun is not, of course, shown on top of Indra's Heaven, but it is significant for our argument that the artist placed the sun on the same level as the top of Indra's palace, that is, at a level equivalent to that of the stone *cakra* on our *dharmacakrastambha*.⁴⁴

The representation of Mt. Meru as a column topped by a palace in the Thai painting is, of course, largely explained by direct reference to the description in the *Traibhūmi*.⁴⁵ The image of a palace or city upheld by a column, however, occurs in the *jātakas* in a context independent of the Buddhist cosmography; there, the elevated palace is presented as the ideal residence for a king.⁴⁶ But it is essential to note that the symbolism of the palace or city on a pillar is, in fact, solar; that is, it is exactly the cosmological symbolism of the Dvāravatī *dharmacakrastambha*. As Jeannine Auboyer has written: "Mais que le *yūpa* [pillar] soutienne un trône, un palais ou une ville, il s'agit toujours d'un symbole cosmique accompagnant le rythme solaire ou celui de la 'Grande Année' (Kalpa)."⁴⁷ Auboyer's remark emphasizes the interconnection of the cosmological ideas we have discussed and supports the appropriateness of our identification of the Dvāravatī socle as a representation of Indra's Heaven.

The Bangkok socle is the only Dvāravatī socle decorated with a building façade. However, two recent finds from a Khmer site influenced by Dvāravatī culture, Sri Thep in northeastern Thailand, are decorated with architectural elements and are very likely *dharmacakrastambha* socles (figs.

15 and 16).⁴⁸ Found, in fact, with the fragments illustrated in figure 16 were both a wheel and a pillar, the only time—other than during the 1963 U-Thong excavation mentioned above—that all three elements of a *dharmacakrastambha* have been discovered together. In all probability, the two Sri Thep socles represent Indra's Heaven in an iconographic arrangement similar to the one proposed here for the Bangkok socle. It is important to note, however, that neither of the Sri Thep socles makes use of the technique of anamorphosis.

Of the handful of other objects in Thailand that can be identified as socles, all but one are decorated with typical Dvāravatī motifs iconographically unrelated to the meaning of the wheel.⁴⁹ The exception is a beautiful socle from Nakhon Pathom which depicts (presumably identically on all four sides) the Buddha performing the First Sermon (fig. 17). Here, the iconography relates directly to the purely Buddhist symbolism of the wheel.

It has been shown that the Bangkok National Museum socle is technically and iconographically a sophisticated artistic conception. Technically, anamorphosis enabled the artist to transform the socle effectively into an aerial palace. The appearance of anamorphosis on the socle is, however, unexpected and difficult to explain. This study has found no likely precedents in the art of South and Southeast Asia for this unique instance of anamorphosis in Dvāravatī art. Indeed, the use of anamorphosis on an elevated object intended to be seen from more or less one point of view appears an anomaly. Although it is highly unlikely that the Dvāravatī artist conceived of the technique of anamorphosis spontaneously, we are left with this conclusion unless prototypes can be discovered.

The artist of the Bangkok socle was also an iconographic innovator. Indian artists did not incorporate the idea of Indra's Heaven into their representations of *dharmacakrastambhas*, although the abacus designs of the Sārnāth wheel-pillar may have cosmographic implications. It should be noted, however, that no other Indian *dharmacakrastambhas* have any decoration that can be similarly interpreted; the designs appearing on subsequent examples of the wheel-pillar are drawn from the general repertory of Indian decorative motifs. Indian art, therefore, cannot be the source for the idea of placing Indra's Heaven on the Dvāravatī wheel-pillar. The Dvāravatī artist utilized descriptions of the Buddhist cosmography, which he presumably had access to in Indian texts, to develop the conception himself.

Notes

I wish to thank my colleague, Dr. Pratapaditya Pal, for insightful discussions and advice during the writing of this paper.

1. The name "Dvāravatī" occurs in a handful of Chinese references, the earliest dating to the seventh century A.D. It also appears on three small inscribed medallions, two from Nakhon Pathom and one from U-Thong. While "Dvāravatī" is used to describe a large body of stylistically similar material from sites all over present-day Thailand, we know almost nothing about the history of the culture or cultures that produced these objects. We do not know whether Dvāravatī was a country or a capital city, and we do not know its exact location, its boundaries, or its dates. However, visual and inscriptional evidence indicates that Dvāravatī was predominantly Buddhist.
2. Pierre Dupont, *L'Archéologie mène de Dvāravatī* (Paris, 1959), fig. 327.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 120–23.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
5. Thai Fine Arts Department, *Report of the Survey and Excavation of the Ancient City of U-Thong, Amphoe U-Thong, Changwat Suphanburi* (Bangkok, 1966), p. 17 (in Thai).
6. The excavators are reported to have assembled the sections, although I know of this only through secondhand reports.
7. The Indian evidence for the construction of the *stambhas* is not as clear as one might expect. While there are numerous representations of *stambhas* in reliefs (literally hundreds specifically representing *dharmacakrastambhas*), actual three-dimensional examples are rare. All three-dimensional *stambhas* whose method of construction has been discussed in the art-historical literature use either mortise and tenon or dowels. A survey of the many relief depictions reveals no representation of socles.
8. Jean Boisselier and Jean-Michel Beurdeley, *La Sculpture en Thaïlande* (Fribourg, 1974), p. 206.
9. Anamorphosis is the distortion of elements in such a way that a specific point (or points) of view is demanded; when seen from this point of view, and only from this point of view, the form appears illusionistically. For a similar use of the term, see Maria Mariottini Spagnoli, "Relationship Between the Perspective and Compositional Structure of the Bhārhut Sculptures and Gandharan Art," *East and West*, n.s. 20, no. 3 (September 1970): 337.
10. The low relief of the carving can be seen even more clearly in Dupont, *L'Archéologie mène*, fig. 326.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
12. The flower on top of the *candraśālā* in section 2 is shown overlapping the section above, although this section appears to project beyond the *candraśālā*.
13. See an example from Bharhut in Ananda Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut* (Paris, 1956), fig. 32. There are other such examples throughout Indian art.
14. See Douglas Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* (London, 1954), pp. 27–39.
15. The earliest Indian examples of the *candraśālā* placed above doorways occur in the second half of the fifth century, as on the Pārvatī Temple at Nāchnā-Kutharā (see Joanna Gottfried Williams, *The Art of Gupta India* [Princeton, 1982], pl. 154).
16. Boisselier and Beurdeley, *La Sculpture en Thaïlande*, p. 206.
17. Chira Chongkol and Hiram Woodward, Jr., *Guide to the U-Thong National Museum, Suphanburi* (Bangkok, 1966), fig. 20.
18. Dupont, *L'Archéologie mène*, pp. 120–23.
19. M. C. Subhadradiś Diskul, "Pierre Dupont: L'Archéologie mène de Dvāravatī," in *Essays Offered to G. H. Luce*, ed. Ba Shin, Jean Boisselier, and A. B. Griswold, 2 vols. (Ascona, 1966), 2:169.
20. Pierre Dupont, "Mission de M. Pierre Dupont au Siam (23 juillet–22 août 1937)," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 37 (1937): 689 (emphasis added).
21. The possibility exists that Dupont was referring to another pillar capital. I have not discovered any likely candidates, although it seems odd that Dupont would fail to mention the inscription when he identified the piece. (The inscription is the standard "ye dhammā . . ." formula and does not help in our present discussion of the object.) It should also be noted that the exact find spot for the sculpted block itself is not known; we know only that it was moved to the National Museum in Bangkok from Phra Pathom Chedi.
22. Boisselier and Beurdeley, *La Sculpture en Thaïlande*, p. 206. There is nothing, however, in the general dimensions of either object that would argue against it.
23. M. C. Subhadradiś, "Pierre Dupont," p. 169. The two remaining bases can best be seen in Dupont, *L'Archéologie mène*, fig. 323.
24. For example, Chedis nos. 2 and 9 at U-Thong. See *Report of the Survey and Excavation of U-Thong*, pp. 12, 19–20.
25. Boisselier and Beurdeley, *La Sculpture en Thaïlande*, p. 92. Oddly, the English translation of this book omits the vital clause "venaient généralement s'encastrer, dans des alvéoles ménagés suivant les diagonales," and simply says, "At the top of these pedestals stood four deer statuettes, one positioned in each corner in such a way that the Wheel appeared to be flanked by two deer regardless of the angle from which the cakrastambha was viewed." Jean Boisselier and Jean-Michel Beurdeley, *The Heritage of Thai Sculpture*, trans. James Emmons (New York, 1975), pp. 90–92. The choice of the word "pedestals" as the translation of "blocs" or "abaque," which Boisselier also uses, is particularly inappropriate.

26. Boisselier and Beurdeley, *La Sculpture en Thaïlande*, p. 206.
27. This type of anamorphosis, rather inappropriately termed "rotating perspective," is discussed in Spagnoli, "Bhārhut Sculptures and Gandharan Art," pp. 327–47.
28. See the discussion and references in John Irwin, "'Aśoka's Pillars: A Reassessment of the Evidence—IV: Symbolism,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 118, no. 884 (November 1976): 740–51.
29. A discussion of these and other aspects of *axis mundi* symbolism can be found in almost any general work on Indian art. Specific studies are too numerous to be listed here, but the reader should note that several recent articles by John Irwin have stressed the importance of the *axis mundi* in stupa symbolism. Irwin has, in fact, presented new evidence that the cosmic axis was of preeminent significance in the development of the stupa. See "The Stūpa and the Cosmic Axis: The Archaeological Evidence," in *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, ed. Maurizio Taddei (Naples, 1979), pp. 799–845, and "The Axial Symbolism of the Early Stūpa: An Exegesis," in *The Stūpa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 12–38.
30. Scholars' opinions differ significantly as to the actual historical development and importance of the pillar, tree, and mountain. See Paul Mus, *Barabudur* (New York, 1978), originally published in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 32 (1932): 269–439; 33 (1933): 577–980; 34 (1934): 175–400; also published as *Barabudur: Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes*, 2 vols. (Hanoi, 1935). See also F. D. K. Bosch, *The Golden Germ. An Introduction to Indian Symbolism* (The Hague, 1960); and H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The Universe around Them: Cosmology and Cosmic Renewal in Indianized South-east Asia* (London, 1977), pp. 65–88.
31. See note 28 above.
32. The essential question here concerns the extent to which Buddhist wheel-pillars retained this earlier cosmic symbolism. While the issue is complicated, perhaps the most persuasive argument for retention is the fact that the pillar supporting the sun recurs in Indian mythology down to the present, suggesting an uninterrupted pan-Indian tradition.
33. See, for example, Dupont, *L'Archéologie mène*, p. 121; and Theodore Bowie, ed., *The Arts of Thailand* (Bloomington, Ind., 1960), p. 42.
34. Boisselier and Beurdeley, *La Sculpture en Thaïlande*, p. 206.
35. John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, 3 vols. (London, 1940), vol. 2, pl. 49.
36. See, for example, Louis de La Vallée Poussin, trans., *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, vol. 16 (Brussels, 1971), pp. 138–217.
37. There are French and English translations of the *Traibhūmi-kathā*: G. Cœdès and C. Archaimbault, *Les Trois Mondes* (Paris, 1973); and Frank E. and Mani B. Reynolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology* (Berkeley, 1982). The sections of these works that deal with the cosmography are pp. 151–68 and pp. 217–40, respectively.
38. Wales, *The Universe around Them*, p. 46.
39. G. Cœdès, "Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en pâli provenant du site du P'rā Pāthōm," *Artibus Asiae* 19, nos. 3–4 (1956): 221–26; and Jean Boisselier, "Un fragment inscrit de Roue de la Loi de Lop'buri," *Artibus Asiae* 24, nos. 3–4 (1961): 225–31.
40. Piriya Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales Depicted at Chula Pathom Cedi* (Bangkok, 1974); Nandana Chutiwongs, "On the Jātaka Reliefs at Cula Pathon Cetiya, A Review Article," *Journal of the Siam Society* 66, pt. 1 (January 1978): 133–51; and Robert L. Brown, "The Śrāvastī Miracles in the Art of India and Dvāravatī," *Archives of Asian Art* (forthcoming, 1984).
41. Mus, *Barabudur*, 2:145–60, and J. Przyluski, "The Solar Wheel at Sārnāth and in Buddhist Monuments," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 4 (1936): 45–51.
42. Boisselier and Beurdeley, *La Sculpture en Thaïlande*, figs. 48 and 56.
43. Robert Heine Geldern, *Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia*, Southeast Asia Program, Data Paper no. 18 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1963).
44. The *Traibhūmi* and other Buddhist cosmographies sometimes clearly state that the sun orbits Mt. Meru at the level of the closest encircling mountain range (the Yugandhara range), which is half the height of Mt. Meru. Thus, Indra's Heaven, on top of Mt. Meru, would be above the orbiting sun. While we may note, therefore, a problem in the placement of the *cakra* above Indra's Heaven on the wheel-pillar, one must remember that the Dvāravatī artist was not producing a scientific model but a concept. The Thai artist of the cosmological painting in figure 14 has likewise not literally followed the textual description in his placement of the sun in relation to Indra's Heaven. It is also important to recall that the Dvāravatī artist was starting with the concept of a wheel-topped pillar and was restricted by its structure as to where he could represent the interpolated cosmographic symbolism.
45. While I do not find in the *Traibhūmi* that Mt. Meru is actually referred to as a column, it is discussed as round and with an apparently constant circumference, which, by implication, would make it pillar-shaped (Reynolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, p. 275). Mountains other than Meru, however, are described as resembling columns (for example, Cœdès and Archaimbault, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 192).
46. *Jātakas*, nos. 121, 454, and 465. The reference here is also to Indra and his heaven as an analogue to the earthly king and his kingdom. It is not without interest that in number 454 the name of the aerial city is Dvāravatī.

47. Jeannine Auboyer, *Le Trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne* (Paris, 1949), p. 80. The reader should see the text for an expanded discussion.
48. The fragments in figure 16 are in the collection of Pol. Gen. Snong Wattanavrangkul in Bangkok, to whom I am grateful for permission to publish the photograph.
49. The other socles are decorated with such standard Dvāravatī motifs as lions, monster faces, and decorative patterns.

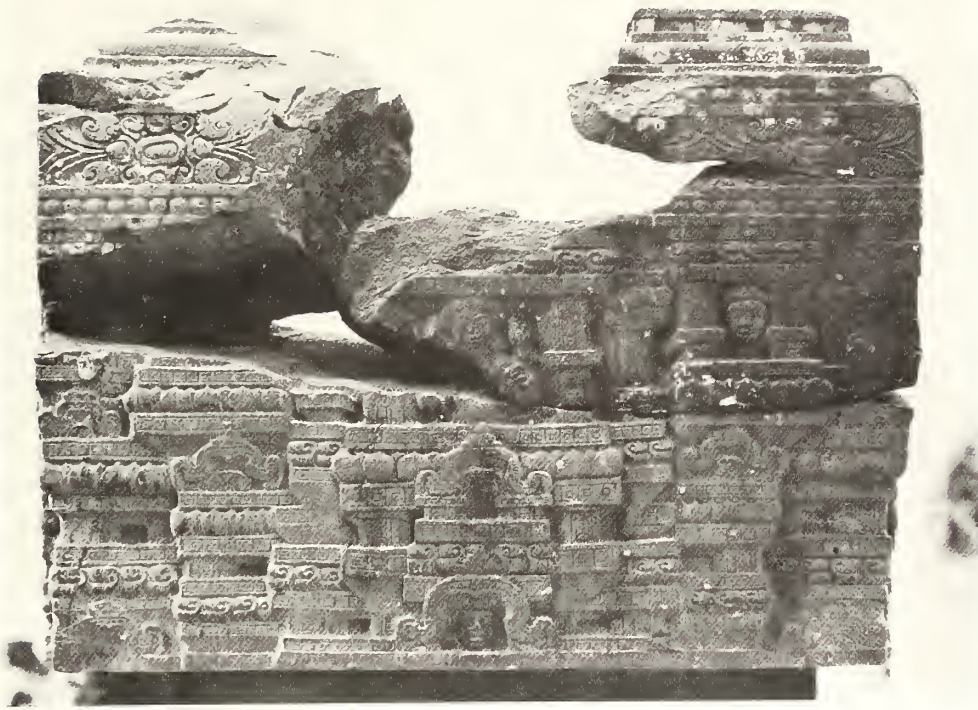


FIG. 1. Socle. Stone. National Museum, Bangkok.



FIG. 2. Socle (same as fig. 1), viewed from below.



FIG. 3. Socle, view of second side.



FIG. 4. Socle, detail of figure 3.

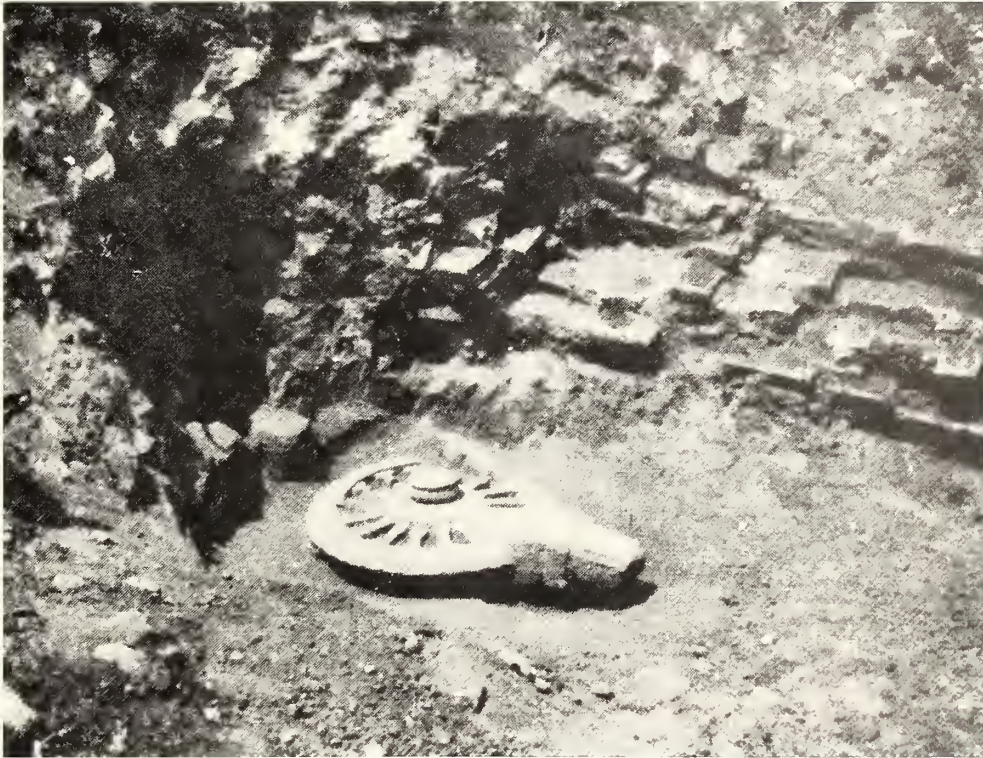


FIG. 5. *Cakra*. Stone. Chedi 11, U-Thong. (After *Report of the Survey and Excavation of the Ancient City of U-Thong*, fig. 29.)

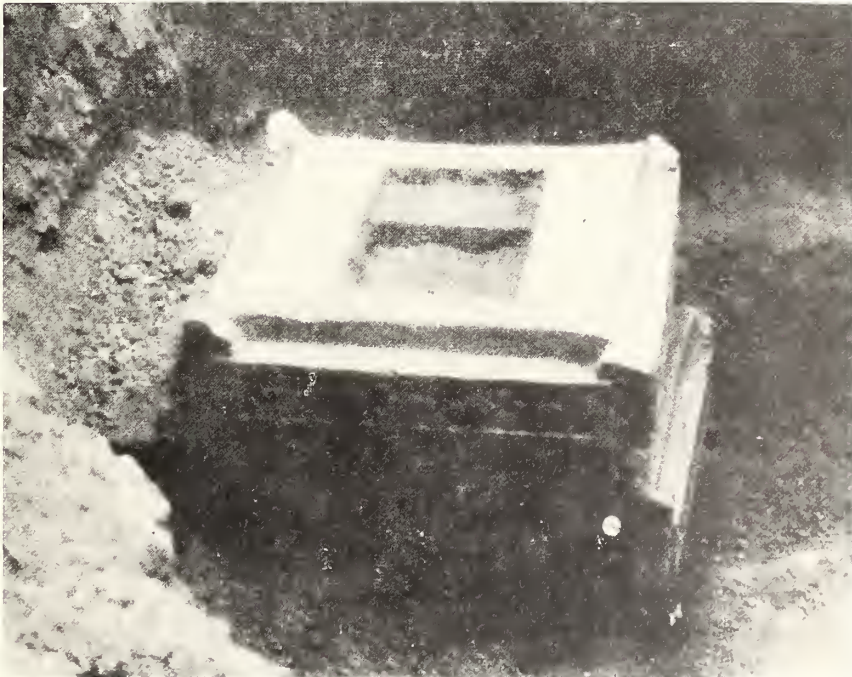


FIG. 6. *Socle*. Stone. Chedi 11, U-Thong. (After *Report of the Survey and Excavation of the Ancient City of U-Thong*, fig. 34.)



FIG. 7. Pillar. Stone. Chedi 11, U-Thong. (After *Report of the Survey and Excavation of the Ancient City of U-Thong*, fig. 30.)

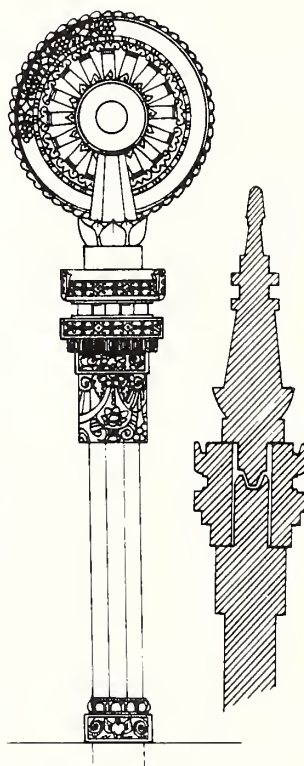


FIG. 8. Drawing showing reconstruction of U-Thong dharmacakrastambha. (After Boisselier and Beurdeley, *The Heritage of Thai Sculpture*, fig. 1, p. 206.)



FIG. 9. Socle (same view as in fig. 3), showing blank areas that appear to project due to anamorphosis.



FIG. 10. Socle (same view as in fig. 1), showing progression of levels of relief, 1 being lowest and 8 highest.



FIG. 11. Fragment from stone column.
National Museum, Bangkok.

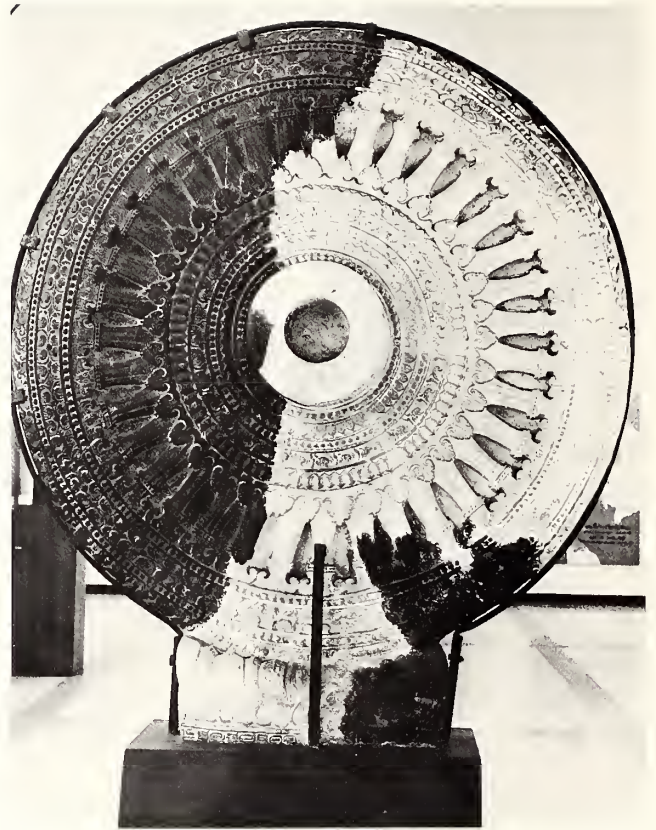


FIG. 12. *Cakra*. Stone. National Museum, Bangkok.



FIG. 13. Sculpted deer. Stone. National Museum, Bangkok.

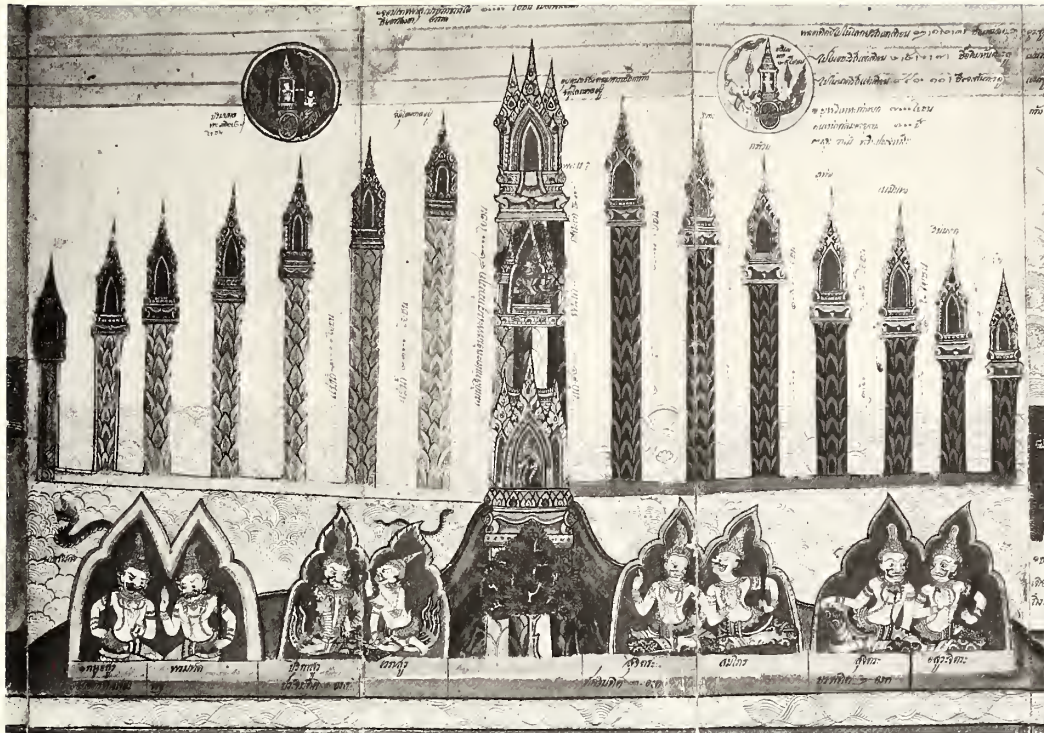


FIG. 14. Painting of Mt. Meru surrounded by the seven Cakkavāḷa mountain ranges, from a *Traibhūmi* manuscript. Late eighteenth century. Courtesy, Museum of Indian Art, Berlin.

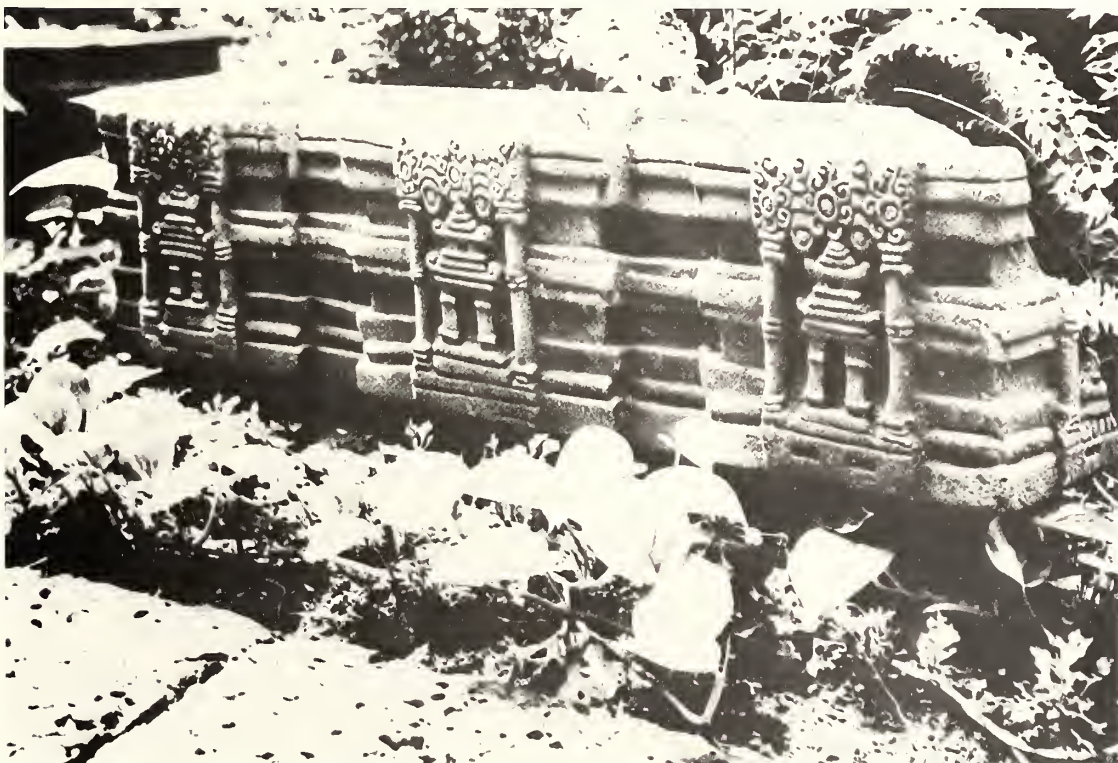


FIG. 15. Fragment of socle. Stone. Private collection, Bangkok. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Ginni Dofflemyer.



FIG. 16. Fragment of socle. Stone. Collection of Pol. Gen. Snong Wattanavrangkul, Bangkok.



FIG. 17. Socle. Stone. National Museum, Nakhon Pathom.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Houghton Shahnameh. By Martin Bernard Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch. 2 vols. Lavishly illustrated, with 20 color plates. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.

This long-awaited publication is a great scholarly accomplishment and will serve as the basis for future studies of Persian manuscript painting. The manuscript conventionally called the “Houghton *Shāh nāmāh*” is of major importance for the understanding of Persian painting, and its artistic tradition is linked to both Ottoman Turkey and Mughal India through the movement of artists from Iran to those countries. Moreover, the authors have established that the manuscript itself was sent to Istanbul as a gift to Sultan Selīm II and thus may have inspired Ottoman artists directly.

Divided into two physical volumes, the publication has three main sections: (1) an introduction to the place this manuscript occupies within the broader spectrum of Persian painting; (2) a discussion of the fifteen individual hands identified as its painters (both of these sections are in the first volume); and (3) a description and illustration of each of the manuscript's 258 paintings (in the second volume). As might be expected from their respective interests, Welch was responsible for the discussion of artistic questions, whereas Dickson provided the literary and historical analyses crucial to the project. One of the book's great merits is the inclusion of new visual and literary evidence. The discussion of painters contains many previously unpublished paintings, and new textual information has been provided in part by using recently published versions of important texts. Most analyses of textual problems are found in the footnotes of the first volume. Other useful features of the literary analysis are the detailed manner in which the location of each painting in Firdausi's narrative is discussed and the reference made to the location of each incident in standard editions of Firdausi's poem. Inscriptions found in the paintings are translated, and in many cases their sources are identified. The illustrations are clearly printed, but, unfortunately, only twenty are in color, making it difficult to appreciate the subtleties of style. For each painting, reference is also made to the artist or artists to whom it is attributed. Explanations of how these attributions were made are found in the first volume.

The Historical Setting of the Houghton Shāh nāmāh

Shah Ṭahmāsp, the second monarch of the Ṣāfavid dynasty (r. 1524–1576), is identified as the manuscript's owner in two inscriptions, a formal dedication on folio 16r and an architectural inscription on folio 442v. Welch and Dickson suggest that this manuscript was actually begun by Ṭahmāsp's father, Shah Ismā'īl. Whether such was the case is difficult to ascertain, but since these inscriptions contain no reference to Ismā'īl, it is unlikely that they were written during his lifetime. Shah Ṭahmāsp is described by the epithet “al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṣāfavi” (fol. 16r) or merely “al-Ḥusaynī” (fol. 442v).

Various pieces of evidence are provided to establish the chronology of this manuscript. Within it is found a single date, that of 934/1527–1528, included in the architectural setting of folio 516v. Welch and Dickson suggest that it was begun “soon after 1522” (p. 43). Two other documents imply that it was largely completed circa 1540: a page probably intended for this

manuscript that is now in an album assembled circa 1540 for Shah Ṭahmāsp; and another album, compiled in 951/1544–1545 for Ṭahmāsp's brother Bahrām, which contains a preface where reference is made to this *Shāh nāmāh* and to the artists who created it. The three painters named as having worked on a “royal *Shāh nāmāh*” are Sulṭān Muḥammad, Āqā Jalāl al-Dīn Mīrak al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣfahānī, and Mīr Muṣavvir. A painting of men in leopard skins executed by Sulṭān Muḥammad is also singled out for special praise.

Establishing the chronological framework within which this manuscript was created is, of course, only a first step toward the more complex goal of evaluating its genesis and legacy. On the first question, Welch and Dickson stress the manner in which the *Shāh nāmāh* combines elements from the artistic traditions of Tabriz and Herat. The authors characterize the Tabriz approach as one with “illogical wildness, greater openness to foreign influence, fewer subtleties and less emphasis on individuality” (p. 15). Their principal example of Tabriz painting is the *Khāmsah* of Nizāmī copied for Ya'qūb Aq Qoyunlu and now in Istanbul. Herat paintings are epitomized by the *Bustān* manuscript painted by Bihzād that is now in Cairo. Welch and Dickson stress the formal excellence and sense of balance in these paintings. They also draw attention, however, to another style used in Herat that is closer in spirit to western Iranian painting than is the Bihzādiān canon (p. 26, fig. 23).

One of Welch's important contributions to our understanding of Persian painting has been his emphasis on the accomplishments of Tabriz painters. Some of the views presented in this publication on the Tabriz enthusiasm for the foreign and the bizarre are, however, difficult to follow. Attributed to that center is a group of paintings of demons associated with the enigmatic artist “Siyāh Qalām,” as well as more generic compositions of animals in landscapes. While “Siyāh Qalām's” creatures sometimes show facial types similar to those used in Ṣāfavid painting, animal themes were of widespread popularity and also used in Herat. Still less convincing is the attribution to Tabriz of a painting from a *Khāmsah* of Nizāmī in which Welch and Dickson find “European influences” in the depiction of space and architecture (p. 24, fig. 21). While not excluding the possibility that European art could have been known to the painters of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Tabriz, this particular example has a rather Turkish flavor. An Ottoman provenance is suggested not only by the handling of architecture but also by the group of figures on horseback in the lower left corner, who appear to be wearing the characteristic headdress of the Janissaries.

Having explored the styles antecedent to the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh*, the authors turn to the task of placing the manuscript within the Ṣāfavid period. This is done not only by identifying manuscripts of particular relevance but also by connecting the paintings in those manuscripts with specific artists to whom illustrations in the Houghton manuscript have been attributed. Seeking such a precise formulation of the sources for this *Shāh nāmāh* is an ambitious undertaking. Major questions remain about how painting developed in both Tabriz and Herat from the time of the Ṣāfavid conquest until the accession of Shah Ṭahmāsp in 1524.

For its comparative material, this study draws on the examples used by Welch in his earlier studies of Ṣāfavid painting. For the beginning of the Ṣāfavid period there are illustrations from the *Khāmsah* manuscript copied for Ya'qūb Aq Qoyunlu

and those in the Upsala *Jamāl u Jalāl*, all dated between 1504 and 1506. Nearly two decades separate these paintings and the next documented examples from Tabriz: a *Shāh nāmāh* and 'Ārif's *Gūy u chaugān*, both dated to 1524 and now in Leningrad. For Herat, stress is laid on the *Khāmsah* of 1525 in the Metropolitan Museum and the *Kulliyāt* of Navā'ī dated to 933/1526–1527, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

In linking these various paintings to each other and to the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh*, Welch and Dickson stress the role of specific artists. As a link between Herat and Tabriz they use Bihzād, who is credited with supervising the 931/1524–1525 *Gūy u chaugān* manuscript. To link the Tabriz paintings with each other and with the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* they use the career of Sulṭān Muḥammad. That artist is associated with the Istanbul Nizāmī, the Upsala *Jamāl u Jalāl*, a dispersed *Shāh nāmāh*, and the 1525 Leningrad *Shāh nāmāh* (pp. 30–35).

The careers of individual artists are also used to connect the Houghton manuscript with various Šāfavid paintings of contemporary or later date. Particular stress is given to the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ dedicated to Sām Mīrzā, for which Welch and Dickson suggest a date of circa 1527, and the *Khāmsah* in the British Library dated to between 1539 and 1543. The names inscribed on the *Khāmsah* paintings are used to create a wider series of attributions, both within the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* and in other texts. Artists whose work is identified in this fashion include Āqā Mīrak, Mīrzā 'Alī, Muẓaffār 'Alī, and Mīr Sayyid 'Alī. Except for Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, the authors also connect these same painters with the *Haft aurang* of Jāmī produced for Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and now in the Freer Gallery. Another link between the latter manuscript and the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* is forged by using the career of Shaykh Muḥammad. The authors have suggested that two different personages known from the sources—Shaykh Muḥammad, a painter active in Mashhad during the 1550s and 1560s, and Shaykh Muḥammad, a calligrapher connected with Shah Ṭahmāsp—are in fact a single individual. In linking the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* to Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's manuscript, the stress is on the transformation of individual styles.

The Artists of the Houghton Shāh nāmāh

Central to this publication is the authors' treatment of individual artists. Fifteen different hands have been identified, and their respective contributions form the basis of essays in which historical, literary, and artistic evidence is combined to create biographies of the individuals concerned. Both authors are to be congratulated on the wealth of new visual and literary information they have collected.

The task which they have undertaken is, however, a formidable one. Direct evidence within the manuscript itself yields the identity of two artists: Mīr Muṣavvir and Dūst Muḥammad. The identity of a third, Sulṭān Muḥammad, is provided by the reference to one of his paintings in Dūst Muḥammad's preface to Bahrām Mīrzā's album. The name of a fourth artist, Āqā Mīrak, is also given in that preface, but no signed work by him has yet been found. Welch and Dickson then augment these references by using the attributions to Sulṭān Muḥammad, Āqā Mīrak, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, Muẓaffār 'Alī, and Mīrzā 'Alī in the British Library *Khāmsah*. When no historical reference was available, the remaining paintings were grouped by hands as the work of painters "A" through "F."

In addition to identifying various hands, Welch and Dickson propose a scheme for the manuscript's creation based on the interrelation of these various artists. Most prominent is the suggestion that the three painters designated by Dūst Muḥammad

as collaborators on this project—Sulṭān Muḥammad, Mīr Muṣavvir, and Āqā Mīrak—were in fact responsible for supervising the other artists. Furthermore, it is suggested that the first section of the manuscript was supervised by Sulṭān Muḥammad, the middle portion by Mīr Muṣavvir, and the last part by Āqā Mīrak. This leads to the attribution of many paintings to two artists—one the supervisor, the other the executor.

This elaborate scheme is linked to the authors' wider concern with identifying the contributions of specific artists. The essays combine detailed textual analyses of sources with many illustrations of key paintings. Both types of evidence provide much useful information. The principal flaw in this approach lies in the nature of the available evidence. Even after all the texts have been examined and all signed works by a given artist collected, many questions remain about his larger artistic vision. In many cases, it would appear that the documentation so painstakingly assembled is an insecure foundation for the elaborate edifice of stylistic analysis that it supports.

In order to understand better the material assembled and its value, it is useful to consider briefly the major artistic personalities discussed.

SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD. In this view of Šāfavid painting Sulṭān Muḥammad plays a dominant role. The essay using literary evidence establishes the dates of neither his birth nor his death, but the artist does appear to have been buried in Tabriz. All documented aspects of his life link him to that city. His son, Mīrzā 'Alī, and his grandson, Zayn al-'Ābidīn, both studied there under him. He is also said to have instructed Shah Ṭahmāsp in painting. Three different sources have yielded his paintings: the Ṭahmāsp *Shāh nāmāh*, from which his painting of Gayūmarš is mentioned by Dūst Muḥammad; the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ prepared for Sām Mīrzā, where his signature appears on two paintings (figs. 37, 38, and 49–55); and the album of Bahrām Mīrzā, in which the portrait of a seated prince is attributed to him (fig. 60).

Working from these examples, an earlier phase of Sulṭān Muḥammad's career is suggested (pp. 69–74). Ascribed to him are paintings from the Istanbul *Khāmsah* of Nizāmī, the Upsala *Jamāl u Jalāl*, and a dispersed *Shāh nāmāh*. The connection of this group of paintings with several in the Houghton manuscript, especially those on folios 20 and 22–27, is clear, but that does not necessarily mean that they are by a single hand. More puzzling is the suggestion that Sulṭān Muḥammad was trained in Herat and that he worked there at the court of Sulṭān Ḥusayn. This hypothesis is based in part on the similarities found between the paintings of Sulṭān Muḥammad and those in the *Dīvān* of Sulṭān Ḥusayn now in Paris (p. 26, fig. 23).

The little that is known about Sulṭān Muḥammad's life links him with Tabriz, and so it is reasonable to investigate other explanations for the affinities between his work and the paintings in the Paris manuscript. As will be mentioned below in connection with Mīr Muṣavvir's life, it is quite possible that artists from Sulṭān Ḥusayn's workshop were already in Tabriz before the accession of Shah Ṭahmāsp so that Sulṭān Muḥammad's acquaintance with them could have occurred prior to his work on the *Shāh nāmāh* and the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ.

The emphasis placed here on Sulṭān Muḥammad's proficiency in the Herat idiom may stem from a desire to link his signed paintings with those attributed to him in the British Library *Khāmsah*. He is also connected with the illustrations in the manuscript of *Gūy u Chaugān* copied by Shah Ṭahmāsp in 931/1524–1525. To make this link plausible, the authors assume that Sulṭān Muḥammad "adjusted his style so totally to Bihzād's that only a few hints of his earlier and later manners enable us to recognize his hand" (p. 34). This desire can also be seen in some

of the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* paintings attributed to Sulṭān Muḥammad. A key example is the *Death of Zāḥḥāk* (fol. 17v), which bears a striking resemblance to the landscape used in one of the *Khāmsah* paintings attributed to Sulṭān Muḥammad, *Shīrīn Bathing* (pp. 81–185, figs. 56, 114, and 115). In connecting the various attributions to Sulṭān Muḥammad, the authors praise him for his “ability to paint his personal vision in whatever stylistic guise he wished to assume” (p. 79).

Leaving aside for the moment the complex career here postulated for Sulṭān Muḥammad, the two key examples of his evolved “Herat” style, *Death of Zāḥḥāk* and *Shīrīn Bathing*, are representative of landscapes created by painters at the Moghul courts. Landscapes with several levels and often containing different scenes were particularly popular with painters working for Akbar in Lahore during the last years of the sixteenth century.¹ This style is assumed to derive from two artists: ‘Abd al-Ṣamād Shīrāzī and Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī, who had been trained in Shah Ṭahmāsp’s atelier. Works connected with those two painters also display a similar richness of detail in their settings (figs. 236, 238, 239, and 254). The continuation of landscape traditions from Shah Ṭahmāsp’s atelier in Mughal India leaves open, however, the question of who originated this style. It might simplify matters if its authorship was, for the moment, left open.

Linking these paintings with Sulṭān Muḥammad necessitates the postulating of a series of transformations in his style uncharacteristic of a Persian painter.

MĪR MUṢAVVIR is another artist of cardinal importance to the Houghton manuscript. Information about his life is scanty but relatively consistent. Much of the biographical data is found in sources from India, where Mīr Muṣavvir’s son, Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī, was a prominent painter. The family appears to have come from Badakhshān and to have lived in Tirmiz. No direct textual evidence exists as to where Mīr Muṣavvir was trained or with whom he worked. The reference to him by Dūst Muḥammad as working on the *Shāh nāmāh* and *Khāmsah* manuscripts is one of the few found in Persian sources. His connection with the *Shāh nāmāh* is confirmed by a signature which the authors discovered on the hat of a figure in *Manūchihr Enthroned* (fol. 60v, p. 47). Another signed painting, now in the British Museum, depicts a standing figure identified by the caption as *Sarkhān Beg*, one of Ṭahmāsp’s courtiers (fig. 122). This painting accords well with Qāḍī Aḥmad’s description of Mīr Muṣavvir as a portraitist.

Despite the few signed works by Mīr Muṣavvir that have survived, a plausible selection of his paintings in the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* can be made by comparing them with *Manūchihr Enthroned*. Welch and Dickson credit him with more than thirty paintings. They draw attention to his carefully executed compositions and the distinctive color scheme of his paintings, described in terms of the artist’s “penchant for such unusual and personal combinations as vivid blue-green, buff, warm yellow, or olive green or light blue and slate green enlivened by a dash of intense pink” (p. 88). They also suggest that he often worked with collaborators here designated as “B,” “C,” “D,” and “E.” The paintings attributed to Mīr Muṣavvir are stylistically quite homogeneous, and although it is difficult to follow the complex attributions of them to more than one hand, the style used by Mīr Muṣavvir is clearly of major importance for this manuscript.

Less clear is his connection with the British Library *Khāmsah*. What appears to be his signature is found along with the date of 946/1539–1540 on the wall of a ruined building depicted in *Nūshirvān in the Haunts of the Owls*, a work here attributed to Āqā Mīrak (pp. 109–10, fig. 155).

Also uncertain is the origin of Mīr Muṣavvir’s style. A supplementary note added by the authors after the text of the book had been completed links him with a manuscript of Jāmī’s *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* dated to 1525 and now in Istanbul (p. 245, n. 12). It was copied by Shāh Maḥmūd Nīshāpūrī, one of Shah Ṭahmāsp’s principal scribes, probably in Tabriz.² The connection with Mīr Muṣavvir of this manuscript and the several others illustrated in a similar style deserves further investigation. The sole painting from the Jāmī manuscript so far published contains elements echoed in several paintings from the Houghton manuscript (e.g., fols. 178v, 811v, 383v, 563v, 655v, and 698v). Most of these are attributed, at least in part, to Mīr Muṣavvir.

The Istanbul Jāmī of 1525 in turn suggests further links to Mīr Muṣavvir’s style among the manuscripts recently studied by F. Çağman and linked by her to Herat, Tabriz, and Istanbul. The group’s key manuscript is a copy of the *Dīvān* of Sulṭān Ḥusayn, dated to 1492 and now in Istanbul, in which that ruler’s name is inscribed in the architecture of the frontispiece—a circumstance that virtually guarantees that the manuscript was produced in Herat.³ Very similar in style is the 1485 copy of the same text (now in Paris), cited by Welch and Dickson in connection with Sulṭān Muḥammad (fig. 23). Several later manuscripts with similar paintings are known in addition to the copy of Jāmī cited above. Particularly close in style to the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* are two copies of ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī’s *Gharā’ib al-ṣiḡḡār* now in Istanbul, one dated to 1524 and copied in Herat, the other dated to 1532–1533 but copied in Tabriz, as well as a *Dīvān* of ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī copied in Tabriz during 1527 and now in Leningrad.⁴ The style also appears in manuscripts probably executed in Istanbul, the earliest of which is dated to 1515. Çağman suggests that a group of painters from Herat may have followed one of Sulṭān Ḥusayn’s sons, Badī’ al-Zamān, first to Tabriz, where he was kept at the Ṣāfavid court as a virtual captive, and then, after 1514 when Sultan Selīm defeated Shah Ismā’īl, to Turkey, where the prince resided until his death in 1517.⁵

A wider investigation of this group of manuscripts and their connection with the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* is clearly in order and might shed further light on the genesis of its illustrations. At present it is possible to suggest some links between Mīr Muṣavvir’s style and manuscripts from Herat. His method of depicting architecture has strong parallels among Herat manuscripts such as those mentioned above, but an even more striking similarity can be seen between the setting of *Ardashīr and the Slave Girl* (fol. 316v) and that of *Majnūn Comes to the House of Laylā* in the manuscript of ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī’s *Sadd-i Iskandar* of 1485, now in Oxford.⁶ That manuscript was copied for Badī’ al-Zamān, the prince mentioned above as subsequently moving to Tabriz and Istanbul, and contains attributions to a certain “Qāsim ‘Alī,” mentioned in some sources as a student of Bihzād. Further investigation would probably clarify the links between Mīr Muṣavvir’s style and that of “Qāsim ‘Alī,” but stylistic parallels already suggest that Mīr Muṣavvir may have been connected with Badī’ al-Zamān. He may even have accompanied him to Tabriz.

The evidence that a group of Herat-trained painters was active in Tabriz during the 1520s, if not before, also places the paintings by Sulṭān Muḥammad in the *Dīvān* of Ḥafīz in a new light. The links with Herat style noted by Welch and Dickson could well be explained by Sulṭān Muḥammad’s acquaintance with these painters rather than by his travels to Herat. A further investigation of the various manuscripts mentioned above and their connections to both Mīr Muṣavvir and Sulṭān Muḥammad would probably clarify the genesis of a Ṣāfavid style that merged elements from the Herat and Tabriz traditions.

ĀQĀ MĪRAK is the most elusive figure among the painters mentioned by Dūst Muḥammad as illustrators of Shah Ṭahmāsp's *Shāh nāmāh* and *Khāmsah*. Little is known about his personal life beyond the fact that he came from a family of Isfahānī *sayyids*. He is remembered as one of Shah Ṭahmāsp's intimate associates. As late as 1556–1557 he was still active as a painter in Ṭahmāsp's atelier, but he also served that ruler in an administrative capacity during the last years of his life. He died sometime before 1576. Insight into his artistic skills comes from Ṣādiqī Beg Afshār, whose essay, "The Canons of Painting," has been translated by Dickson and included as an appendix to the first volume of *The Houghton Shahnameh*. Ṣādiqī Beg praises Āqā Mīrak's skill in the depiction of animal designs such as combats of dragons and *sīmurghs*, a motif that is a major component of the decorative repertoire of the Ṣāfiyid period (p. 264).

Unfortunately, no signed works by Āqā Mīrak are known. None has been identified in the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* or in the albums prepared for Shah Ṭahmāsp and his brother Bahrām Mīrzā. Welch and Dickson have reconstructed his style by using four paintings in the British Library *Khāmsah* that bear attributions to him and expanding this evidence with two additional unattributed paintings from that same manuscript. These paintings are then linked to the *Shāh nāmāh*. It is also suggested that Āqā Mīrak was associated with the library of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā in Mashhad, although no mention of such a connection is found in the sources (pp. 96–115).

The twenty-two paintings in the *Shāh nāmāh* attributed to Āqā Mīrak exhibit a range of style and quality which the authors accommodate by postulating a stylistic evolution in his work. Before turning to these paintings, it is necessary to consider the illustrations ascribed to him in the British Library *Khāmsah*. Three of them illustrating the story of Khusrau and Shīrīn appear to be by the same hand; they are focused on the figure of a youthful ruler flanked by attendants and courtiers arranged in rows (figs. 133–35). These compositions are rich in color and detail but convey little sense of space. Their mood is well summarized by Welch and Dickson. Figures in them "seem to bristle with nervous agitation. Elbows jostle, heads turn to nod, hands wave expressively. Everyone seems about to do something, or to be arrested in the middle of unresolved action" (p. 101). A very different impression is given by the fourth painting bearing Āqā Mīrak's name, for *Majnūn in the Desert among the Wild Animals* is primarily a landscape painting (fig. 136). The space is broken into valleys and peaks that run diagonally across the picture surface. The forms have sinuous curves and counter-curves.

Of these, Welch and Dickson devote most attention to links between the scene of Majnūn and other illustrations in both the *Khāmsah* and *Shāh nāmāh* manuscripts, thereby attributing to Āqā Mīrak two paintings from the *Khāmsah* and three from the *Shāh nāmāh*. The *Khāmsah* paintings are *The Physicians' Duel* and *Nūshirvān in the Haunts of the Owls* (figs. 155 and 157). The *Shāh nāmāh* examples are *Firdausī and the Three Poets of Ghazna*; *Rustam Finds Qay Qubād*; and *Farīdūn Tests His Sons* (fols. 7r, 42v, and 110v).

This group of paintings does appear to be closely interrelated. The landscape of *Majnūn in the Desert among Wild Animals* is very similar to the upper portion of *Rustam Finds Qay Qubād*. Also close in style are the settings of *Farīdūn Tests His Sons* and *Nūshirvān in the Haunts of the Owls*. Both have a tension created by counterbalancing curves used to frame the principal figures. Certainly this group of paintings is among the most visually satisfying in either manuscript. They also appear related in compositional richness and elegance of

finish to paintings attributed to Sulṭān Muḥammad, namely, the *Death of Zāḥḥāk* from the *Shāh nāmāh* and *The Ascent of the Prophet* from the *Khāmsah* manuscript (pl. 6, fig. 59). As was mentioned above, these last paintings, although attributed to Sulṭān Muḥammad, do not accord well with paintings more securely connected to that artist. One painter whose name has been linked to this style is Mīr Muṣavvir. The words "Mīr Muṣavvir" inscribed on the ruined building depicted in *Nūshirvān in the Haunts of the Owls* led I. Stchoukine to conclude that he was its painter. The evidence presented by Welch and Dickson, however, suggests that Mīr Muṣavvir's style was different from that used in these works. Perhaps the paintings should be connected to Mīr Muṣavvir's son, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, who might have used the appellation "Mīr Muṣavvir" as well. Welch and Dickson have suggested that Mīr Sayyid 'Alī might have aided both Sulṭān Muḥammad and Āqā Mīrak in the creation of several of these paintings; perhaps it would be simpler to attribute them to him directly.

Curiously isolated among the works attributed to Āqā Mīrak are the three paintings illustrating the story of Khusrau and Shīrīn mentioned above. The composition of *Khusrau Enthroned* bears a striking resemblance to the *Celebration of 'Īd* from the *Divān* of Ḥāfiẓ, a painting dedicated to Sām Mīrzā and signed by Sulṭān Muḥammad (figs. 37, 49–55, and 134). The paintings are similar in their approach to the subject—both use a literary pretext to present a visual panegyric of a royal figure. They are also similar in their use of both landscape and architectural forms. In each, the buildings depicted are insubstantial in the extreme, and the skyline is punctuated by cypresses in alternation with poplars. The compositional and thematic parallels between the paintings are so striking that one must be an imitation of the other. The *Khāmsah* paintings are firmly dated by internal evidence to the period of 1539–1543, but no firm date has been established for the *Divān* of Ḥāfiẓ. Here the date of 1526 is suggested, but this may be too early; perhaps a date of circa 1540 would be more appropriate. Welch and Dickson have linked a copy of Jāmī's *Silsilat al-dhahab* (dated to 1549 and now in Leningrad) with the patronage of Sām Mīrzā. In its frontispiece there is a youthful prince rather similar in appearance to the one depicted in the *Divān* of Ḥāfiẓ (pp. 129–30, figs. 194 and 195).

Most of the paintings in the *Shāh nāmāh* attributed to Āqā Mīrak by Welch and Dickson have no clear parallel in the *Khāmsah* manuscript. The ten on folios 225v, 251r, 461v, 475r, 513v, 527v, 535v, 543r, 555v, and 702r are remarkably consistent in style. Most juxtapose a few figures against a nearly plain ground. A sense of geometric order pervades many of them; figures are arranged parallel to the picture frame, and even the grass tufts are laid on a geometric grid. Welch and Dickson propose that these are paintings executed by a youthful Āqā Mīrak in the 1520s (pp. 103–5). As the authors note, however, some paintings in later manuscripts, such as the *Haft aurang* of Jāmī executed for Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, also use this style (pp. 114–15). The resemblance between paintings in the *Shāh nāmāh* and *Haft aurang* manuscripts leads the authors to conclude that Āqā Mīrak also worked for Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, reviving in the 1550s and 1560s a style he had used some decades earlier.

This explanation seems unnecessarily complex. The style of these *Shāh nāmāh* paintings attributed to Āqā Mīrak is closely related to that used in a number of other manuscripts.

Particularly close to the paintings attributed to Āqā Mīrak are several illustrations from a dispersed *Shāh nāmāh* which B. W. Robinson suggested was made for Shah Ismā'īl II and dated to 1576–1577.⁷ Throne scenes in the Houghton manuscript and dispersed *Shāh nāmāh* are especially similar, having a few large figures and a simple background. In both, architecture

is rendered as a series of planes parallel to the picture surface.⁸ Other manuscripts with related compositions are the 1540 copy of *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* in the Chester Beatty Library and the 1549 example of Sa'dī's *Kulliyāt* now in Leningrad.⁹ Thus, the available evidence suggests that the simplified, rather static style here posited as the earliest phase of Āqā Mirak's career is actually a mode of painting that came into vogue circa 1540 and continued to be used for several decades. Whether it should be connected with Āqā Mirak is uncertain in view of the absence of works bearing his signature.

DÜST MUHAMMAD gains new importance as the result of information collected by Welch and Dickson. They establish that he was born and trained in Herat and was active as both a calligrapher and a painter. Most important is, of course, the page from the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* bearing his signature, but also significant are the four paintings ascribed to him in the album he assembled for Bahrām Mīrzā in 1544. The latter portray figures in simple poses against a plain ground and are similar to paintings in the same album ascribed to Sulṭān Muḥammad (figs. 175 and 60).

Somewhat puzzling, however, are the five unsigned paintings from the *Shāh nāmāh* attributed to Dūst Muḥammad: folios 308v, 551v, 633v, 638v, and 745v. His signed painting, folio 521v, displays a complex setting on three levels, with figures in a variety of poses. In the other five examples, however, the backgrounds are simple and nearly flat. The figures show little individuality or motion. In their static, plain compositions these paintings resemble several attributed here to Āqā Mirak, except that their execution is less polished and the proportions of the figures, with small heads and long narrow faces, are different (fols. 555v, 649r, and 702r).

Welch and Dickson present various arguments to establish that Dūst Muḥammad should be identified with both Dūst Dīvānah, a painter mentioned by Qādī Aḥmad, and Dūst Muṣavvir, a painter known to have worked for the Mughal emperor Humāyūn (pp. 118–19). Here the evidence is still inconclusive. Dūst Muṣavvir is not well documented as an artist, but his own signed work, a portrait of one of Humāyūn's courtiers, differs from that signed by Dūst Muḥammad in the fluency of its execution and the polish of its style.¹⁰ The connection made here between Shaykh Muḥammad and Dūst Muḥammad also appears fragile, as will be noted below.

The remainder of the essays in this book's first volume give biographical sketches for a series of artists whose connection with the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* is established by various indirect methods. Two of them, Mīrzā 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad and Mīr Sayyid 'Alī b. Mīr Muṣavvir, are sons of artists with major roles in the project. Of these, Mīrzā 'Alī is the more shadowy figure. No signed work by him is known, and the few textual references available do not provide clues to his style. Here, six paintings are attributed to him primarily on the basis of a link to the British Library *Khāmsah*, where two scenes, *Nūshābah Recognizing Iskandar from His Portrait* and *Bārbad Playing before Khusrau*, bear attributions to him (figs. 179 and 180). His paintings have also been identified by the authors in several other manuscripts, most prominently in the *Haft aurang* of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā. While many of these attributions are internally consistent, it is difficult to evaluate their plausibility in the absence of signed paintings.

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī has a much clearer historical identity, primarily because of his association with the courts of Humāyūn and Akbar. Welch and Dickson have carefully assembled various references to him, particularly from Mughal sources, and illustrated his signed paintings. These are single figures, all seated and looking to the left (figs. 245, 246, and 248). One

was probably executed in Iran, but the other two are clearly from India, for they contain references to Humāyūn and Akbar. It is unfortunate that these signed examples are so different in scale and complexity from the illustrations of either the *Shāh nāmāh* or the *Khāmsah*. More useful as a comparison to those manuscripts are two isolated pages now in the Fogg that are inscribed with Mīr Sayyid 'Alī's name. Furthermore, one page from the British Library *Khāmsah*, *Majnūn in Chains Led by an Old Lady*, is executed in a similar style and is also ascribed to him (figs. 236, 238, and 239). These three paintings clearly form a group and their connection with a single artist is plausible. Yet Mīr Sayyid 'Alī's contribution to the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* remains elusive. Welch and Dickson attribute to him two of its paintings: *Rustam and the Seven Champions of Tūrān* (fol. 135v) and *Bahrām Gūr Pins the Coupling Onagers* (fol. 568r). Neither is particularly related to the three inscribed pages. Those pages and the three signed works were produced by an artist with a sure sense of line and the capacity to give figures a sense of substance and volume. As was mentioned above, the qualities found in his signed or inscribed works are also present in several paintings from the *Shāh nāmāh* and *Khāmsah* that do not bear his name. Perhaps future discoveries will clarify their connection with Mīr Sayyid 'Alī.

Muzaffar 'Alī's varied talents and activities are documented in the sources collected by Welch and Dickson. Most important among them are the writings of his pupil Ṣādiqī Beg and the essay by Malik Daylamī, a prominent calligrapher, that forms the preface to an album. Both suggest that Muzaffar 'Alī excelled in marginal drawing and other forms of decorative painting. One signed painting from the end of his career is preserved in the British Library, and another painting in the British Library *Khāmsah* has been attributed to him (figs. 214 and 213). In the first volume, Welch and Dickson ascribe nine *Shāh nāmāh* paintings to Muzaffar 'Alī, but in the second volume only eight of these, figures 168 (fol. 294r), 190 (385v), 221 (538v), 226 (553v), 237 (602v), 240 (622r), 241 (629r), and 247 (654r), are attributed to him, leaving uncertain his relation to the last, figure 255 (708v). This group of paintings shares with the one signed work of Muzaffar 'Alī a broad treatment of landscape forms and the use of simple, clearly arranged compositions. The landscape conventions for mountains and trees recall those used by late fifteenth-century Herat painters. The figures are often large in size with bland, nearly expressionless faces. In general character these paintings have parallels with those ascribed here to Dūst Muḥammad and, to a lesser extent, with paintings attributed here to Āqā Mirak.

Shaykh Muḥammad Sabzavārī was a calligrapher and painter active in Mashhad and Qazvīn whose life is surprisingly well documented by Iskandar Munshī and Qādī Aḥmad. His period of professional activity stretched from the 1550s to the 1590s, and he died sometime before 1597, when Shah 'Abbās moved his capital to Isfahān. To this Welch and Dickson add an earlier phase, placing him in Tabriz by 1536–1537 in order to identify him with a scribe named Nizām al-Dīn Shaykh Muḥammad mentioned by Dūst Muḥammad in his preface. Additionally, they postulate that he became a close associate of Dūst Muḥammad, under whom he studied painting (pp. 165–68). One painting in the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh*, folio 341v, is ascribed to Shaykh Muḥammad on the basis of its similarities to a painting dated to 1556–1557 and signed "Shaykh Muḥammad" (pp. 167–68 and 175, fig. 226). At present the biographical information available and the pictorial evidence provided does not seem sufficiently compelling to link Shaykh Muḥammad Sabzavārī with either Tahmāsp's studio or the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh*.

Another well-known artist here linked with the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh* by a single painting is 'Abd al-Ṣamād, whose work is known from signed paintings produced in India (figs. 250, 252, and 254). Those examples have a distinctive landscape style not present in this case, where the composition has an architectural setting (fol. 742v). Whatever the merits of this particular attribution, the essay provides a useful summary of information concerning 'Abd al-Ṣamād.

In the concluding essays of this book, Welch and Dickson present sketches of five anonymous artists to whom a total of 196 paintings is attributed. Two of them, "Painter A" and "Painter D," are linked with signed paintings and given a more concrete historical identity (pp. 205–6, 224–26). In both cases the painters, Qadīmī and 'Abd al-Azīz, have left figure studies that are difficult to compare with the complex landscapes and architectural settings of the Houghton *Shāh nāmāh*. Another painter, "B," is linked with examples so varied in style that it is difficult to see them as the work of a single individual. Despite the uncertainties surrounding the identity of the hand proposed by Welch and Dickson, these groupings do serve to clarify the stylistic range found in the *Shāh nāmāh*.

The authors of this book have given us a clearer and more complete view of the evolution of Ṣāfavid painting than was available previously. The questions raised in this review stem as much from the poorly published field as they do from the essays and attributions of Welch and Dickson. Some of these problems will probably be resolved by further study of the links between Ṣāfavid painting and the antecedent traditions in both Herat and Tabriz. Others may be clarified by the discovery of more signed paintings. In either case, the rich documentation, both textual and visual, provided by *The Houghton Shahnameh* will make it an important catalyst stimulating a deeper understanding of Iranian painting.

Notes

1. S. C. Welch, *The Art of Mughal India* (New York, 1963), pp. 26–27, 163, nos. 8a–b; and Ernst J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting* (Lugano, 1968), pp. 202–3, nos. 91–193.
2. F. Çağman and Z. Tanindi, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi İslam Minyatürleri* (Istanbul, 1979), no. 95, p. 43, pl. 35.
3. F. Çağman, "The Miniatures of the Dīvān-i Husayni and the Influence of Their Style," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Proceedings*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest, 1978), pp. 231–34, figs. 1–4.
4. Ibid., pp. 235–36, figs. 11–17; and *Miniatures. Illustrations of Alisher Navoi's Works of the XV-XIXth Centuries* (Tashkent, 1982), pls. 151, 152, and 160–63.
5. Çağman, "The Dīvān-i Husayni," pp. 236–37, 241–42, figs. 18 and 19.
6. Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (Oxford, 1933; reprint ed., New York, 1971), no. 80, pp. 96–97, pl. 65b.
7. B. W. Robinson, "Ismā'īl II's Copy of the Shāhnāma," *Iran* 14 (1976): 1–8.
8. Ibid., pl. 2b, and fol. 555v in *The Houghton Shahnameh*; Robinson, "Ismā'īl II's Copy of the Shāhnāma," pl. 6a, and fol. 535r in *The Houghton Shahnameh*.
9. M. M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in the XIV–XVII Centuries. Miniatures* (Dushanbe, 1979), figs. 43 and 44; B. W. Robinson, *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles* (London, 1967), no. 41, p. 56, pl. 19.
10. A. Welch and S. C. Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book: The Collection of Sadruddin Aga Khan* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), no. 49, pp. 146–48.

PRISCILLA P. SOUCEK

BRIEFLY NOTED

Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture, vol. 1. Edited by Oleg Grabar. 209 + ix pp., many line and half-tone illustrations. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983. \$27.50.

It is always a pleasure to record the appearance of a new periodical on Islamic art, although *Muqarnas* is billed as an "annual" rather than a journal. The first volume offers a conventional group of art-historical articles, including both architectural topics (the main emphasis) and nonarchitectural ones. There are no book reviews. As art history *Muqarnas* has achieved a fairly high level in its debut, but it is to be hoped that the second volume will be given a decent format, eliminating the grayish paper, widening the insignificant margins, and perhaps improving the quality of the illustrations, which are similar to those in *aarp: Art and Archaeology Research Papers*.

Islamic Art: An Annual Dedicated to the Art and Culture of the Muslim World, vol. 1. New York: The Islamic Art Foundation, 1981 [1983]. \$55.00.

The first issue of this generally well produced journal contains the papers of the tenth Colloquy on Art and Archaeology in Asia of the Percival David Foundation, which was devoted to the four famous Hazine albums in Istanbul. There is a good deal of new information to digest, presented in refreshingly short articles. Nevertheless, the albums, perhaps appropriately, retain many of their secrets.

A list of forthcoming articles includes many of interest. It is to be hoped that the editors will reconsider their policy of abandoning diacritical marks (which are becoming technically easier to set every year) and bring more of the figures up to the standard set by the best printed of them. An auspicious beginning warrants good wishes for *Islamic Art* 2 (1984).

Die Restaurierung der Madrasa des Amīrs Sābiq ad-Dīn Miṭṭal al-Ānūkī und die Sanierung des Darb Qirmiz in Kairo. By Michael Meinecke and fourteen contributors. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, vol. 29. 174 pp., folding plan, 44 figs. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, n.d. [1980].

As its title suggests, this volume records an architectural restoration project, but there is more than that here. The historical topography of half a dozen city blocks, the spolia used in the *madrasah*'s construction, the biography of its founder,

the teachers who lectured in it, five neighboring buildings of various dates, and seven documents related to the *madrasah* have been studied. The documentation of the restoration is extensive, and the plates, of subjects often visually obscure, are very well printed. This is an unusually successful presentation of building in all its aspects and in its urban context.

Forschungen zur almohadischen Moschee, Lieferung 1: Vorstufen. Hierarchische Gliederungen westislamischer Betsäle des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts: Die Hauptmoscheen von Qairawān und Córdoba und ihr Bannkreis. By Christian Ewert and Jens-Peter Wisshak. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Madrid, Madrider Beiträge, vol. 9. 207 + xi pp., 65 pls. (1 color), 58 figs. (some color). Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1981. DM 150.

According to its foreword, this volume is intended to be part of a larger series of volumes on Almohad mosques, that is, on religious architecture in North Africa and Spain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Aside from some brief preliminaries, it is entirely and only a study of the placement of columns in early Islamic mosques and of their materials (illustrated in the color plate). It certainly seems exhaustive, and the photographic plates are of fine quality, but this is too expensive a format for simple documentation. If the intended series is completed it will surely cost as much as the most lavish publications on Islamic art; in the meantime, the volume as it stands suggests no larger conclusions than the patterns so colorfully illustrated in its figures.

TERRY ALLEN

The Presence of Śiva. By Stella Kramrisch. 514 pp., 32 pls., glossary, bibliography, index of themes. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981. \$37.50. Limited paperback edition, \$16.50.

When Professor Stella Kramrisch was awarded the Padma Bhushan recently for her outstanding contributions to the field of Indian art, her citation stated that she "ranks amongst Indian art historians next only to Shri Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Shri Rai Krishnadasa." This book, ten years in the making, is a crowning achievement and a legacy. Its publication was coordinated with the opening of the major exhibition "Manifestations of Shiva" at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1981. A separate catalogue, also by Professor Kramrisch, presents the superb Śaiva sculptures and paintings garnered for the exhibition from all parts of the globe. The book under review provides the religious and philosophical underpinnings that allow Śaiva art to come alive with meaning.

The Presence of Śiva conveys to the intellect and feelings an understanding of the all-encompassing nature of the great Hindu god. The writing is at once scholarly and poetic, historical and ahistorical. Both rational and intuitive insights are provided into the religious and artistic themes enfolding Śiva's world of myth and mysteries from the earliest times onward. To some degree these insights are a result of the author's having reworked and refined subjects such as "Śiva, the Archer," "The Great Indian Goddesses," and "Liṅga," which appeared as separate papers in 1973, 1975, and 1977, respectively. The probings brought to fruition here may well have commenced

decades earlier, however. In 1946 (in *Ancient India*) the author published a paper on the great Śiva image in the cave temple at Elephanta, to which she returns with far greater discernment in the present book's appendix, writing that Elephanta is imbued with "a pristine artistic power of rendering Śiva's presence" (p. 468).

There is a basic position that allows the book both to accommodate and communicate so many legends—in all their involutions—found in texts ranging from the Vedas through the Purāṇas and into the Tantra and Āgama traditions and to interweave the legends so that a cogent pattern appears. This position is that the reality known as Śiva exists and manifests itself in each new age in a way that neither negates nor obliterates what has preceded or what is to come. If Śiva simply *is*, the book charts the multiple paths and dimensions in which the different manifestations of Śiva resonate one with another.

In bringing together images, symbols, and facets of Śiva that resonate in varied texts and visual representations, some myths are fundamental. One example of what I would call a "meta-myth"—a mythic schema that is transposed to other myths—is the cycle of Śiva the fearful Cosmic Archer. At the dawn of creation, Rudra, the Archer, shoots an arrow at the Lord of Creation (Prajāpati) just as the latter ravishes his beautiful daughter Dawn (Uṣas). Dawn has taken the form of a female antelope; Prajāpati the Father, pursuing her, is a male antelope. Struck by the arrow, the Father lets fall to the ground his seed, which had earlier been prepared by Rudra in his capacity as the inseminating and fructifying Fire (Agni). The Father by this act initiates time and creation, and he confers upon the Archer the title of Lord of Animals (Paśupati) for having spared his life. This account, contained in the *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā* (variations are in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*), generates further elaborations in other Vedic texts. Prajāpati's seed becomes a lake of semen on earth. When that seed fell, the gods uttered a rudraic prayer (*raudraṃ brāhma*, *Rig Veda*, 10.61.1) from which they shaped the guardian of the created universe, Vāstupati (cf. *Rig Veda*, 10.61.7), who is thus another Rudra power provoked by Prajāpati. Moreover, Prajāpati proceeds in various ways to give birth to other manifestations of Rudra that indicate Rudra's cosmic completeness. Rudra is the assertive child asking the Father for his rightful eight names; these symbolize the eight universal domains (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 6.1.3.8–18). In a variant (*Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, 6.1–9), he is born a cosmic giant, like Puruṣa, from a golden bowl made by Prajāpati.

Echoes of this cycle, identified as "The Flight of the Arrow" in the book's concluding "Index of Themes," continue to sound throughout the work, allowing many of the other indexed themes to vibrate with richer tones. For example, the theme "Rudra/Śiva and the Sacrifice" impinges upon the Cosmic Archer meta-myth since Prajāpati is recognized as the sacrifice (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 11.1.1.1); and since the sacrifice and Vedic worship are symbolized by the antelope (see *Mānava Dharma Śāstra*, II.22–23), whose skin is an essential possession of the student of the Vedas, Prajāpati's flight as an antelope is also evoked in the ancillary theme. The theme "Rudra/Śiva's Births and Cosmos" contains the concept of Śiva Aṣṭamūrti (God as Eightfold, or Cosmic Reality) and is thus charged with memories of the eight cosmic names given the newborn god in the meta-myth. As Śiva Naṭarāja is seen as the sculptural embodiment of Śiva Aṣṭamūrti, the dance of Śiva in art, too, reverberates with deeper nuances. "Time and Eternity" is a theme recapturing that layer of the meta-myth which knows Prajāpati as the year (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 11.1.1.1), with the result that Śiva's arrow has both activated and antagonized time itself. Thereupon are embellished such later motifs

as Śiva Mahākāla (defined as "Time beyond time" in the book's glossary), Death (Kāla), Maker of Time (Kālakāra), and Mahākāla as Bhairava (the mythical figure of Timelessness). Finally, the theme "Rudra/Śiva, Unity of Conjoint Contraries" evokes the two natures of Śiva already implicit in the meta-myth (the fearful Archer and the fructifying Fire); other conjoint contraries are the phallic and ascetic, the Male and Female (Ardhanarīśvara), and the Yogi as carnal renunciator (whose sign is the Ūrdhvaliṅga, "the raised phallus").

If each of these themes has components which resound to the meta-myth's schema, it is because of the book's fundamental position. "The myths of Śiva have many levels. They have to be entered all at the same time, or else the total, multiple perspective is lost sight of. Crazy beggar, savior, necrophiliac, voluptuary, ascetic, he is each wholly on the plane where he acts, while on another plane he is Sadāśiva, the eternal Śiva" (p. 428).

In this way, a multilayered mythic perspective is projected throughout the book's twelve chapters. Chapter 1 defines "The Primordial Scene." Chapter 2 takes up "The Archer," whose shot separates time from timelessness. Chapter 3, on "Vāstōpati, the Lord of the Dwelling," tells how the great god became the guardian of that which was created. As creation becomes manifold, so do the forms of Śiva discussed in chapter 4, "Manifestations and Realizations of Rudra." In chapter 5, the ramifications of the events of the primordial morning continue; not only is Prajāpati responsible for "The Birth of Rudra," but so is Brahmā, the creator god of the Purāṇas. Chapter 6, "The Refusal to Procreate and the Encounters with Death," recounts the paradoxes in the Yogi's response to death and to a need for procreation. A masterful discussion in chapter 7 shows the "Liṅga" is conjointly Śiva's "sign," "phallus," and "cosmic substance," and as such the ontological symbol of the manifest, the subtle form giving rise to tangible, visible forms of the divine. These extensions, manifestations, and transformations into the bisexual, the terrific, the familial, and the demonic are the subjects of the subsequent four chapters. The final chapter, "The Presence of Śiva," expounds, in a sort of summation, on the enduring potency which is Śiva.

The appendix, "The Great Cave Temple of Śiva on the Island of Elephanta," both continues the summation and makes a forceful iconological statement. Though the mid-sixth-century carvings are certainly well known, they emerge in this section with extraordinary vitality and freshness. When we are informed of the cave's double focus (the *liṅga* in the innermost sanctuary and the sculptured Sadāśiva [20 ft., 7 in. tall], represented as *pañcamukha liṅga*), the plan becomes a symbol of Śiva's transsubstantiation into subtle, implicit form and manifest, explicit form. This final section is the only part devoted exclusively to Śiva's world as represented in the plastic arts. Yet it imparts a far-reaching message: if its Indianness is to be savored, the art must be considered the culmination of cultural events in which the religious element dominates.

The many other questions and provocative approaches contained in this work are far too numerous and complex to sum up in a short review. To mention just few, it seems to me eminently suitable to delve into Sāṃkhyan philosophy as a way of gaining understanding into the meaning of a *pañcamukha liṅga*, just as, in a larger sense, the meaning of *liṅga* begins with the textual, not the plastic, evidence. By the same token, the book invites further analysis into areas opened by its own creative interpretations. The idea that Rudra inherits the mythopoetic symbolism of Rig Vedic Puruṣa opens a flood of possibilities for further investigation, as does the notion that already in the *Rig Veda* there is a "poem about the Wild God" (*raudra brāhman*), and the view that the *liṅga*

is basically a cosmic, not a priapic, symbol. Fresh light is also shed upon the accepted belief that Śiva's claim to the sacrificial remainder indicates his estrangement from the Vedic sacrifice. In that chapter 3 concludes that the "residue of the sacrifice is a potent substance," a conclusion shared by two recent philological analyses,¹ a new interpretation for Śiva's relation to the Vedic ritual is a distinct possibility. The author's ideas are innovative and should stimulate important reassessments of Śaiva art and religious developments.

The Presence of Śiva is a jewel polished by a life-long devotion to Indian art and Indology. It is also a legacy showing the way that art may instill insightful wonder in future generations.

Notes

1. J. Gonda, "Atharvaveda 11.7," in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou* (Paris, 1968), pp. 301–36; C. Malamoud, "Observations sur la notion de 'reste' dans le Brāhmaṇisme," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Sud- und Ostasiens und Archiv für Indische Philosophie* 16 (1972): 5–26.

DORIS SRINIVASAN

Khmer Ceramics: 9th–14th Century. Compiled by the Southeast Asian Ceramic Society. Edited by Diana Stock. 140 pp., 97 color illustrations. Singapore: Southeast Asian Ceramic Society, 1981.

Vietnamese Ceramics. With an illustrated catalogue of the exhibition organized by the Southeast Asian Ceramic Society and held at the National Museum, Singapore, in June 1982. Edited by Carol M. Young, Marie-France Dupoizat, and Elizabeth W. Lane. 181 pp., 235 color illustrations. Singapore: Southeast Asian Ceramic Society/Oxford University Press, 1982. Distributed by Oxford University Press, Selangor, Malaysia. \$55.00.

Northern Thai Ceramics. By J. C. Shaw. Oxford in Asia Studies in Ceramics. 270 pp., 47 color and 220 black-and-white illustrations. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1981. \$70.00.

Among an ever-increasing number of books and exhibition catalogues devoted to Southeast Asian ceramics, these three volumes, printed in Singapore, are especially deserving of attention because of the new information and fresh observations they contain. The area of overlap is not large, consisting primarily of matters of chronology and mutual influence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But each of the volumes touches, in its way, on the larger issues. What is the extent of indebtedness to China? What is the relationship to local traditions? The relationship to contemporary monumental art? To what degree were outside forces instrumental in the development of export industries? As the books make clear, both such broader concerns and narrower ones of chronology will remain matters of dispute for a number of years.

Khmer Ceramics accompanied an exhibition of ninety-seven objects, each illustrated in color in the catalogue. The objects, as the contributors acknowledge, were for the most part made in what is today northeastern Thailand. The historical introduction by Bernard P. Groslier (pp. 9–39) is based, on the

other hand, on the author's archaeological work at Angkor and Sambor Prei Kuk and is not illustrated. Because it isn't, and because it doesn't provide the archaeological data on which the conclusions were based, Groslier's chapter must remain a provisional account. The influence of China is quite properly stressed—perhaps overstressed, in part because although it is said (in regard to certain types) that the “Chinese origin of all of these shapes is evident” (p. 18) and that a particular shape has “a well-known Chinese model” (p. 24), there are no references. It is not always obvious what Groslier has in mind, and to be unspecific is to soften the considerable differences. The lack of references to particular Chinese pots has another drawback, for it seems that at least part of Groslier's chronology is based on the presence of associated Chinese sherds. Therefore, it is difficult to evaluate his dating independently.

The wares that are most architectonic—most akin in their concern for sharp edges and textural differentiations to the conventions of Khmer architecture and sculpture (and what may be more immediately relevant, metalwork)—are placed in the eleventh century. Yet, apparently bowing to the ingrained French position that the temple of Angkor Wat constitutes a classic moment, Groslier maintains that the first half of the twelfth century is marked by a “point of balance of all these efforts” (p. 28)—presumably because of an increase in potterliness.

Groslier's chapter may be the most significant in *Khmer Ceramics*, but it is followed by two shorter contributions of much value: “Khmer Ceramics of the Korat Plateau: Unravelling the Mysteries,” by Roxanna M. Brown, and “Uses of Khmer Ceramics,” by Dawn Rooney.

Vietnamese Ceramics, on the other hand, is more of a hodgepodge, though an important and stimulating one. Those who approach it without previous knowledge of Vietnamese ceramics (such as can be learned from Roxanna M. Brown's *The Ceramics of Southeast Asia*) will find it baffling; all those already interested in the subject will find it indispensable. There are no less than six brief introductory chapters, by William Willetts, Keith W. Taylor, John C. Shaw, John Guy, Abu Rhido, and Barbara Harrison. What nearly all these scholars do is to provide a series of *aperçus* on one or another aspect of Vietnamese ceramics. All this is followed by the catalogue proper—235 exhibits, each illustrated in color, and entries that are the work of a committee of uncertain identity. These entries are themselves an opportunity for an archaeological investigation, especially when read together with Barbara Harrison's chapter, for Dr. Harrison alone of the chapter writers worked with the cataloguing committee. Dr. Harrison makes a number of valuable observations regarding chronology, but she tends to use single idiosyncratic features to isolate works chronologically. At times the committee has been convinced, as in the case of works placed at the end of the catalogue and dated to as late as the seventeenth century without sufficiently solid evidence (cf. p. 47). In other cases the committee seems to have reserved its judgment—as with number 58, a cream-colored jar, “14th–16th century” in the catalogue but approximately sixteenth century for Dr. Harrison. In fact, an argument for a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century date for this piece, and that it may be a reflection of imperial Chinese preference for monochromes during the time of the Ming occupation (1407–1428), would have more solid a basis than many hypotheses regarding wares of the earlier period.¹

I shall return to some of the problems raised by the contributors to *Vietnamese Ceramics*, but first J. C. Shaw's *Northern Thai Ceramics* ought to be described. This is not an

exhibition catalogue but the work of an explorer and collector resident in Chiang Mai. The book has many of the excellent qualities associated with the English amateur tradition: it is full of good, clear writing, enthusiasm, and sensible judgments. It also uses a transcription system for Thai that is the author's alone, and the archaeological data concerning discovery of sherds are not professionally presented. Yet Mr. Shaw's book provides for the first time a comprehensive picture of the high-fired wares of northern Thailand, and his presentation of the Kalong wares (from an area about eighty kilometers northwest of Chiang Mai), with numerous illustrations of newly discovered pieces and much information about the kilns, is especially welcome.

Do these publications together provide a clearer picture of the glazed wares of the Southeast Asia mainland? Yes, but the reader must pick and choose among conflicting opinions and in some areas consult other publications altogether. Several observations might first be made about activity in the first half of the fourteenth century. The brown wares now associated with the site of Go-sanh (Binh-dinh Province, Vietnam), properly called Cham by Roxanna Brown and Vietnamese by others, are crucial first because they are found in Philippine graves with Chinese wares of the period,² and second because they provide a basis for later innovations—incised wares, wares enamelled red on the biscuit—that are not now datable precisely but some day may be. Among activities further north in the same period must be included the production of inlay brown wares. This is not the usual view; “10th–12th century” is what *Vietnamese Ceramics* (no. 4) suggests for an example of this nonexported ware. When the type was first made is not known—though the tenth century is certainly too early—but an example of the latest phase is the large bowl with appliqué rosettes (recalling Yüan celadon) in Brussels; it was exhibited in New York in 1976.³ The stylized scrolled vegetal decor has connections with impressed fungus sprays on Yüan-dynasty bowls made in Fukien⁴ (which are probably a more direct source than anything in the Tz'u-chou family) and is also a model for and precursor of the calligraphy of the underglaze-painted wares. Very probably, too, the Vietnamese inlay brown wares were the inspiration for the incised and painted wares of the Sawankhalok kilns of Thailand.

The Thai situation in the first half of the fourteenth century is less clear. In 1971, with good reason, William Willetts disassociated Sawankhalok brown-glazed monochromes from the Khmer tradition.⁵ Yet, as Groslier (p. 32) and the cataloguers (nos. 93–97) observe in *Khmer Ceramics*, there must be some points of connection between the two traditions. It may make sense to think of a vaguely Khmer style spreading over much of modern Thailand with the expansion of the kingdom in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Baluster-like shapes, decoration on the shoulder, and the inflected mouth would be key characteristics. Among later examples of the tradition would be a vase depicted in an engraving at Wat Si Chum, Sukhothai, probably dating from the second quarter of the fourteenth century,⁶ certain earthenwares found in the river at Ayutthaya, the jar at the Asia Society found at Kamphaengphet but attributed to Kalong (pl. C21B in Mr. Shaw's book), and a vase in Phayao (pl. 178A in the same work).

Such considerations move forward in time the dates for the earliest underglaze-iron wares of Vietnam and Thailand. Indeed, William Willetts acknowledges (*Vietnamese Ceramics*, p. 4) that certain early Vietnamese underglaze-iron wares do not predate the middle of the fourteenth century—pieces for which he may have been willing to entertain a somewhat earlier date a decade ago. That such pieces are this old, none of the contributors to the volumes under review seems to doubt,

and John Guy introduces new archaeological evidence from Japan that appears to place some Vietnamese underglaze-iron wares in a fourteenth-century context. Keith Taylor draws attention to a shipment of Chinese blue-and-white wares (*yao pien po*, "sparrowhawk-phase ware"⁷) that reached Vietnam in 1349, establishing that the Vietnamese were at least familiar with blue-and-white ceramics at an early date. There is no doubt about the Yüan stylistic sources for the early underglaze-iron and blue-and-white pots of Vietnam, and the consensus view is that a substantial export industry was established well before the Ming occupation in 1406.

Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that additional evidence—from kiln sites and from graves—will not both clarify and complicate the present picture, perhaps by allowing for the persistence of certain shapes and painting styles. Barbara Harrison (following Roxanna M. Brown) mentions as an early trait the low, broad foot ring—a common feature on beakers and molded-cavetto dishes, which both bear underglaze painting of an early type. Dr. Harrison does not seem to realize that the blue-and-white Istanbul bottle of 1450 itself has this sort of foot ring. Taken alone, this trait cannot, therefore, indicate a fourteenth-century date. The converse is that at least some of the beakers and dishes in question might also belong to the fifteenth century.

Where do the wares of Lannathai fit in? Mr. Shaw quite reasonably sees the influences as varied and raises intriguing possibilities regarding movement of Thai potters from southern China into Thailand. As mentioned above, there is some evidence of a continuation of a Khmer-like tradition. Then there are fresh influences that resulted in a large number of beautiful monochromes, many of which—from a Chinese point of view—have a vaguely fourteenth-century flavor. Such points of similarity as can be found with Vietnamese wares—the scalloped rim, for instance (*Northern Thai Ceramics*, pls. C14 and C20)—suggest contact in a period that according to the argument in the previous paragraph may fall in the first decades of the fifteenth century (cf. *Vietnamese Ceramics*, nos. 25, 73, and 89). The underglaze painted wares appear as a group to be somewhat later, and those that are susceptible to being dated seem no earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century. What is intriguing, as Mr. Shaw recognizes, is that the designs cannot be explained as derivations from those on the wares of Sukhothai and Sawankhalok (as presently known) or of Vietnam. Itinerant Chinese (not necessarily potters) could have played a role—a clear possibility, in the light of the Buddhist art and architecture of the region (the antiquity of which Mr. Shaw overestimates).

Whatever overall picture may eventually emerge, those interested in Southeast Asian ceramics can only be grateful for three publications which include both abundant new material, well presented, and intelligent, probing scholarship.

Notes

1. Sir John Addis, "Hung-wu and Yung-lo White," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 41 (1975-77): 35-57.
2. Leandro and Cecilia Locsin, *Oriental Ceramics Discovered in the Philippines* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo, 1967), pl. 93, p. 119, as pointed out by Roxanna M. Brown in *The Ceramics of South-East Asia* (Kuala Lumpur, 1977), p. 28.
3. Dean F. Frascché, *Southeast Asian Ceramics: Ninth Through Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1976), no. 58, p. 100. Credit should be given to Sotheby Parke Bernet for correctly dating such wares in the catalogue *South-East Asian and Early Chinese Export Ceramics* (New York, 1974), nos. 3 and 4 ("13th/14th century").
4. Penelope Hughes-Stanton and Rose Kerr, *Kiln Sites of Ancient China* (London, n.d. [1981?]), no. 184, p. 133.
5. William Willetts, *Ceramic Art of Southeast Asia* (Singapore, 1971), p. 15.
6. *Prachum silā chārūk phāk thi 5* [Collected inscriptions, vol. 5] (Bangkok, 1972), illustration opposite p. 102.
7. For this interpretation of the Chinese term, which differs from Dr. Taylor's (*Vietnamese Ceramics*, p. 20), I am entirely indebted to Prof. Paul W. Kroll, Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures, University of Colorado, Boulder.

HIRAM W. WOODWARD, JR.

The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting. By James Cahill. 250 + xii pp., 238 illustrations in text, 12 color pls. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982. \$35.00.

The Compelling Image consists of six essays originally delivered as the Charles Eliot Norton Lectures at Harvard University in 1979. The essays are devoted to eight landscape artists and one figure painter: "Chang Hung and the Limits of Representation" (chap. 1); "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and the Sanction of the Past" (chap. 2); "Wu Pin, Influences from Europe and the Northern Sung Revival" (chap. 3); "Hung-jen and Kung Hsien: Nature Transformed" (chap. 5); "Wang Yüan-ch'i and Tao-chi: The Culmination of Method and No-Method" (chap. 6); and "Ch'en Hung-shou: Portraits of Real People and Others" (chap. 4). These chapter headings are deceptively simple, for there are innumerable side excursions into the works and words of other contemporary or past artists and into other pertinent topics, all to provide background or analogies, to amplify ideas or support theories. The result is not only a rewarding discourse on some of the issues, options, and tensions that activate seventeenth-century Chinese painting but also a book of immense breadth. Each chapter, containing a wealth of ideas, arguments, interpretations, and explorations of associated concepts, is enormously complex and intricate, so much so that a review cannot do justice to them.

In his analysis of the pictures by a pair of artists from the beginning of the century, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Chang Hung, Cahill reveals Tung's commitment to his heritage and his dialogue with the past, in which he was artistically stimulated by old styles for his "formal exploration of an essentially abstract order" so that his landscape "pulls away from nature" (p. 53). Tung Ch'i-ch'ang "demonstrated his creativity not by 'starting anew on his own' but by continuing the succession of creative acts that made up his chosen lineage, and achieved excellence within the same system of critical values by which the old masters were judged and approved. Working within a framework set by their styles ensured that his paintings would be seen as securely lodged in the great tradition" (p.

57). In contrast, Chang Hung breaks with tradition in many ways: his mixed colors, suppression of contour line, preference for descriptive brushwork, and a stress upon conveying the topography and physical appearance of the actual places he often depicts. His are landscapes "not constructed, but contemplated" (p. 9). These very aspects, however, set him outside both historical continuity and validity. Tung is correct and successful, but Chang is a failure; Tung influences later generations of artists, Chang has no followers.

In an excursion, Cahill points out that earlier forays into rendering the perceived world also led to naught. At the end of the seventeenth century, the orthodox Wang Yüan-ch'ü and the individualist Tao-chi alike complain about the multiplicity of schools and styles and their "empty mannerism." Wang proposed in both his theoretical writings and his paintings a single stylistic tradition as the "true" artistic method, whereas Tao-chi's solution to the seeming chaos was a claim that traditions are useless and that the only method of painting is one devised by the artist himself: "one's own method." Cahill believes that in attempting to provide "comprehensive systems of style" both men were in reality captives of their own narrow outlooks, which ultimately pushed them into extreme positions. Their landscapes "left a fragile heritage for the future, one that later masters could not further transcend into new states of wholeness" (p. 225). Landscape painting after Wang and Tao-chi went into a sharp decline; its heyday was over by the early eighteenth century.

Aside from such issues as these, there is the whole problem of foreign influence in seventeenth-century Chinese art. The idea is not a new one and has always been controversial. Cahill avers, however, that the question of European influence

seems more and more . . . to be a key to understanding the development of Chinese painting in the seventeenth century. Dealing with it forces us, as it forced the Chinese themselves, to confront fundamental issues in the native tradition, and particularly to become aware of the highly conventionalized character of traditional Chinese painting, of the qualities in which it excelled but also those it lacked or devalued, especially in the later centuries of its history. (p. 70)

Cahill's exposition of the impact of Western art on seventeenth-century Chinese painting is of major importance.

Religious oil paintings as well as Western books with engraved illustrations were brought to China by Matteo Ricci in the late sixteenth century. The former have disappeared, but copies of the illustrated books known to have been in China at that period still exist in Western libraries. Relying on these engravings, Cahill indicates some of the ways in which they appealed to and influenced Chinese artists. As discussed in chapter 1, Chang Hung, with his desire to depict actual, physical scenery, was attracted to and incorporated into his own pictures such Western illusionistic devices as zigzag recessions into depth, sudden diminutions in scale, or bird's-eye views with expanded middle ground—all of which have no precedents in Chinese tradition, but are found in European engravings. Lending credence to Cahill's argument is the remarkable similarity between Chang Hung's *Scene of Yüeh*, in which a long diagonal bridge, narrowing at the far end, connects two horizontal river shores, and the nearly identical construction in the *View of Urbs Campensis*—even to the craft on the river and the distant walled city seen in both pictures. In the chapter on Wu Pin, it is suggested that exposure to European art stimulated the revival of Northern Sung landscape modes. Further, some peculiarities seen in European engraved cityscapes account for compositional conventions found in landscapes by Shao Mi. Such foreign devices (which again have no parallel in earlier Chinese works) include the "oblique angle of view, which caused the ground plane to tilt not only upward from front to back,

but also sideward, so that the elements of the picture are laid out diagonally from one lower corner to the opposite corner" (p. 77), and the "fadeout," in which the subject is presented in great detail in the center of the page while images at the edges are greatly simplified or dissolved. Even Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang (perhaps through the intermediary of works by his friends Chao Tso and Shen Shih-ch'ung) was affected by Western artistic conventions; later in the seventeenth century, so was Hsiang Sheng-mo. Cahill believes that Kung Hsien's caves, depicted as "gradually narrowing tunnels . . . burrowed into the mountain" (p. 172), and his stippled shading are based upon forms and the chiaroscuro seen in Western engravings. Startling is the resemblance between Kung Hsien's acknowledged masterpiece, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines* (in the Drenowatz Collection in the Rietberg Museum), and the engraved *View of Thessaly and the Vale of Tempe*. In addition to such visual parallels, Cahill marshalls an array of written and interpretative evidence to substantiate his thesis.

With its profundity and richness, as well as the contributions it makes to our understanding not only of seventeenth-century Chinese painting but also of Chinese painting in general, this book is one no serious student of Chinese art can afford to be without.

ELLEN JOHNSTON LAING

Shigaraki, Potters' Valley. By Louise Allison Cort. 428 + xi pp., 363 pls. (52 in color). Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1979. \$60.00.

Many visitors to Japan upon finding a beautiful jar thickly glazed with green vertical stripes over a creamy white color have been surprised to discover that it is a product of the Shigaraki kilns. How could the kilns that produced the famous unglazed, rustic pots with their characteristic burnt orange colors have made wares so utterly different? The fact that several hundred years separate the classic Shigaraki pots of the sixteenth century from the wares of the Meiji period is not enough to explain the transformation that this contrast implies. Until the publication of *Shigaraki, Potters' Valley*, this was an unanswered question. Books in Japanese as well as English usually dealt exclusively with the development of old Shigaraki from the Muromachi period to early Edo. These publications have dwelt on the physical features of the pots and on conjectures concerning the dating of the ware. Louise Cort has, instead, given us the complete panorama of the Shigaraki kilns, from their misty origins through their varied career down to the outlook for their future. The reader discovers not only the connection between the old rustic wares and the sophisticated Meiji pieces but much else as well.

Cort's account begins with a description of the establishment of an imperial palace in Shigaraki Valley by the emperor Shōmu in the mid-eighth century. The impact of this auspicious event, which may have required the construction of local kilns for the production of roof tiles, was short-lived; the real history of the kilns begins in the late Kamakura and early Muromachi periods. Cort approaches the problem of the origin of the Shigaraki kilns in a multidimensional manner—through the study of the Kamakura- and Muromachi-period fiefdoms in the area, the results of kiln excavations, authentic dated pots and sherds, all based on a thorough knowledge of local traditions and practices.

The impact of the developing tea ceremony on the Shigaraki potters is related in detail, from the introduction of tea storage

jars to the proliferation of tea ceremony utensils made according to the tastes of the Kyoto aesthetes devoted to the ideal of *wabi*. Tea diaries by famous tea masters are extensively discussed, allowing the reader to follow the rise and fall in popularity of Shigaraki wares during the Momoyama and early Edo periods. The formalization of the tea storage jars as those intended for yearly presentation to the Tokugawa shogunate is examined in engrossing detail.

Cort illustrates how the potters' output was intimately connected with the economic realities of the day, which were shaped by the popularity of wares produced by other kilns in Japan and by such market factors as the transportation and distribution systems. This complex of influences was responsible for the introduction of decoratively glazed wares for the domestic market during the mid-Edo period. Documents and firsthand accounts concerning these developments are used effectively to flesh out the author's description of the kilns' activities during this transition.

The impact of modern industrial methods and tastes is followed through the Meiji period to the present, and the origins of the ubiquitous flower-pots and *tanuki* figures are traced in detail. The contemporary interest of potters in using the refined Shigaraki clay to produce pots inspired by the old tea wares, as well as utterly new forms, allows hope for the future of this historic valley's traditional industry.

In relating the colorful history of Shigaraki, the author has uncovered a great deal of interesting material. The relationship of *renga* (linked verse) to the development of the *wabi* aesthetic in tea is discussed in some detail. The account of iron wash and ash glazes on sixteenth-century vessels corrects the common notion that old Shigaraki wares were exclusively unglazed. Even more exciting is the discovery of iron-glazed *temmoku*-style tea bowls inside saggers in an excavated kiln in Shigaraki, proving that such items were also made outside of the Seto-Mino area.

Cort's multifaceted approach is extended further by the inclusion of a variety of fascinating appendices. Translations of kiln descriptions dating from 1678 and 1872 are illuminating. A moving autobiographical essay by a woman working at a kiln in Shigaraki provides an insider's view of the hardships and satisfactions of the potter's day-to-day life. A brief note by Kawai Kanjirō illustrates the fascination that Shigaraki holds for the modern potter in Japan. There is a kiln-by-kiln account of all the excavations conducted in Shigaraki, illustrated with

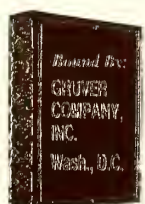
examples of the sherds that were uncovered. The final appendix is a brief chemical breakdown of clays from various parts of Shigaraki Valley. The book concludes with thirty pages of footnotes, an extensive bibliography of works in Japanese and English, and a useful index.

This book is much more than just another book on Japanese ceramics. Readers interested in the tea ceremony, Japanese customs, folk art, and the impact of modernization on Japanese life would do well to consult it. By virtue of its holistic view of an art within its culture, it is a model for art-historical research that is truly contextual.

Should there be an occasion for a second edition, there are a few features that could be added to increase the accessibility of the wealth of information contained in this large volume. The plates are bound together in groups distributed throughout the text and are frequently far from the passages in which they are discussed. They would be more useful if keyed to the text by page references at the end of each caption. The *geta-in* mark found on the foot of some old pieces is mentioned repeatedly in the text, and photographs of one or two examples of this mark would be valuable. Since information relevant to the dating and evolution of the various wares is scattered throughout the book, it would be convenient to have this valuable material summarized in an appendix. If such an appendix were illustrated with small sketches of excavated and dated pots distributed along a time line according to vessel type, as is sometimes done in Japanese publications, it would be very useful for quick comparisons of the changing forms of the ware. As the book is well into its second printing, perhaps the occasion for a revised edition may arise.

In an essay on Shigaraki, Kawai Kanjirō once wrote: "This [Shigaraki pottery] is no mere specimen surviving as useless ornament. Archaeology, so like a chrysalis, would do well to emerge from the ground and fly through this living garden. If archaeology is unable to fly, then let cultural history come. Shigaraki seems proof that these academic disciplines are unaware of their own starvation." It is a wonderful event that Louise Cort in this excellent book has risen to meet the challenge that Kawai posed almost fifty years ago.

PAUL BERRY



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